

Lemosos

Lemesos:

*A History of Limassol in Cyprus
from Antiquity to the Ottoman
Conquest*

Edited by

Angel Nicolaou-Konnari
and Chris Schabel

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Archives - Libraries

- ASV = Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
ASVe = Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia.
BAV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BnF = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
BNM = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.
Bodleian = Oxford, Bodleian Library.
BSB = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
CSA = Nicosia, Cyprus State Archive.
CMC = Venice, Biblioteca di Civico Museo Correr.
KBL = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek.
Querini Stampalia = Venice, Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia.

2. General Works - Periodicals – Series

- AASS* = *Acta Sanctorum*, 71 vols. (Paris, 1863-1940).
AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*.
ABSA = *The Annual of the British School at Athens*.
AOL = *Archives de l'Orient latin*.
AR = *Archaeological Reports* (supplements to *JHS*).
ARDA = *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities* (1982-) = *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities* (1962-1979) = *Annual Report of the Chief Antiquities Officer* (1961) = *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities* (1950-1960) (Nicosia).
BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*.
BEC = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*.
BEFAR = *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*.
BF = *Byzantinische Forschungen*.
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
CCEC = *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*.
Chronique des fouilles = 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre' in *BCH*.
CICO = Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III (Rome, 1943-).

- CSFS = Collana storica di fonti e studi, general ed. G. Pistarino (Genoa, 1969-).
- DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
- DOS = Dumbarton Oaks Studies.
- EHB = A. Laiou (chief ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols. [DOS 39] (Washington, D.C., 2002).
- JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JMH = *Journal of Medieval History*.
- MEFR = *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*.
- OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
- ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York – Oxford, 1991).
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866).
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).
- PmbZ = F. Winkelmann, R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung I: 641-867*, 7 vols. (Berlin - New York, 1998-2002).
- RDAC = *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*.
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, 47 vols. (Stuttgart, 1894-1963).
- REB = *Revue des études byzantines*.
- RHC = *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, ed. Comte A. Beugnot, 16 vols. (Paris, 1841-1906).
- RHC Arm. = *RHC Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869-1906).
- RHC Lois = *RHC Lois: Les Assises de Jérusalem*, I. *Assises de la Haute Cour* (Paris, 1841). II. *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* (Paris, 1843).
- RHC Occ. = *RHC Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-1895).
- RHC Or. = *RHC Historiens Orientaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1872-1906).
- ROL = *Revue de l'Orient latin*.
- RS = *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series), 251 vols. (London, 1858-1896).
- TIB = *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (Vienna, 1976-).
- TSHC = *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus*, Cyprus Research Centre (Nicosia).
- EKEE = *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών (Κόπρου)* (Nicosia).
- EKMIMK = *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* (Nicosia).
- ΚΣ = *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* (Nicosia).

KX = *Κυπριακά Χρονικά*, 13 vols. (Larnaca, 1923-1937).

ΜΚΕ = *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, gen. ed. A. Pavlides, 14 vols.
(Nicosia, 1984-1991).

ΜΥ = *Μελέται και Ύπομνήματα* (Nicosia).

ΠΑ' ΔΚΣ = *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*
(Nicosia, 1969), 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1972-1973).

ΠΒ' ΔΚΣ = *Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού*
Συνεδρίου (Nicosia, 1982), 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1985-1987).

ΠΓ' ΔΚΣ = *Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*
(Nicosia, 1996), 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1996-2001).

CONTRIBUTORS

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Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (PhD, University of Wales, College of Cardiff, 1999) is Associate Professor of the History of Hellenism under Latin Rule at the University of Cyprus. Her research interests focus on the Latin-ruled Greek world and, particularly, the history of Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus. Her main publications include a diplomatic edition of the *Chronicle* of Leontios Makhairas (with M. Pieris, 2003), the collective volume *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374* (ed. with C. Schabel, 2005), and the proceedings of the conference '*La Serenissima*' and '*La Nobilissima*': *Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice* (ed., 2009).

Michalis Olympios was educated at the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens (BA 2003) and the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London (MA 2005, PhD 2010). His research interests revolve around medieval art and architecture in Europe and the Latin East. He has published on Gothic architecture and sculpture in Lusignan Cyprus, on which subject he is preparing a book. Since 2011, he

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Chris Schabel (PhD, University of Iowa, 1994) is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Cyprus, specialising in later medieval intellectual history and the Latin East. He is editor of the journal *Vivarium* and his books include *Theology at Paris, 1316-1345* (2000), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages* (ed., 2 vols, 2006-2007), *Francis of Marchia – Theologian and Philosopher* (ed. with R.L. Friedman, 2006), *Gerald Odonis, Doctor Moralis and Franciscan Minister General* (ed. with W.O. Duba, 2009), and *Medieval Supposition Theory Revisited* (ed. with E.P. Bos, H.A.G. Braakhuis, W.O. Duba, and C.H. Kneepkens, 2013).

SERIES EDITOR INTRODUCTION

As the editors state in their foreword, Limassol has played a significant part in the history of Cyprus and the broader Mediterranean. To be sure, it has never served as the capital of the island, as Paphos and Nicosia have, it has not had the same foreign consular (and thus trade) presence that Larnaca did, or the same romantic allure of Famagusta and charm of Kyrenia, but there have been moments in the history of the island and the Mediterranean when Limassol has played a very significant role. The co-editors, both leading scholars in their field, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel, both from the University of Cyprus, and who teamed up so well ten years ago to publish *Cyprus – Society and Culture 1191-1374* (2005), should be commended for bringing to life the history of Limassol in this exciting volume.

The city of Limassol is situated on the southern coast of Cyprus and is the capital of the eponymous district. Limassol (the city) developed between two ancient cities, Amathus and Curium (Kourion in Greek), well before the myth that it was a Latin creation, and was originally known as Neapolis (new town). A small colony may have existed in ancient times, because tombs found there date back to 2000 BC and others to the eighth and fourth centuries BC. So when, as Tassos Papacostas in this volume argues, 'in May 1191 Limassol was unexpectedly propelled to the international limelight literally overnight, as a result of the events surrounding the island's conquest by Richard the Lionheart in the course of the Third Crusade', Limassol had already existed for millennia. Indeed, Limassol has an important history beyond the three or four dramatic moments in its past.

This volume brings together leading scholars, from the interdisciplinary backgrounds of archaeology, art history, and history, to set out the history of both the city and the surrounding rural areas of the broader Limassol District, from ancient times to the end of Latin rule in the sixteenth century. The volume is comprehensive, so much so that the coverage of the Ottoman, British, and independence periods of its history, which have been understudied, has been postponed for a second volume, which I hope my series, *Cyprus Historical and Contemporary Studies*, will have the honour to publish. The scholars selected are all experts in their field and it is no easy task to unite such an eclectic group.

Organised chronologically, this volume starts with a chapter on ancient Amathus by Professor Antoine Hermary, Aix-Marseille University, and ends with a wonderful postscript by the two co-editors on the place of pre-Ottoman Limassol in the memory of Cypriots and travellers to Cyprus over the centuries. With five main chapters, all varying in length depending on the availability of source material and the importance of the period and theme that is being addressed, the volume is impressively rich in detail and focussed on answering the pressing historiographical questions associated with Limassol.

Today the city has grown into an important Mediterranean port, with an urban population of just under 180,000, and is one of the most vibrant in all of Cyprus. The city has extended much farther than the castle and port, spreading along the Mediterranean coast, with its suburbs reaching Amathus to the east. To the west of the city is the Akrotiri Peninsula, part of the British Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia. Known for its antiquities and its annual festivals, Limassol is a multicultural city. This multiculturalism is reflected in the scholars contributing, who are connected to Cyprus, France, Greece, UK, and US.

This volume is timely because it also coincides with the growth in studies into Cypriot cities, namely Nicosia and Famagusta, and thus allows for a comparison. Demetrios Michaelides edited the scholarly survey *Historic Nicosia*, published by Rimal in 2012, while Michael Walsh and Nicholas Coureas, along with other scholars, have co-edited two volumes that focus on medieval Famagusta: the first, titled *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, was published by Ashgate in 2012, and the second, titled *The Harbour of All This Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, was published by Central European University Press in 2014. A third volume by Walsh is to be published in 2015 in this series. Meanwhile Brepols, also in 2015, has published the first of two volumes on the city: *Famagusta, volume 1: Art and Architecture*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr, with the second volume on *History and Society* to follow soon, edited by the editors of the present work, together with Gilles Grivaud and Catherine Otten-Froux. Together the volumes on Nicosia, Famagusta, and Limassol, although varying in aim and scope, provide readers with the most sophisticated and scholarly historical accounts of those three places.

It gives me great pleasure to publish this volume as part of my series. I hope this will be the beginning of many more studies on the history of Limassol and the other cities of Cyprus.

Andrekos Varnava,
Senior Lecturer in Imperial and Military History, Flinders University

SPONSOR'S PREFACE

Neapolis, Theodosias, Nemesos, Lemesos, Limassol. 'At times a very important Mediterranean port'. 'A town between Amathus and Kourion'. 'The place where Richard the Lionheart's wedding to Beregaria of Navarra took place'.

All the above are bits and pieces from references on Limassol. I have always had the feeling that we need a comprehensive, academic work on Limassol – we have to know its history all along the millennia gone, of which only the last 137 years (from 1878 to now) are more or less well documented.

This is the reason why I turned to Angel and Chris again for this book. It took some time to compile the first volume, but I believe it is worth the effort after all.

I now expect that the second volume (Turkish, British, and independence periods) will follow soon.

Dr Andreas Pittas
Medochemie
Limassol

FOREWORD

Following the success of *Cyprus - Society and Culture 1191-1374*,¹ which appeared in 2005 and was the brainchild of Dr Andreas Pittas, the project's sponsor, the editors approached the CEO of Medochemie with the idea for another book, this time on the history of Limassol. Why Limassol? Some of the motivation was of a personal nature: Medochemie is headquartered there, Dr Pittas being a Limassolian, and the seaside city has been either a home or an adopted home for both the editors. Writing about one's hometown can be awkwardly emotional, but solid scholarly reasons for composing the book counterbalanced personal involvement. True, Limassol was never the capital of the island, as Paphos, Salamis, and Nicosia were, and it never experienced an explosion of growth comparable to that of Frankish Famagusta. Yet Limassol is by no means insignificant, with a long and fascinating history, often a multicultural one, which presents interesting analogies with the city's recent and present situation. Limassol also provided us with a great scientific opportunity: the primary source material, while ample, was not overwhelming, allowing us to inspect the vast majority of what survives (although we hope more sources surface in the future); the scholarly secondary literature was limited, assuring us that much of what we would find, or at least many of our interpretations, would be fresh and exciting and, for some periods at least, we began with a relative *tabula rasa*.

The scattered nature of the extant information on the city, dispersed in manuscripts, monographs, collective volumes, and journals, rendered the composition of a scholarly study, which would combine in a single volume the ancient, medieval, and modern history of Limassol for the layman and the specialist alike, all the more demanding. In fact, despite the long entry by Andros Pavlides in the eighth volume of the *Megali Kypriaki Encyclopaideia*, which appeared in 1988, Christakis Sergides' *Limassol Until the Turkish Period*, published in 2003, and the collective volume *Limassol: A Journey to the Past of a City*, edited by Anna G. Marangou and Titos Kolotas in 2006, there does not exist a comprehensive study on the history of Limassol that is similar to the one for Nicosia edited by Demetrios Michaelides in 2012. The above works are very

¹ Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel (2005).

useful and in many respects pioneering, but their scope and methodological approach are different from those of the present volume. Xenophon P. Pharmakides' *History of Limassol*, Agnes Michaelide's *Limassol, the Old City*, Costas A. Pilavakes' *Limassol in Past Times*, and Christakis Savvides' *Limassol Yesterday and Today*, published in 1942, 1981, 1997, and 2001 respectively, are in contrast personal or popular testimonies and recollections, focusing on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²

Nine years later the product of Dr Pittas' generous support does not much resemble what we agreed upon in 2006. Originally, we had envisioned a simple organisation of four large chapters written by four scholarly 'couples': Maria Iacovou and Theodoros Mavroyiannis (both of the University of Cyprus) would cover the ancient cities between which Limassol is situated, Amathus and Kourion respectively; Tassos Papacostas (King's College, London) and Ioanna Christoforaki (Academy of Athens) were assigned Byzantine Limassol and Byzantine art in the Limassol area; the editors (University of Cyprus) took Frankish and Venetian Limassol; and Rita Severis and George Dionysiou (experienced independent scholars) were to cover Ottoman Limassol. Although every scholar longs to present and analyse exhaustively a topic of research, we wisely did not think it possible to add the British period in a single volume on the history of Limassol, let alone Limassol since independence.

Still, in the end the book has grown so large that the huge chapter by Severis and Dionysiou will have to form part of a planned second volume, taking the city's history down to 1960. Similarly, years ago Professor Mavroyiannis turned in a mere portion of his piece on Kourion that was so extensive that we decided that the finished product should constitute a separate monograph on its own, and we sincerely hope that this comes to fruition. Sacrificing Kourion was only possible thematically because it is Amathus, much closer geographically, that is considered to be 'Old Limassol'. In this case, however, Professor Iacovou opted to turn over her assignment to two respected specialists. Antoine Hermary (University of Aix-Marseille), director of the French archaeological mission at Amathus, agreed to synthesise what is known about that city, a chapter that the editors have translated from French. Using very recent archaeological finds and based on her doctoral thesis, Laurence Alpe (independent scholar) contributed a welcome chapter on ancient Limassol that the

² See Pavlides (1988), Sergides (2003), Marangou and Kolotas (2006), Michaelides (2012), Pharmakides (1942), Michaelide (1981), Pilavakes (1997), and Savvides (2001). For more titles of personal testimonies, see Pilavakes (1997: 17-20).

editors also translated from French and that forms a smooth transition to Papacostas' piece on Byzantine Limassol. As research progressed, it became clear to Dr Christoforaki and the editors that, with the volume's focus on Limassol before 1570, what would best accompany Papacostas' chapter and that of the editors was a thorough study of the physical remains of Frankish and Venetian Limassol, and that her own chapter should be expanded to incorporate the Ottoman period for inclusion in the second volume. In 2006 we had no specialist for the archaeology of Frankish and Venetian Limassol, but Dr Michalis Olympios joined the faculty of the University of Cyprus in 2011 and has stepped in to fill this gap admirably.

Despite these vicissitudes, we believe that the result is excellent, better than we had hoped. The book is organised chronologically, beginning with ancient Amathus, moving to Limassol in Antiquity, and continuing with Byzantine Limassol. Whereas the focus in these early chapters is often mostly and sometimes exclusively on archaeological sources, for the chapter on Frankish and Venetian Limassol written sources are – relatively speaking – plentiful, and this chapter is divided into four distinct periods. Limassol already lay in partial ruins in the late fourteenth century, and this and modern development have made Olympios' reconstruction of Frankish and Venetian Limassol a complex endeavor, combining written sources, archaeology, and careful observation. The decline of the city in the late Middle Ages, and then the radical break occasioned by the Ottoman conquest of 1570, also fractured the continuity of collective memory, and the Conclusion traces the distorted image(s) of ancient, Byzantine, Frankish, and Venetian Limassol down to the present day. The discussion of the history of the toponym(s) for what is today called *Lemesos* in Greek, *Limassol* in French, Italian, English, and some other languages, and various other similar spellings in still other tongues follows the chronological evolution of toponomastics and can be found in special sections of Alpe's and Papacostas' chapters and in a separate note.

The geographical location of a port city and the agricultural character of its inland region may explain its role as a trading centre. The present volume attempts a global approach, however, studying urban (dis)continuity and development on the basis of the multifold function of a port city (administrative, commercial, religious, residential, etc.) and the relation between demographics and environmental factors; most importantly, this holistic approach takes into consideration the various patterns of connectivity in the Mediterranean – often affected by the evolving geo-political situation in distant areas – that determined the role of cities in networks of Mediterranean exchange, the social and economic

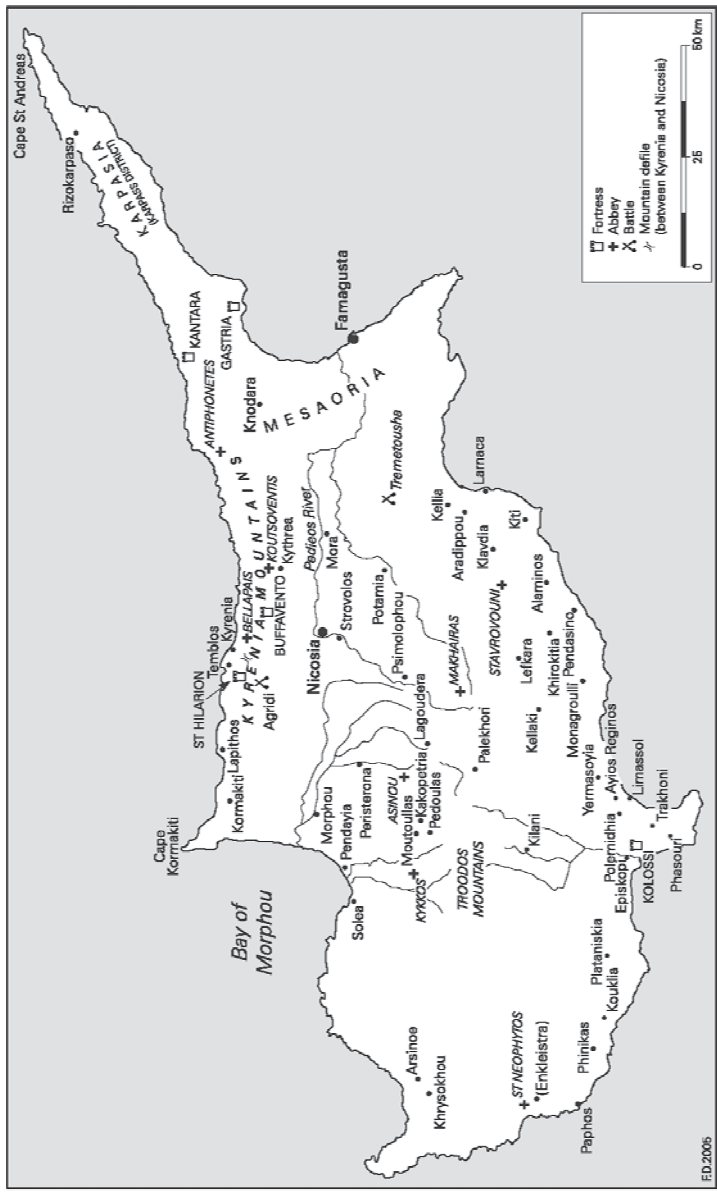
behaviour of the elite regarding production and distribution, trade routes, and the nature of trade.³ Thus, Limassol as the object of the present study is taken in its broad sense to include both the town and the countryside. The extent of the inland area studied for the Byzantine and Latin periods follows loosely the post-1960 district borders, although some villages do pose a problem, since there are some discrepancies between modern and medieval divisions. For example, Avdimou was a different district in the late Lusignan and Venetian periods. Lefkara is also a case in point: today it is neither administratively nor ecclesiastically part of Limassol, but in the Middle Ages, even though it belonged to the district of Mazotos, it was the see of the Greek bishop of Amathus.

* * *

The editors would like to thank above all Dr Andreas Pittas for his support and, especially, his patience. The contributors, both those whose work has ended up in this volume and those whose efforts will, we hope, be published in the near future, deserve our gratitude for their scholarship and their professional attitude, and in some cases their patience as well. A number of individuals and institutions have made essential contributions over the years; we would like to thank, in particular, Alexander Beihammer, Lorenzo Calvelli, Gilles Grivaud, Maria Iacovou, Valandis Papadamou, James Petre, Eleni Procopiou, Yiannis Violaris, and the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. Finally, we are grateful to our friend Andrekos Varnavas (Flinders University), who kindly requested that we submit a scholarly volume for his series *Cyprus Historical and Contemporary Studies* for Cambridge Scholars Publishing, a perfect place for the present book. Although CSP has followed up with frequent reminders, the people at the press have also been flexible, as deadline after deadline passed. We think it has been worth the wait.

A. N.-K. and C.D.S., Limassol and Paris, 27 January 2015

³ See Horden and Purcell (2000).



Map 1. Latin Cyprus



Map 2. Limassol and Its Hinterland (T. Papacostas)

AMATHUS, CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM AND CITY-STATE

ANTOINE HERMARY

Before Amathus

The first human habitation of Cyprus was probably in the Limassol area. This may have taken place before the Neolithic period, considering that humans were probably responsible for the extinction of pygmy hippopotami, remains of which were found at the site of Akrotiri-*Aetokremnos*. Human presence is clearly attested at the site of Parekklisha-*Shillourokambos*, north-east of Amathus, from the Neolithic Pre-Ceramic A at the end of the ninth millennium BC.¹ The French team excavating there since 1992 under the direction of Jean Guilaine has shown that these early inhabitants lived in circular houses, dug deep wells for their collective water supply, and introduced new plant and animal species: wild wheat, wild goat, deer (*Dama mesopotamica*), and cattle, which then disappeared from the island's fauna, not to return until the Early Cypriot era, in the third millennium BC.² In addition to local stone, the inhabitants used obsidian imported from Cappadocia. The beginnings of the rise of navigation allowed the establishment of maritime connections with Syria and southern Anatolia, but the Neolithic sites of the island quickly developed their own characteristics. A feline head (probably a cat) in serpentine (height 9.4 cm) that was found in the earlier levels of Shillourokambos can be considered the oldest known sculpture in Cyprus.³

This area close to Amathus was still densely settled in the seventh-sixth millennia, when the site of Khirokitia a few kilometres east was flourishing. Afterwards it seems to have been abandoned until new agricultural settlements were established in the fifth millennium, when the 'Sotira culture' prospered west of Limassol. Near this village, on the site

¹ Guilaine *et al.* (2011).

² Guilaine (2003).

³ Guilaine *et al.* (1999).

of Teppes, the excavations of Porphyrios Dikaios uncovered a settlement dating from the Ceramic Neolithic era (*ca.* 4600-3900 BC) that, in its final phase, may have accommodated about 150 people who mastered cereal cultivation and domesticated goats, sheep, and pigs.

The Chalcolithic period (*ca.* 3900-2900/2500 BC) is not yet attested around Amathus, but it is represented at *Sotira-Kaminoudia* and at *Erimi-Bamboula*, a site between Episkopi and Limassol that covered about 15 hectares and where, as elsewhere in Cyprus, we find a significant change in burial practices: stylised human figurines in serpentine, characteristic of the Cypriot art of the era, are found among the offerings to the deceased.

The Episkopi area was still inhabited in the Early (*ca.* 2300-2000) and Middle Cypriot (*ca.* 2000-1600), as the excavations conducted by Kent State University at Phaneromeni have shown, and at this point the first settlement in Limassol itself is attested (see below). Further east, near the village of Pyrgos, an important new site arose, excavated by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche of Rome: crafts flourished in metal, ceramics, and, probably, the production of perfume. The recently proposed interpretation of a certain building as the first temple of Cyprus, however, remains hypothetical.⁴

In the Late Bronze Age (Late Cypriot=LC), especially in its second phase (LC II, *ca.* 1400-1200), Cyprus underwent profound changes, due to trading links established with the great powers of the Eastern Mediterranean – Egypt, the kingdoms of the Levant, the Hittite Empire, the Mycenaean palatial states – that enabled the island's development of the production and export of copper ore in particular. Enkomi, on the east coast, remains the main example of urban development, for the wealth and diversity of the objects uncovered in its dwellings, places of worship, and tombs, but an entire series of sites on the south coast attest also to the emergence of economic, political, and social complexity: from east to west, *Kition-Kathari*, *Hala Sultan Tekke*, *Kalavastos-Ayios Dimitrios*, *Maroni*, *Episkopi-Bamboula*, *Alassa*, *Palaepaphos*. It is difficult to discern what the political structure of the island was at the time and, therefore, what type of organization accompanied this very dense network of settlements, but the areas of Limassol and Amathus were not affected by this dramatic expansion of habitation. The end of the period (LC III) corresponds to a sharp decline in human occupation: only the necropolis of *Kourion-Kaloriziki* near Episkopi attests to the transition from the Bronze Age (LC IIIB) to the Iron Age (Cypro-Geometric=CG), characterised by the introduction of a type of tomb Aegean in origin and by the production

⁴ Belgiorno (2000).

of new types of ceramics. Tomb 40 of Kaloriziki, which contained the famous gold sceptre surmounted by birds of prey, is the most striking example of these changes, undoubtedly related to the presence of Greek immigrants in the region, as elsewhere on the island. Nevertheless, the situation observed in the Kourion area has no equivalent in the east, where the origins of the future Kingdom of Amathus remain mysterious.

The Site of Amathus: History of Research

Throughout Antiquity the small settlement of Limassol was certainly dependent on Amathus.⁵ The town of Amathus itself (fig. 1), about ten kilometres east of modern Limassol, mainly occupied a hill of about 12 hectares that slopes gently toward the sea to the south and is protected on the north, east, and west sides by a rather steep cliff, reaching a height of 88 metres at the summit, on which the sanctuary of Aphrodite was established. The natural situation is, thus, relatively favourable, but the hill has no water resources and there is no protected bay on the coastal side. There must have been an older port, therefore, before the Hellenistic port was constructed, probably located to the west of the later agora. The date and conditions for the settlement of the first inhabitants of Amathus are difficult to determine due to the paucity of written sources and the dearth of the archaeological evidence currently available.

As elsewhere in Cyprus, field research began in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a result of the passage of the French mission directed by Melchior de Vogüé (1862), the colossal vase that adorned the summit of the acropolis of Amathus was transported to the Louvre. Next, the American Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola opened, mainly in 1875, a considerable number of tombs, from which the most spectacular discovery was a sarcophagus decorated in relief. Like the bulk of the Cesnola Collection, ‘the Amathus Sarcophagus’, as it has become known, is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The mission of the British Museum continued excavations in the necropolis in 1893-1894, followed by the Swedish mission led by Einar Gjerstad, which opened 26 tombs in 1930 and produced the first reliable information about the occupation of the site in the CG period.⁶ Nevertheless, Amathus remained very little known until the inception in 1975 of the excavations on the acropolis, conducted by the mission of the *École française d’Athènes* (under the direction of Pierre Aupert, then Sabine Fourier, and currently

⁵ See Laurence Alpe’s contribution to this volume.

⁶ Gjerstad *et al.* (1935).

Antoine Hermary), and the excavations in the lower town, conducted since 1976 by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities (under the direction of Michalis Loulloupis and then Pavlos Flourentzos). Since the early 1980s, the great development of tourism in the area has led to the discovery of hundreds of tombs that had to be excavated during rescue operations by the Department of Antiquities.

A synthetic presentation of the findings is given each year in the ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre’ of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

Origins (Eleventh-Ninth Centuries BC)

According to Theopompos, an historian of the second half of the fourth century BC, quoted by Photius, the Greeks who accompanied Agamemnon conquered Cyprus after having driven off the companions of Kinyras, from whom the Amathusians descended. Around the same time, Pseudo-Skylax writes that the people of Amathus are ‘indigenous’ as opposed to the inhabitants of the Greek (he cites Salamis and Marion) or Phoenician (Lapithos) towns of the island, for which ancient authors have transmitted some ‘foundation legends’, in contrast to Amathus.⁷ To this indigenous tradition (autochthoneity) was added another that made Amathousa, Kinyras’s mother, the eponym of the town. From the Cypro-Archaic (=CA) period to the late fourth century BC, a local language – neither Greek, nor Semitic – was employed in Amathus, attesting to the permanence of an ‘indigenous’ community that, nevertheless, had not occupied the site until the Iron Age, contrary to what Theopompos’s text would lead one to believe. Indeed, the archaeological record does not support the settlement of Amathus or its immediate environs before the transition period between LC IIIB (at the earliest) or CG IA, i.e., around the middle of the eleventh century BC. Currently, evidence for this first habitation, or early use of the site, is quite limited. On the acropolis it consists of a small deposit of pottery found to the north of the palace, the sherds divided between the ‘Proto-White Painted’ and ‘White Painted I’ styles. This rather fragmentary material probably comes from one or several tombs; it was gathered there in the CG III period.⁸ It is possible that the tomb dug on the summit of the hill, inside the future sanctuary of Aphrodite, originally dates from the CG IA period, in spite of the fact that it was found filled with CA I sherds (see below). The neighbouring

⁷ Baurain (1984).

⁸ Iacovou (2002).

necropoleis have not yet yielded any material from the early CG IA period. The oldest tomb that one can associate with Amathus is located about 1.5 km west of the acropolis, in a place called Diplostrati(a).⁹ It is therefore difficult to argue that a population of much significance occupied the site in the first decades of the Iron Age. For the following period (CG IB-II, tenth and first half of the ninth century), the presence – mainly to the west of the acropolis, in the area of the Amathus Beach Hotel – of tombs with luxury items suggests that the situation had changed, but the excavations on the acropolis have not yet revealed levels of occupation of that era. The shape of the tombs and the pottery deposited in them testify that the material culture of the new settlement is the same as in the rest of Cyprus, including relations with the Near East: ‘From the beginning of its foundation, Amathus participated in a homogeneous Cypro-Geometric culture. There is no tangible evidence of an alien people at Amathus’.¹⁰ The large number of vases from the Levantine coast in Tomb 521 indicates, however, the existence of particularly strong links between Amathus and the Near East in the first half of the tenth century BC. Other vases attest that in the second half of the century, at the latest, this new settlement had also established maritime trading networks with the Greek world of the Aegean and even with the Western Mediterranean, as shown in the discovery of two drinking vessels belonging to the Protogeometric Euboean style – the oldest known in Cyprus – and of a bronze skewer (*obelos*) of the ‘Atlantic’ type, the only one of its kind in the Eastern Mediterranean, unearthed in Tomb 523.¹¹

The Kingdom (Ninth Century [?]-ca. 310 BC)

The following period, that of Cypro-Geometric III (*ca.* 850-750 BC), is characterised by an increase in the number of tombs, the appearance of a style of pottery that has a local fingerprint, and the first signs of a settlement halfway up the acropolis. The evidence from excavations of necropoleis is essential. Although only a portion of these finds have been published, it is certain that the number of tombs dated to CG III is much higher than for the earlier periods and that pottery imported from the Aegean world (Euboea and Attica) and the Levantine coast (Phoenicia) becomes more abundant. Tomb NW 194, found in the necropolis to the north of the city, provides an excellent example; although it has been

⁹ Hermary and Iacovou (1999).

¹⁰ Karageorghis and Iacovou (1990: 98); see also Iacovou (2006: 42-3).

¹¹ Gjerstad (1977: 23, nos. 1-2, pl. I. 1-2); Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo (1989).

looted, 'it has nevertheless produced more Greek pottery of the Geometric period than any other tomb in Cyprus, except for the far better preserved Royal Tomb I at Salamis'.¹² In addition, the French mission's excavations on the acropolis, on the site of the future archaic and classical palace, have revealed a first level of occupation dated to CG III according to the abundant ceramic material, including sherds belonging to one or more Euboean skyphoi with pendent semicircle, the first of this kind from a Cypriot context. A limestone column base (diameter 47 cm) belongs to this phase and demonstrates that a relatively important building had been constructed in this area around the late ninth or early eighth century BC.¹³ Was it a first palace of the local kings? This question is again connected to that of the origins of Amathus and, more generally, to the rise of the Cypriot kingdoms. This very complex and widely debated problem concerns a critical moment in the island's history, when new political and administrative structures were created or consolidated around a 'capital' having a well-defined territory that encompassed smaller towns, villages, farms, and other agricultural settlements, as well as artisans whose work depended, to varying degrees, on the authority of the 'capital'.¹⁴ From the advent of the kingdoms down to the end of the Early Christian era, a period of at least fifteen centuries, the principle remains the same, and it will change only partially with the establishment of a capital for the entire island.

The oldest and most precise document concerning the division of the island into small kingdoms is the inscription in which, in 673 BC, the Assyrian King Esarhaddon gives a list of rulers (*sharru*) under his authority. For Cyprus ('the land of Yatnana in the middle of the sea') ten rulers are given, governing cities/kingdoms among which the names Idalion, Chytroi, Salamis, Paphos, Soloi, Kourion, Tamassos, and Ledra seem to be discernable, while the names Qartihadast and Nuria/e pose a problem of interpretation. Is, perhaps, Qartihadast the 'new town', Kition, and Nuria/e Amathus, by deformation of the name Kin-nuria or Kinyreia, 'the City of Kinyras' mentioned by Pliny and Nonnus in Roman times?¹⁵ Or could Qartihadast be Amathus and Nuria/e another city (Marion?), which would imply that Kition was not included on the Assyrian king's list? Another inscription, stored in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, provides important evidence: fragments of at least two bronze bowls, dated around the middle of the

¹² Coldstream (1995: 187).

¹³ Blandin *et al.* (2008: 133, figs. 5, 2).

¹⁴ Iacovou (2006).

¹⁵ Baurain (1981).

eighth century BC, preserve a Phoenician dedication of a ‘governor of Qartihadast, servant of Hirom, king of Sidon’, to the god Baal of Lebanon. These fragments, which first belonged to George N. Lanitis of Limassol, had been found at ‘Mouti Shinois’, between the villages of Kellaki and Sanida, north-east of Amathus. The indication is unverifiable, but it is highly likely that the discovery actually was made in the Limassol area.¹⁶ Even if we do not yet possess any document giving with certainty the original name of the city, whose Greek form ‘Amathus’ is first attested by the Greek poet Hipponax in the second half of the sixth century BC,¹⁷ the development of Amathus in the eighth century does seem to imply that it was one of the kingdoms of the island at the time. In addition to the testimony of the tombs and the first settlement on the site of the palace, the French excavations have shown that it is in the first phase of the Cypro-Archaic period (CA I), in the second half of the eighth century, that the sanctuary of the local Great Goddess, who would later bear the name ‘Aphrodite Kypria’, was established on the summit of the acropolis. The creation of this place of worship, which would become one of the most important in Cyprus, is certainly – as the case is at Kourion, at the same time, for the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates – an essential stage in the affirmation of the kingdom’s autonomy. The tombs dating from CA I found in Limassol, on the other hand, are a significant witness to the western delineation of the boundaries of its territory with that of Kourion.

It is currently impossible to estimate the number of tombs dating from this period in the history of Amathus, but it is certain that they are distributed all around the city, to the west, where, as we have seen, most of the geometric tombs are located, to the north, and to the east. A very particular type of necropolis, characteristic of a population of Phoenician origin (but probably not a ‘tophet’), was also found on the sea front, some distance to the west of the acropolis, near the Four Seasons Hotel (see below). In an exceptional way, we can complement this funerary evidence with what has been brought to light in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, in the palace area below the acropolis, and near the northern rampart of the city.

1. The Sanctuary of Aphrodite

Despite the confusion on the site of the sanctuary of Aphrodite due to the construction of a monumental temple in the late first century AD, followed by its destruction and the erection of a church and other religious buildings

¹⁶ Masson (1985).

¹⁷ Aupert (1984: 15, no. 11).

in the late sixth or early seventh century AD (fig. 2), the evidence for the occupation of the sanctuary between the mid-eighth century and the early fifth century BC is relatively abundant.¹⁸

A tomb dug on the highest point of the hill, oriented north-south, poses a delicate problem of interpretation.¹⁹ It was excavated in 1988 in an area until then known only for remains of the Early Christian era. It is impossible to define precisely the date when it was first used, even if the shape is reminiscent of tombs of the early Cypro-Geometric period, particularly at Palaepaphos-*Skales*, because no human remains were found, nor any offerings *in situ*. The fill of the tomb contained, apart from stones and elements of basins (?) in mud brick, numerous sherds of pottery all dating to CA I. At the top level, the access corridor to the chamber (*dromos*) was closed by a wall to the east and surmounted on the west by a large slab of limestone carved with 12 circular holes, one of the ‘gaming stones’ abundantly attested in Cyprus in the Bronze Age. This object appears to indicate the existence of a cult linked to this ancient tomb, which is confirmed by the presence, a few metres to the east, of a channel carved in the rock, resulting in a smaller ‘gaming stone’. Whatever the exact date of this primitive sepulchre, it precedes the first development of the sanctuary of Aphrodite, in the midst of which it acquired a sacred character.

Who was worshipped in this place? We know that in the Greek world many of the founding heroes were honoured in a sanctuary and, in Cyprus itself, the Christian writer Clement of Alexandria reports that one could see in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos the tomb of Kinyras and his descendants. For Amathus, the only literary testimony that can be applied to this discovery is a passage in Plutarch,²⁰ that reports that, according to Paion of Amathus, Theseus and Ariadne ran aground on Cyprus on their return from Crete, the young pregnant woman was left on the shore and, despite the help of local women, she died in childbirth. On his return, Theseus founded a cult in honour of the young woman and, during the celebrations, a young boy would mimic the pains of childbirth. The Amathusians called the place of the tomb of the heroine ‘the sacred grove’ (*alsos*) of Ariadne-Aphrodite. In the absence of any votive inscription, this attractive hypothesis remains unverifiable.

No monumental structure appears to have been erected in the sanctuary in the Cypro-Archaic period, but it has been possible to identify an area

¹⁸ Fourrier and Hermary (2006).

¹⁹ Hermary (1994a).

²⁰ Plutarch, *Vit. Theseus*, 20.3-7.

where animal sacrifice was practiced, and where animal bones were discovered. Moreover, the great stone vases, two deposits of pottery, a stele of Hathor, and various other offerings give an idea of the importance and nature of the cult of the goddess, who certainly was not yet assigned the name of Aphrodite.

In the absence of imposing architecture, the monolithic limestone vases that adorned the summit of the acropolis were the most spectacular elements of the site of the archaic cult. Some evidence from the nineteenth century and fragments of handles found in our excavations indicate that there must have been three of these great vases,²¹ but only two of them can be located precisely, the one in the Louvre, almost intact, and the one that remained *in situ*, very fragmentary. The vase transported to the Louvre in 1865 is a gigantic crater (ht. 1.87 m, max. diam. 3.19 m) cut from the local hard limestone. It seems to have been extracted from the hill of Anemos, west of the acropolis. The extraction and transport of this monolith of about 13 tons was quite a feat of engineering. Many travellers noted the vase (and its neighbour) starting from the late sixteenth century,²² and visitors sketched it repeatedly between the early nineteenth century and its removal by the French. During the official mission to Cyprus that he led in 1862, Melchior de Vogüé had planned to bring this exceptional monument to the Louvre, beating the English to it. The plan was realised three years later when two French warships were dispatched,²³ and the vase arrived at the Louvre in 1866. This kidnapping of one of the most remarkable witnesses of the ancient heritage of Cyprus had its precedents, such as the purchase by the Berlin Museum of the stele of King Sargon II of Assyria, discovered in 1846 at the site of Kition-*Bamboula*, or that by the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris of the famous bronze tablet of Idalion; it would be continued until the end of Ottoman rule in 1878, in the numerous excavations of the consuls posted to Larnaca, mostly those of an American of Italian origin, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, already mentioned above. Yet Amathus suffered less from such pillaging than Idalion and Golgoi. The transport of the vase to the Louvre gave rise to a polemic whose chief spokesman was the German traveller Franz von Loher. In a book published in 1878, he denounced the ‘barbarity’ of the French, because of the removal of the vase and, especially, the alleged destruction of the one that stood beside it. In fact, it does not appear that the French sailors deliberately smashed the second vase to pieces, as von Loher states:

²¹ Fourrier and Hermary (2006: 25-9).

²² Hellmann (1984: 79-87).

²³ Vivielle (1927).

resting against the other, it was already broken into several pieces in the early nineteenth century, writes J. von Hammer, and clearing the soil around the vase of the Louvre must have caused the breakup of its basin.²⁴

The vase that is intact is the only one with a figurative decoration. A bull marching toward the right is sculpted under the arch created by each of the four handles, which terminate in palmettes. In 1989 I also identified on handle no. 3 of the vase²⁵ a syllabic inscription, that had been mentioned in 1876 but wrongly located on the rim of the vase. There are only five signs, of which only the first three are legible. Following O. Masson, there is an *a*, a *na*, and, very probably, a *ta*. The first two signs form a word attested in the beginning of two other inscriptions from Amathus that undoubtedly transcribe the local language, conventionally called 'Eteocypriot'; the word is also found in graffiti on some vases. Its meaning is uncertain, but it may mean 'divinity'. In any case, a photograph of the vase taken before its removal shows that the inscription was engraved on the handle that faced east, where the entrance to the sanctuary was probably then located, as it was later.²⁶ The date of the vase is based solely on its form and decoration. It is likely that the production and dedication date to the first part of the Cypro-Archaic period, but a more recent dating cannot be totally excluded.

The presence of large stone vases is attested in several other Cypriot sanctuaries, but never on this scale. The three gigantic craters of the sanctuary of Amathus probably contained water that was necessary for the cult rituals (including banquets that followed sacrifices). The bull motif was surely not chosen at random, since it symbolised strength and fertility and had represented the male gods of Cyprus since the Bronze Age. It is found on a clay vase from the sanctuary (see below), but neither the inscriptions nor the offerings suggest the presence of a masculine cult on the summit of the acropolis of Amathus.

The oldest deposit, dating from the CA I (second half of the eighth and seventh century BC) and thus contemporary with the filling of the tomb (see above), was found in a small pit beneath the chapel of the Roman period, hence the name *bothros* given to it in the literature. Among the refuse discarded in the pit was pottery of various techniques and forms, including jugs decorated with stylised birds, typical of the production of Amathus at that time. Imported vases are extremely rare, in accordance with the desire to use almost exclusively local pottery that characterised

²⁴ Hellmann (1984: 83, 91-2).

²⁵ Based on the numbering in Hermary (1981: no. 81).

²⁶ Hermary and Masson (1990: 212-13 and fig. 29).

the sanctuary of Aphrodite until the end of the kingdom, in contrast with the palace, where the use of imported pottery was much more prevalent. The few terracotta figurines found in the deposit provide little information about the nature of the cult, but two fragments of a 'goddess with raised arms' belong to the type of representation most commonly used for the Great Goddess in the Cypro-Geometric period and in the early Cypro-Archaic. There is also a Phoenician inscription painted on the neck of a large jar (*pithos*) of local production. The six letters that make up this short text correspond to the sign of possession followed by a proper name, but two different readings have been given. M. Szynger reads *L'MRYK*, meaning 'owned by [or 'for'] 'MRYK', a name that is neither Greek nor Phoenician and could be native (Eteocypriot).²⁷ For his part, Émile Puech suggested reading *L'WRYK*, 'belonging to 'WRYK', which allows the restitution of a name like *Awarikus*, close to the name of a late-eighth century ruler of the Kingdom of Qué in Cilicia (on the southeast coast of Anatolia), a tributary of the Assyrians. Puech draws an interesting conclusion, connecting this name to that of *Wroikos*, a king of Amathus in the middle of the fifth century BC, as found on coins.²⁸ The same name is attested in the fourth century BC, in the more normal Greek form *Rhoikos*, for another king of Amathus. It is one of these two kings, probably the more ancient one, who is mentioned by lexicographers as having sent the Athenians barley after his imprisonment.²⁹ If Puech's hypothesis is correct, it would allow us to understand better the relationships that existed between Cilicia and the 'indigenous' or 'Eteocypriot' portion of the population of Cyprus, links that are also evoked in the legends of King Kinyras, whose ancestors went back to the Athenian royal family and passed through Cilicia before coming to Paphos. Whatever the case may be, we should keep in mind the presence of an inscription in Phoenician letters on a great vase of the sanctuary of the goddess in its first phase of occupation.

There is another inscribed vase of some interest. It comes from a large fill piled up in the early fifth century BC in front of a small natural cave situated in the southern part of the sanctuary that had no visible signs of cult usage within. This second large deposit also contains a considerable quantity of sherds, associated with a greater number of fragments of terracotta figurines than in the *bothros*, clearly belonging to a female cult. In this deposit was found the top portion of a large amphora of *Bichrome*

²⁷ In Fourrier and Hermary (2006: 94-5).

²⁸ Puech (2009); Amandry (1984: 58-9).

²⁹ Apert (1984: 17-18); Petit (2004: 18-22); and below.

technique – thus also of local manufacture – with a painted decoration on the shoulder on each side. It dates from the Cypro-Archaic period (probably *ca.* the sixth century BC). On one side there is a bull marching toward a highly stylised plant motif of the oriental ‘tree of life’ type and another tree that is a bit more realistic. On the other side – certainly the main one – there are two painted bulls, both lowering their heads toward an ovoid object, a stylised evocation of the flower that some bulls sniff on other Cypriot vases of this period, as in Phoenician models.³⁰ The animals are separated by a painted inscription of five lines, written in Cypriot syllabic, but difficult to interpret because there are two abbreviations (*po* and *ka*), three horizontal bars probably indicating the number 30, and some ‘symbols’ (one of them E-shaped) otherwise unknown in Cyprus. Whatever the significance of this brief inscription (the contents and capacity of the vase?), it is certainly a container for cult use, the decor of which is reminiscent of the great stone vase in the Louvre, which also bears an inscription in Cypriot syllabic and not in Phoenician like the *pithos* of the *bothros*.

The large fill in front of the cave also contained numerous remains of animals sacrificed and eaten in the sanctuary (there were fewer in the *bothros*). More than 1300 fragments have been collected and analysed by Philippe Columeau.³¹ It appears, on the one hand, that pigs were not sacrificed to the goddess of Amathus, something that would be consistent with a ban on pork that is known in other sanctuaries dedicated to Aphrodite in the Greek world. In the Cypro-Archaic period, goats and sheep made up nearly 70% of animals sacrificed, with a slight preference for goats. Cattle represent less than 20%. As was normal in the ancient world, only a portion of the animals was consumed locally. The banquets would have been held outdoors, as suggested by the decoration of a vase found at Amathus that is preserved in the British Museum.

Contrary to what occurs in the sanctuaries in the area of Idalion and Golgoi, where the best soft limestone quarries are found, stone sculpture is extremely rare in Amathus before the fifth century. The discovery of a stele (rather than a capital strictly speaking) with carvings on both sides of the head of the Egyptian goddess Hathor above a papyrus flower, dating from the second half of sixth century BC, is thus that much more interesting. The stele was found reused in an Early Christian wall in the southeastern part of the sanctuary, near the stone vases. Cut from relatively soft limestone, with a height of 1.20 m, the stele has on each

³⁰ Hermary and Masson (1990: 192-7).

³¹ Columeau (2006: 170-4).

side a woman's head resting on the papyrus flowers and surmounted by a small edifice with volutes on either side, decorated in its upper part with a winged disc and having a stylised snake in the entrance (the sacred cobra or *uraeus*). This is a Cypriot adaptation of Egyptian Hathor capitals, attested at Amathus in a series of other finds, particularly in the palace (see below). The image of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, originally represented as a cow, was the universal goddess, the wet-nurse of the ruler of Egypt, and the goddess of joy, dance, and music, also protectress of copper mines. She was known in Cyprus from the Bronze Age, but became more widespread in the Cypro-Archaic period in different media (metal reliefs, plates, intaglio, vase paintings). From around the mid-sixth century this kind of 'capitals' carved on both sides is well documented at several sites on the island, in a funerary or votive context or in royal residences. It is especially interesting that the stele of Amathus, belonging to the older group of examples, was discovered inside the sanctuary of the local Great Goddess. The assimilation of Hathor with the Greek Aphrodite, attested later in Egypt, is illustrated in Cyprus from the sixth century BC, at a time when relations between Cyprus and Egypt were important; we will see later another important witness for Amathus. We should speak of steles rather than capitals, because these monuments only rarely had an architectural function. Our example must therefore be rather close to the representations that link the Hathor stele to cult practice, for example in a female head made of limestone from the end of the Archaic period, whose high crown is decorated with a ring of Satyrs and Maenads around pillars with a Hathoric head on top, or a fragment of the 'Amathus style' in the Louvre, which shows the preparations for a sacrifice before a stele of Hathor placed on the ground.³² Presumably the stele from the sanctuary of Aphrodite was a sacred image of the goddess – but not a cult statue or architectural element – near which a religious ritual was performed. While a link between this representation and royal power can possibly be suggested in the case of the sanctuary, the same is strongly affirmed, as we shall see, in the case of the palace.

Already in the Archaic period, the goddess worshipped in the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis must therefore have been considered an a universal deity comparable to the Egyptian Hathor or the Phoenician Astarte (whom the offering of terracotta figurines of a nude woman holding her breasts brings to mind), the guarantor of fertility, symbol of seduction and eroticism, protector of the royal dynasty. It is unlikely that she had a 'personalised' name at that time, such as Aphrodite

³² Hermary (1985: passim and figs. 19 and 26).

or Astarte. In the large sanctuary of Palaepaphos-*Kouklia*, down to the fourth century BC the goddess was called ‘the Sovereign/Queen’ (*Anassa*), not Aphrodite or even ‘the goddess of Paphos’. Two dedications of King Androkles, addressed to *Kypria*, i.e., ‘the Cypriote’, and to ‘the goddess of Cyprus, Aphrodite’, constitute essential testimony about Amathus before the disappearance of the kingdom around 310 BC. This king is mentioned briefly in literary and epigraphical sources, but there is no known coinage in his name. Arrian writes that in 332 the people of Tyre, besieged by Alexander, sank the ships of Pnytagoras of Salamis, of Androkles of Amathus, and of Pasikrates of Kourion. The same author says that in 321 Androkles formed an alliance with Ptolemy against Perdikkas, as did other Cypriot kings.³³ Although these texts do not refer to Androkles as king (*basileus*), nor does Diodorus Siculus (who reports that in 315 the troops of Seleukos forced ‘the dynast of Amathus’ to provide guarantees),³⁴ there is no doubt that they refer to Androkles the king of Amathus, for an inventory of Delos, which dates to 314/313, cites among the offerings of the year a golden crown consecrated in the temple of Apollo by ‘King Androkles of Amathus’. It is therefore certain that Androkles ruled Amathus from 332 to at least 313, and it is almost certain that he was the last local sovereign, since all the kingdoms of Cyprus disappear around 310. That he did not mint coinage is surprising, however, and raises the question whether he may have taken the title of *basileus* quite late. In any case, as king he is responsible for two offerings in the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis.³⁵

The first (Limassol District Museum AM 547) is a block of white marble found reused as a threshold in the Early Christian church. The inscription is twofold: above, a syllabic text from which only three signs remain; lower down, a metrical text (an elegiac couplet), almost complete, that can be translated as follows:

‘King Androkles dedicated to the goddess of Cyprus an offerings box and this image of the beauty of his son Orestheus’.

The other inscription (Limassol District Museum AM 649) is engraved on a block of sandstone that served as the base for two bronze statues of which only the feet attachments remain. Like the other offerings, the text is twofold: above, a syllabic inscription reading from right to left whose end is missing, and lower down an alphabetical inscription only the end of which

³³ Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.22.2; Aupert (1984: 18, nos. 23, 25).

³⁴ Diodorus, 19.62.6.

³⁵ Hellmann and Hermary (1980); Hermary and Masson (1982).

survives (plus the first letter). Olivier Masson read the syllabic text as follows: [---]-ro-ko-ra-?-a-to-ro-ke-le-we-se-e-ro-ko-ro-[---]. The sequence *a-to-ro-ke-le-we-se* undoubtedly stands for the name Androkles. The preceding word and especially the one that follows show that this text is not written in Greek, but in the local language called ‘Eteocypriot’. The alphabetic text can be completed and translated as follows:

The king offers [offered images of his sons] Orestheus and Andragoras
to the goddess of Cyprus, Aphrodite.

These two texts provide important information for the history of Amathus and the cult of the local Great Goddess. It should first be noted that King Androkles wrote his dedications in both of the scripts used in Cyprus at the time, the traditional syllabic and the Greek alphabet, which, at the time of Alexander, was already rather widely employed, especially in royal dedications. Recourse to the local language in the first part of the second inscription – probably also in the other one, but the text is very poorly preserved – is indicative of a desire to preserve the ancient traditions, to claim the indigenous character of the inhabitants of Amathus, which Theopompos and Pseudo-Skylax evoked at the same time (see above). This language is certainly not an invention of the fourth century BC, as has wrongly been claimed.³⁶ In the last phase of the kingdom’s existence, a bipolar cultural trend may be seen: an adherence to ‘classic’ Hellenism, manifested in the use of the alphabet and of imported sculpture marble (see below), and a willingness to revive local particularities. Besides the language aspect, I think that we can attribute to this conservatism, or perhaps archaising spirit, the production of works such as the colossal statues of ‘Bes’ found in the area of the agora, of which we have a complete example (located in Istanbul) and various fragments.³⁷ We should also note that King Androkles and his sons bear entirely Greek names.

Another important piece of information provided by the king’s dedications involves the name of the goddess. Her assimilation to the Greek Aphrodite is not surprising, since, already in the *Odyssey*, Aphrodite retired to her sanctuary in Paphos after being surprised in the arms of Ares. The fact that the deity is designated principally as *Kypria* is interesting, because this title should not be considered to be a simple homonym of the poetic epithet *Kypris* that Aphrodite bears in Greek poetry, but an affirmation that the goddess of Amathus is the one who

³⁶ Given (1998); see the response of Petit (1999).

³⁷ Hermary (2007).

represents in the most authentic way the Great Goddess of the entire island, as opposed to *Paphia* – even if the sanctuary of Palaepaphos is the oldest and most important – or *Golgia* in the area of Idalion/Golgoi. The goddess of Amathus indeed continues to bear the name of *Kypria* or of Aphrodite *Kypria* in Hellenistic inscriptions; in a dedication of the Roman consul L. Brouttios Maximos – also addressed to the Emperor Titus – found near the north gate of the city, she is called the ‘Μεγάλη Θεά Κύπρου’, the ‘Great Goddess of Cyprus’,³⁸ an appellation that amplifies the name *Kypria* and that, even before the discovery of this inscription, was employed in modern studies.

The fact that Androkles dedicated to the goddess images of his sons is not unusual, since the custom is attested by other inscriptions of Cyprus and by the large group of limestone statues of children, especially seated boys, called ‘temple boys’, which are known in various sanctuaries of the island. This dedication, however, is particularly significant in that the goddess is the special protector of the royal dynasty. The son, most likely called Orestheus, a very rare name attested in Arcadia, appears in both texts. In the first case he is associated with an offering box, a type of object that is well documented in the Greek world. The presence of these *thesouroi* in sanctuaries is known both in the Near East and in Greece, especially for healing deities, but the inscription of a *thesauros* found in Athens indicates that one was supposed to offer a drachma to Aphrodite Ourania before marriage, which would correspond very well to the worship of the goddess of Amathus. Here the upper block of the monument is missing, but, if one can trust the inscription, it supported a statue of Orestheus. If so, it must have been small. However, the offering of marble statues of children, in the Attic style, is attested in this period in Cyprus in several examples in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion and in a beautiful head of a boy in our sanctuary of Amathus.³⁹ It is not impossible that this head belonged to the statue of little Orestheus (it was found not far from the base of the *thesauros*), but it could have been offered by another important figure of Amathus, who had the means to employ a sculptor from Athens.

2. The Palace

At mid-slope on the acropolis, above the remains of the Early Christian wall, a large building was found, only a small portion of which –

³⁸ Aupert (2006).

³⁹ Limassol District Museum AM 690; Hermary (2000: no. 999).

essentially storage spaces – was excavated by the French mission. The identification of this great building as a royal residence, a palace, will be discussed below. The classical period is the phase of occupation mainly known, but abundant material prior to the fifth century has been unearthed in the fill resulting from the destruction of the building and in a large deposit up against the northern rampart of the city. This provenance may seem surprising, given the distance separating the two locations, but a fragment belonging to an unique imported vase was discovered in the deposit, another part of which, decorated with a lion's head, was found in the palace in 1976, a fact that links the two groups of remains.⁴⁰ It is almost certain, on the other hand, that a number of objects thrown on the western slope of the acropolis (the 'terrasse Ouest' in the terminology of the excavators) also belong to the archaic palace, because it would be surprising if so many imported sherds found in this spot were from the sanctuary of Aphrodite.

The Palace in the Archaic Period

If the Qartihadast in the inscription of Esarhaddon is Amathus, the king who would have been in power in 673 was called *Bususu* (in the Akkadian transcription), but, as we have seen, this identification is speculative. Otherwise we have no names of local sovereigns before the fifth century. After the CG III phase, which was discussed above, the building was expanded, but the soundings done beneath the soil of the Classical period give only a rough idea. The abundance and diversity of objects of the Archaic period discovered in the fills of this area or in external deposits bear testimony to the exceptional characters of this dwelling.

The pottery is overwhelmingly of local origin and of the same type as in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, but such a quantity of imported vases was uncovered that only Salamis could match it (the halt in the excavations after the occupation of the site in 1974, however, prevents a reliable comparison). The local pottery, quite fine, often decorated, was mainly found in the area of the West terrace ('terrasse Ouest') by the Department of Antiquities (1960-1963).⁴¹ The vases, Aegean transport amphorae imported from Eastern Greece, are particularly well represented from the late seventh century ('Wild Goat Style')⁴² to the years 540-520 with the 'Fikellura style', a manufacture from Miletus, including fragments of an

⁴⁰ Hermary (2000: 109, no. 729).

⁴¹ They were published by E. Gjerstad and J.-P. Thalmann in Gjerstad (1977).

⁴² Gjerstad (1977: 35, nos. 161-2, pl. XVII.7-8); Thalmann (1977: 74-9, pl. VII-XIV).

amphora with an outdoor banquet scene.⁴³ There are much fewer vases imported from Corinth, the Attic black-figure sherds being slightly more abundant; they mostly come from cups,⁴⁴ but there is also a neck of an amphora decorated with a male head in the style of Lydos (circa 560-550).⁴⁵ We can add sherds found at the site of the palace itself and the fragment of the neck of a crater dating from the years 570-560.⁴⁶ Finally, the base of a cup found in the deposit of the north rampart bears the signature of the famous potter Amasis. Commercial amphorae also testify to the taste of the kings of Amathus for Aegean Greek products, especially wine. The most important group, which comes from the deposit of the north rampart, is currently under study, but it seems that, as with the fine pottery, the amphorae from Eastern Greece constitute the majority. Besides these imported amphorae, we also have, from as early as the Archaic period, a number of fragments of a local type of amphorae with horizontal basket-type handles. Some of them have marks that were incised before firing, abbreviations that may denote villages or farming communities that paid the king a tax in kind (the contents of the amphorae themselves). In the small batch found at the northern rampart,⁴⁷ a fragment of an amphora has two Phoenician letters, probably *ML* (sometimes regarded as an abbreviation of the word ‘king’, *MLK*).

A quantity of terracotta figurines found in the palace itself, on the ‘terrasse Ouest’ and in the deposit of the north rampart,⁴⁸ probably come from areas of the palace reserved for religious practices, as is known for the following phase of the structure and will be discussed below. One should mention, in particular, the relatively high number of miniature masks. Among the various small objects from the archaic palace were fragments of an Egyptian alabaster vase with a hieroglyphic inscription, of which only a few signs remain. It refers to the ‘sovereign lady of heaven’, an expression that designates Hathor or, sometimes, other goddesses.⁴⁹ Despite its very fragmentary condition, this vase provides complementary evidence for the relationship between Amathus and Egypt and constitutes the only known example in Cyprus for this period, the other cases dating back to the Bronze Age.

⁴³ Gjerstad (1977: 36, no. 176, pl. XX.5).

⁴⁴ Thalmann (1977: 82-4, pl. XIX-XXI).

⁴⁵ Gjerstad (1977: 53, no. 506, pl. LIX.1-3).

⁴⁶ Maxmin (1982).

⁴⁷ Fourrier *et al.* (2004-2005: 91-5).

⁴⁸ Hermary (2000); Fourrier *et al.* (2004-2005).

⁴⁹ D. Meeks in Fourrier *et al.* (2004-2005: 100-1).

The presence of a vase with a hieroglyphic inscription in the palace does not entail that the local sovereign and his entourage could read Egyptian texts, in contrast to the text painted on the *pithos* of the sanctuary and the letters engraved on the amphora mentioned above, which show that Phoenician was actually a language in use in Amathus. On the other hand, a short text in the Greek alphabet painted on a locally manufactured vase indicates that a third type of script was employed in the city, demonstrating a genuine multilingualism.

The Palace in the Classical Period

The beginning of the fifth century BC is marked by the destruction and reconstruction of the palace. To the extent that Herodotus can be trusted, the fifth book of his *Histories* allows us to understand the turmoil of the time.⁵⁰ In 499/498 all the kingdoms of Cyprus, except for Amathus, joined the Ionian cities that were following Miletus's lead in the revolt against Persian rule. At Salamis, King Gorgos did not wish to desert the Persian side and was overthrown by his younger brother Onesilos, who laid siege to Amathus. Although Herodotus does not say so, the city was certainly taken on that occasion, as indicated by the reconstruction of the palace in the early fifth century. Onesilos was killed in the battle in which the Persian troops defeated the Cypriots. To avenge themselves against Onesilos, the Amathusians cut off his head and displayed it above the city gates; after a time a swarm of bees settled there, and an oracle the people of Amathus consulted advised them to bury the head and establish a hero cult in honor of Onesilos. Herodotus adds that the cult still functioned in his time. Despite the destruction suffered between 498 and 494, Amathus, therefore, profited from the victory of the Persians, to whom they had remained faithful. Archaeological discoveries confirm the new prosperity that the city enjoyed in the early decades of the fifth century.

We do not know the name of the person who ruled Amathus during the Ionian revolt. The only local kings mentioned in the ancient texts, as we have seen, are Rhoikos and Androkles, the author of the dedications in the sanctuary of Aphrodite. The other sovereigns are known only by the coinage issued in their names. On the obverse, the coins are decorated with a reclining lion (or just the head, on small coins) surmounted by a bird of prey in flight, while on the reverse there is a protome of lion. The lion is a well-known symbol of royal power, but it may also be associated with the major deities of Amathus, the Great Goddess and a male god (see below

⁵⁰ Petit (2004).

for ‘Bes’ beating a lion). We can establish the following sequence of the kings, despite several difficulties.⁵¹

– Fifth century: Wroikos (*ca.* 460-450); then a king known only by the first syllable of his name, *Mo* (*ca.* 450-430?), as in the case of another king, *Lu-* (perhaps Lysandros), attested later.

– Fourth century (coins minted according to the Rhodian standard): Evagoras, king of Salamis, who briefly took control of the other kingdoms of Cyprus in the early fourth century; Pyrws, whose name has an Eteocypriot ending; Zotimos and Evetimos (dated around 385-380);⁵² Lysandros; Epipalos.

It remains to place the one called Rhoikos. It was generally thought that this was the person who, according to Hesychius and the *Suda*, sent barley to Athens after having been captured, but Petit has suggested that the latter could be the Wroikos dated around 460-450, apparently the first king of Amathus to mint coins.⁵³ But if, as is likely, the Rhoikos in the texts is the same as that of the coins of the fourth century, it is unclear whether we should date him to the middle or the beginning of the century. The latter hypothesis seems best, both from the perspective of numismatics⁵⁴ and from that of historiography. The passages by Diodorus concerning the revolt of Sidon and the Cypriot kings against the Persians state that only Salamis was besieged, the other cities having submitted, while for the war against Evagoras I in 391, Diodorus designates Amathus, Soloi, and Kition as the enemies of the king of Salamis, who, as we also know, was the friend and ally of the Athenians.⁵⁵ The victory trophy of King Milkyaton of Kition, erected in the first year of his reign (392-391) after the success of the Kitians against ‘their enemies’ (the Salaminians) and their Paphian allies, records these events.⁵⁶ It is quite possible that during this conflict, Evagoras, who seized Amathus, had imprisoned King Rhoikos and sent him to Athens.

Returning to the early fifth century, the large building that was reconstructed on the mid-slope of the acropolis was already distinguished in the Archaic period by the richness and diversity of its objects. We can make the same observation for the Classical era, even if what has been

⁵¹ Amandry (1984; 1997).

⁵² Amandry (2005: 228).

⁵³ Petit (2004).

⁵⁴ Amandry (1997: 42).

⁵⁵ Diodorus, 16.42.3-6, 16.46.1, 14.98.

⁵⁶ Yon and Szynger (1992); Yon (2005: 201 no. 1144).

excavated so far are storage facilities and not the residential area. But is it really legitimate to speak of a palace, in the absence of royal archives (which have not yet been found in any of the Cypriot kingdoms)? The accumulated evidence points in this direction. In addition to the markings on the amphorae, which continue to be attested in the Classical period, some fragments of inscribed tablets and seal impressions testify to the economic function of the structure,⁵⁷ which is also suggested in a spectacular way by the dozens of large storage jars (*pithoi*) that occupied this part of the building. The presence of places of worship and that of the image of the goddess Hathor give the ensemble a special character. Finally, a comparison between this building and the palace of Vouni near the north coast of the island is quite revealing, whether we look at the situation on the hill below the main sanctuary, the organization of the residence (with storage areas and small shrines), or the objects discovered (jewelry, imported pottery, capitals, or Hathoric stelae).

The object that best illustrates the new prosperity of Amathus after the Ionian revolt is – after the famous sarcophagus preserved in New York, discussed below – a great Hathoric stele discovered in 1983 below the palace (fig. 3).⁵⁸ The top of the monument survives, with the mutilated face of the goddess on both sides, surmounted by a high rounded coiffure, on which is placed the *naiskos* containing the sacred cobra (*uraeus*), flanked by beautiful volutes in the Greek style and crowned by a winged disk and a frieze of rosettes. Part of the polychromy is preserved on one side. This stele is of the same type as the one discovered in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and as many other examples in Cyprus, but it is distinguished by its exceptional size (originally about 170 cm tall) and the quality of the craftsmanship. It is, in fact, one of the most remarkable achievements of Cypriot art at the end of the Archaic period. The style of the face, which resembles that of the latest Greek *korai*, and of the volutes around the *naiskos* allow us to date the work to around 480. It probably had no architectural function, but symbolised the protection exercised by the local Great Goddess over the Kingdom of Amathus, and, more particularly, over the sovereign and the royal family. The place of its discovery may suggest that the stele (with another one parallel to it?) stood aside the entrance of the palace when one ascended the acropolis. From the area a little lower down we have a column base of Persian style, which may date from the same period.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Alabe and Petit (1989: 905-7, figs. 72-3).

⁵⁸ Hermary (1985; 2000: no. 969).

⁵⁹ F. Vandenaebale in Aupert *et al.* (1978: 959, fig. 40).

At the time of the palace's reconstruction, small shrines were incorporated into the building and it seems that worship was practiced until the structure was abandoned. Two of them were found in the area of workshops.⁶⁰ Near a metal workshop, two incense burners and a small, clothed *kouros* in limestone dating from the early fifth century were uncovered, so it must have served a male cult.⁶¹ The other sanctuary is more important. Located further north on the edge of the workshops, it is a sort of chapel that contained small stone sculptures, terracotta figurines, and two *tau*-shaped stones, which T. Petit has identified as sacred aniconic stones or betyles, comparable to examples from the Semitic world.⁶² A clothed male figure (possibly before the fifth century) and a *kore* holding a flower are relatively mundane in style,⁶³ but a small mutilated head appears to be wearing the *mitra* that, according to Herodotus, was characteristic of the Cypriot kings.⁶⁴ Another particularly interesting statuette is a clothed figure with a mask of a bull over his face.⁶⁵ The symbolism of the bull has already been mentioned above in connection with the vases from the sanctuary of Aphrodite, but this type of masked figure – which we know from other examples in Cyprus – evokes more specifically the ritual function in the cult of a male god. The fact that the statuette comes from a chapel of the palace suggests that the rulers of Amathus were priest-kings, as were the kings of Paphos with respect to the Great Goddess. A statue found at Golgoi-*Ayios Photios*, dating from the second half of the fourth century BC, shows a male figure holding a mask of a bull in his hand with the name 'Pnytagoras' engraved on it, which indicates that the mask probably represented the king of Salamis of the same name.

Several fragments of one sculpture that were found in the palace are also worth mentioning. The work to which they belonged was a male figure riding a ram, so in all likelihood it was an image of the hero Phrixos, mounted on the ram with the golden fleece that carried him to Colchis.⁶⁶ It dates from the second quarter of fifth century BC and, curiously, this motif, *prima facie* totally foreign to Cyprus, was used in this period in the coinage of King Sasma of Marion. This choice, perhaps indicating a family tie between the kings of Amathus and Marion, might

⁶⁰ Petit (2002).

⁶¹ Hermary (2000: no. 847).

⁶² Petit (2002: 298-304, figs. 18-21).

⁶³ Hermary (2000: nos. 761, 846); Petit (2002: figs. 12-13).

⁶⁴ Hermary (2000: no. 878); Petit (2002: fig. 14).

⁶⁵ Hermary (2000: no. 877); Petit (2002: fig. 11).

⁶⁶ Hermary (2000: nos. 976-7); Hermary (2002: 279-83, fig. 6).

be explained by the legendary genealogy linking the ‘Eteocypriot’ kings both with the Classical Greek world and ‘Ethiopia’, an origin claimed by some Cypriots; in this case, Eastern Ethiopia would be represented by Colchis, the new home of Phrixos.⁶⁷

The excavations of the palace did not produce many objects relating to the decor of palaces or to religious activities for the end of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century. Nevertheless, the size of the shops and the abundance of imported red-figure and black-glazed Attic pottery as well as of amphorae that contained wine from Mende, Cnidus, Thasos, and Chios – the best wines of the time – attest to the prosperity of the city and kingdom. After the reign of Androkles, discussed above, the intervention of Ptolemy I, the first ruler of the Ptolemaic dynasty, brought about the fall of the kingdoms of Cyprus, in 310 at the latest. A group of seven bronze coins of the Macedonian King Antigonos Monophthalmos, found on the last level of occupancy, indicates that the palace was pillaged around 306-300, and other coins, minted after 300 by Demetrios Poliorcetes, belong to the destruction layer of the edifice, which was not rebuilt.⁶⁸

Unlike elsewhere in Cyprus, our knowledge of the history of the Kingdom of Amathus is thus based on the excavations of both the principal sanctuary of the city and of the residence of the local rulers. We must supplement this with the discoveries made in the lower city and, of course, in the cemeteries.

3. The Lower City

From the Archaic period the city was surrounded by a fortification that followed the same course as the Hellenistic and Roman wall. The lower town thus must have occupied the same space, but the area of the future agora is little known for this period.

It is almost certain that the city’s first port – or internal port, as opposed to the one that was built at the beginning of the Hellenistic period – extended over a distance of approximately 220 m south-east of the acropolis, on the edge of the future agora, and thus 100/150 m back from the current shoreline.⁶⁹ In 1930, when Alfred Westholm excavated the necropolis in the framework of the Swedish mission, the quays of the port – in their Roman phase – were still identifiable. The old road roughly followed their path.

⁶⁷ Herodotus, 7.90; see Hermary (2002: passim and fig. 5) for details.

⁶⁸ Blandin *et al.* (2008: 131).

⁶⁹ Aupert (1996e: passim and pl. I.22).

The excavations of Michalis Loulloupis in the agora, then those of the French mission, led to the discovery of numerous statues, more or less fragmentary, representing the Egyptian god 'Bes' in his Cypriot interpretation.⁷⁰ Some of these fragments are of the same type and size as the colossal statue found in 1873 southeast of the acropolis and housed in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. Like the image of Hathor, that of 'Bes' is pervasive at Amathus, but it is impossible at present to give a more accurate name for this grinning bearded figure, with small horns on his head, who usually dominates one or two lions. He is surely related to the principal male god of Amathus and, therefore, to the local Great Goddess, Aphrodite of Cyprus, as the decoration of the ends of the sarcophagus of New York makes clear. The smaller statues found in the area of the agora probably date from the fifth century, while the colossus of Istanbul and the fragments of the same type are from the fourth century BC, which suggests a reemergence of the older local traditions, such as the use of the 'Eteocypriot' language.⁷¹ The large statue, preserved almost intact, was reused in Roman times as the mouth of a fountain (the water ran through the lion's head). At that time it probably stood on the edge of the port.⁷² It is very likely that there was an important place of worship, whence all the statues of 'Bes' come, to the west of the agora in the Classical period. It is tempting to link these representations of a 'master of wild beasts' similar to the Greek Heracles to a late passage in Hesychius (fifth-sixth century AD), which suggests that the Amathusians gave Heracles the name 'Malika'.⁷³

North of the agora, work on the modern hydraulic system has uncovered a tunnel with a clear religious function, as indicated by the presence of an altar surrounded by many limestone statuettes and terracotta figurines, ranging in date from the middle of the fifth century BC to the end of the Hellenistic period.⁷⁴ It is difficult to say to which deity this cult structure, the only one of its kind on Cyprus, was dedicated. One thinks of a chthonic deity or a hero cult, such as those dedicated to Ariadne-Aphrodite and Onesilos and described above. The date of the first votive statuettes and the fact that one of them is apparently the representation of a king wearing the *mitra* might suggest that it was the

⁷⁰ Tassignon (2013).

⁷¹ Hermary (2007).

⁷² The approximate location of its place of discovery in 1873 bears the number 19 in Aupert and Hellmann (1984: fig. 1).

⁷³ Aupert (1984: 23 no. 43).

⁷⁴ Flourentzos (2004).

cult of Onesilos,⁷⁵ but one cannot tell whether this could have lasted until the end of the Hellenistic period.

In the area of the northern rampart, the phases prior to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Christian periods are more difficult to perceive.

4. The Necropoleis

As with all the major archaeological sites of the island, the attraction of objects contained in tombs provoked clandestine excavations and research on grand scale in the nineteenth century, but without a scientific approach. It is impossible to determine how many tombs the agents of Luigi Palma di Cesnola discovered at Amathus and, therefore, to have an idea of their contents, but such excavations, which took place mainly in 1875 in the necropolis north of the city, brought to light exceptional pieces, including the great sarcophagus housed in New York.⁷⁶ In a letter Cesnola sent to his friend Hitchcock, dated 27 April 1875, he provides some interesting details: ‘At Amathunta a few months ago I discovered a large necropolis and before I began digging for Mr Ruskin I discovered another sarcophagus much more important and valuable than that of Golgos, unfortunately is [*sic!*] in 792 fragments! It is a real Chinese puzzle to put it together and although I have worked at it for several weeks I almost despair to succeed in putting it together. Suffice it to say that the largest piece is not 2 feet!’⁷⁷ Another letter states that the anthropoid marble sarcophagus that is also kept in New York was found on 21 June 1875. The investigations continued in 1876, but they were obviously not limited to the necropolis of Amathus itself. Indeed, in a letter to Birch of 4 April 1876, Cesnola mentions tombs containing vases and other objects clearly dating from the Late Bronze.⁷⁸ Since Amathus was not inhabited at that time, the tombs in question were probably more to the east, at Kalavasos or Maroni.

Only the most important objects attracted the attention of Cesnola, who published them shortly after their discovery. Two of them, dating from the late eighth or early seventh century BC, are from the same (?) tomb and are now kept at the British Museum.⁷⁹ a bronze shield decorated with a frieze of lions and bulls and a silver bowl (often called ‘the Amathus

⁷⁵ Flourentzos (2004: 6, no. 2, pl. VII:2).

⁷⁶ Barnett (1977); additions and corrections in Masson (1990).

⁷⁷ Quoted by Masson (1990: 15-16).

⁷⁸ Masson (1990: 16).

⁷⁹ Barnett (1977), but the excavation was not directed by G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, to whom Cesnola merely entrusted the publication of the objects.

Bowl'). The bowl is luxuriously decorated on the inside with a design of remarkable quality, divided into circular friezes. The upper one displays the siege of a city and the ravaging of its territory; in the middle level there are Egyptian gods and two figures in Assyrian garb surrounding a 'tree of life'; the smallest frieze has reclining sphinxes around a central rosette.⁸⁰ This work, originally in the possession of the famous art critic John Ruskin, patron of the Cesnola excavations at that time, belongs to the so-called 'Cypro-Phoenician' category; other magnificent specimens belonging to the same category were discovered in Idalion (now housed in the Louvre) and, by Cesnola, in the tombs of Kourion (forming part of the alleged 'Treasure of Kourion' in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York).

Yet Cesnola's most important discovery comes from another tomb, of the north necropolis, which contained the sarcophagus broken into 792 pieces, according to the letter cited above. Preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York (inv. 74.51.2453), this work, carved out of hard limestone that certainly comes from the Amathus area, is the most remarkable of a small group of sculpted sarcophagi from the end of the Archaic period, which includes the 'Golgoi sarcophagus', also in the Cesnola Collection in New York,⁸¹ and a specimen found in Palaepaphos, made by a less experienced sculptor in a naive style the expressiveness of which is enhanced by the preservation of polychromy.⁸² The decor of the three sarcophagi is different: the Palaepaphos example favours mythological scenes (Odysseus with Polyphemus, Heracles at the first siege of Troy [?], Ajax carrying the body of Achilles); that of Golgoi is closer to Greek models of the time of the 'severe style' with only one mythological episode (Perseus and the Gorgon) alongside scenes of the hunt and of a banquet, in addition to the image of the official in a chariot. The patron of the Amathus sarcophagus wished to emphasise the sovereign's power on the two long sides, while the two main deities of the city and kingdom adorn the ends.⁸³ The procession that decorated the two long sides displays, behind two horsemen, a figure in a chariot wearing the *mitra* and protected by an umbrella (poorly restored by Cesnola's men as it was not held by the person but was attached on the box of the chariot), which is undoubtedly the king of Amathus. He is followed by his 'court', composed of seven male figures mounted on three chariots, and by three footsoldiers who bring up the rear. The image is in the tradition of the

⁸⁰ Markoe (1985: 172-4, no. Cy 4); Hermary (1986).

⁸¹ Schollmeyer (2007).

⁸² Flourentzos (2007b); Raptou (2007: 311-26).

⁸³ Stylianou (2007); Hermary and Mertens (2014: no. 490); see also Petit (2006).

parades of Oriental sovereigns, attested in Cyprus from the beginning of the Archaic period in ‘Cypro-Phoenician’ bowls of precious metal. The protection that the local deities continue to exercise in the afterlife over the deceased king is shown in the carvings on the ends, four nude women holding their breasts and four ‘Bes’ dancing. These are probably not images of the Great Goddess herself, nor the male god, but of minor deities or ‘demons’ in their entourage that symbolise their power and their prophylactic function both in the afterlife and on earth. The presence of the sphinx on the lid reinforces these symbols of protection, while complementary plant decoration, composed of ‘trees of life’ and ivy branches, expresses hope in a form of survival in the other world. According to the style of the sculpture, this remarkable work, the polychromy of which has been restored to a great extent,⁸⁴ dates to the first quarter of the fifth century BC. It is difficult to say whether the king buried in the sarcophagus was the one who governed Amathus at the time of the Ionian revolt, but in any case the monument testifies to the exceptional prestige of the dead sovereign and to the power of the kingdom in that era, also attested by the large Hathoric stele found below the palace.

A marble sarcophagus belonging to the so-called ‘anthropoid’ or ‘Sidonian’ category, because of its Phoenician origin, is another discovery by Cesnola that is noteworthy, especially since two other specimens were found at Amathus: one of them, carved out of the hard local limestone, comes from the English excavations of 1894 (conserved in the British Museum), the other from the excavations of the Department of Antiquities (Limassol, District Museum inv. 770/18). These works are important because they illustrate the presence of people of Phoenician origin in the ‘court’ of Amathus or amongst some of the richest families residing in the city.⁸⁵ It is indeed revealing that this type of sarcophagus is attested in the Phoenician kingdom of Kition and in Amathus in Cyprus and in Phoenician or Punic cities in the rest of the Mediterranean world.⁸⁶ These three sarcophagi, which range from the mid-fifth century (the one in the British Museum) to the early fourth century at the latest (the one in the Cesnola Collection), along with the rare Phoenician inscriptions found on the site, could only mean a limited presence of Phoenicians in Amathus, but the discovery of a tophet-like necropolis in 1992 suggests the existence of a larger Phoenician community from the Archaic period.

⁸⁴ Hendrix (2001).

⁸⁵ Hermary (1987); Hermary and Mertens (2014: no. 496).

⁸⁶ See Lembke (2001).

The major development projects, related mainly to construction for tourism, have led to the discovery of hundreds of tombs around the ancient city of Amathus since the late 1970s. The material found in more than 250 of them was published in collaboration between the Department of Antiquities and the École française d'Athènes,⁸⁷ while the remainder is known only through some articles and in the 'Chronique des fouilles', published annually in the *BCH*. Among the most important discoveries is that of the cremation necropolis that stretched along the shore, only part of which has been excavated by the Department of Antiquities, the rest having been destroyed during the construction of the Four Seasons Hotel, several hundred metres west of the acropolis of the city. A considerable quantity of vases containing the ashes of individuals of various ages had been deposited in the sand, sometimes stacked on several levels, accompanied by small offerings and animal bones. It appears that the oldest vases date back to the ends of the Cypro-Geometric period, but most of the funeral urns certainly date from the Archaic period. This type of burial complex is unique to Cyprus. Relations with the Phoenician world are reflected in the many 'Red Slip' vases serving as funerary urns and in the offerings deposited in the vases or on the side, but especially in the arrangement of the tombs deposited in the sand and in the practice of incineration, very uncommon in Cyprus. The best comparisons are with some necropoleis on the Levantine coast, like that of Achziv, or with the *tophets* of western Phoenician areas. For this reason, the term '*tophet* of Amathus' has been used, but this is certainly inappropriate, less because of the absence of inscribed stelae, little attested at that early age in the *tophets* of the Occident, than because of the presence of individuals of various ages, not just children in infancy, which is the rule in true *tophets*. There exists a valuable anthropological study on this issue,⁸⁸ but, unfortunately, only a general overview of the discovery has been published since 1992, even though it is of exceptional importance for understanding the Phoenician presence in Amathus.⁸⁹

We can draw a certain number of tentative conclusions based on the many tombs belonging to the era of the kingdom – although in many cases they were reused down to imperial times. As elsewhere in Cyprus, the richest tombs were built in stone. The most remarkable that has been preserved, and most probably the oldest, was discovered by the Swedish mission in 1930; it is currently within the grounds of the Amathus Beach

⁸⁷ Karageorghis *et al.* (1987-1991).

⁸⁸ Agelarakis *et al.* (1998).

⁸⁹ Christou (1998). For Phoenician vases contained in tombs 113-367, see Bikai (1987-1991).

Hotel.⁹⁰ An interesting group, still unpublished, may be found in the eastern necropolis of the city. The exact origin of a stone lintel with the longest ‘Eteocypriot’ inscription currently known remains uncertain. It was found in two pieces in a tomb in 1896 (it was then transported to the Louvre), but no other funerary text of that length is known on Cyprus.⁹¹

Most tombs were simply carved into the relatively soft rock. They consist of a corridor (*dromos*) giving access to one or more chambers. The dead, almost always buried, are placed on the floor or on a bench carved into the rock. The use of stone sarcophagi or coffins made of wood is rare. The offerings mainly consist of pottery of local manufacture, some of which decorated in the so-called ‘Amathus style’. These vessels, which date mostly from the late Archaic period, are also well documented in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and in the palace, where they are more fragmentary. They bear a figurative or plant design that is most often linked to fertility and to divine protection, such as those decorated with the head of the goddess Hathor, comparable to that of the limestone stelae. The imported vessels – that is to say, for the Classical period, the red-figured, white-ground, or black-glazed Attic pottery – are rare. Locally produced terracotta figurines, shaped or molded and painted, are often deposited with the dead. They are of the same type as those offered in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and in the palace, but their good state of preservation allows us to define the technical and stylistic characteristics of a production that differs from that of the other Cypriot kingdoms.⁹²

For this era we possess few funerary stelae that are inscribed or decorated in relief, but one should mention the discovery, in the English excavations of 1893-1894, of a stele erected in memory of Idagygos son of Aristokles of Halicarnassus, ‘servant of Ares’, the longest alphabetical inscription prior to the fourth century BC found in Cyprus. Dated to the mid-fifth century BC, it provides interesting evidence for the presence of high-ranking mercenaries in Amathus, perhaps within the framework of the Athenian campaign against the Persians, led by Cimon.

Amathus under Ptolemaic Rule (294-58/30 BC)

For about two and a half centuries Cyprus was part of the kingdom of the Ptolemies, with a short interruption when the island was first annexed by Rome in 58 BC. Julius Caesar returned it to Cleopatra VII, but the defeat

⁹⁰ Christou (1996: 76-81, pl. XVIII-XIX).

⁹¹ Masson (1961/1983: 204-6, nos. 194-5, pl. XXIX.1 and XXVIII).

⁹² Fourrier (2007: 63-70).

and suicide of Antony and Cleopatra resulted in its definitive attachment to Rome in 30 BC.

Amathus, now a city-state of the Greek sort, was no longer a leading city on the island, since Nea Paphos became the administrative and military capital. Yet the early Hellenistic period is marked by a spectacular construction project, the external port of the city, whose course is still visible today. In the absence of a detailed publication of the excavations conducted by the French mission between 1984 and 1986, the findings of earlier studies will be presented.⁹³ Located across from the agora, south-east of the acropolis, the port is in the form of a rectangular basin measuring approximately 100 m from north to south and 180 m from east to west. The pier was constructed with gigantic limestone blocks weighing up to 3 tons each. Tony Kozelj has been able to reconstruct the machine used to put these blocks in place.⁹⁴ Numbering about 5000, they formed a platform 11 m wide in the east and west and 18 m wide in the south. The quays were protected on the seaside by a breakwater. The entrance, located to the southeast, was only 20 m wide. The pottery associated with the foundations of the piers dates to around the late fourth century BC; this suggests that this impressive structure may date from the period when the Macedonian King Demetrios Poliorcetes had taken control of the island, in which case he may have intended to attack his rival Ptolemy I in Egypt from this naval base. The hypothesis is very attractive, but it is not impossible that the new port was built by Ptolemy himself, after his takeover of the island, and that it soon silted up and was abandoned.

Other evidence demonstrates that Amathus underwent significant changes in the decades after the fall of the kingdom. A statue base found in the early twentieth century in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, but which vanished after its publication, shows that the use of the local language, 'Eteocypriot', had not completely disappeared, while the Greek alphabet was officially imposed. The alphabetic portion of the text informs us that the city of Amathus donated the monument⁹⁵ in honour of a person named Ariston son of Aristonax, designated as 'eupatrides', that is to say, as a member of a family of the local aristocracy.⁹⁶ The two names attest to that claim to 'excellence' that is found in local onomastics down to the imperial period (the name Ariston, 'Best', is attested in Amathus more than anywhere else in Cyprus). Some families of Amathus certainly continued to present themselves as the guardians of the oldest traditions of

⁹³ Empereur (1996).

⁹⁴ Empereur (1996: 166-7, figs. 67-8).

⁹⁵ This formula is characteristic of the Hellenistic period, despite Petit (2007b).

⁹⁶ Masson (1961/1983: 206, no. 196, pl. XXIX.2).

the city and of the entire island, especially in the cult of *Kypria*, the ‘goddess of Cyprus’.

But aside from these ‘old Amathusians’, there are indications that a new population inhabited the city early in the Hellenistic period, probably at the instigation of the Ptolemaic rulers. Thus, the necropolis of Amathus alone has yielded funerary stelae painted in the Thessalian or Macedonian style, examples of which are also known in Alexandria. One of them is of a warrior named Nikogenes, from the island of Kalymnos, and on another a small Eros stands beside a couple, apparently inspired by a statue of the famous Lysippos.⁹⁷ In addition, Swedish archaeologists have discovered the tomb of a person whose cremated remains were deposited in an alabaster vase, probably a high-ranking figure in the Ptolemaic administration or the army.⁹⁸ Finally, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and in a few tombs some terracotta figurines in the ‘Tanagra Style’ were found (originally an Attic production), a type little known in Cyprus, but abundant in Alexandria. Whether they were brought by the Ptolemies or came voluntarily, foreigners appear to have been relatively numerous in Amathus in the early Hellenistic period, to judge from the funerary stelae erected in memory of individuals both from Greece proper and from Libya, Egypt, Babylon, and even Arabia.

From the perspective of religion, the sanctuary of Aphrodite did not witness any significant changes in the third century BC, although the cult of Arsinoe II, wife of Ptolemy II, assimilated with the goddess Aphrodite after her death in 270, was certainly important in Amathus. Indeed, on the site there were found a half-dozen inscriptions on plaques or colonnettes (of altars or parts of altars) with the words “Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου” (‘of Arsinoe Philadelphos’), a reflection of the cult of the deified sovereign.⁹⁹ This worship was practiced in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, as shown by an inscription found long ago,¹⁰⁰ but also in the lower city, to the west of the agora, where P. Flourentzos believes to have located an *Arsinoeion*, a sanctuary of the queen herself.¹⁰¹

The first redevelopment of the large area stretching from south-east of the acropolis to the sea (fig. 4) and, in all likelihood, corresponding to the agora mentioned in an inscription of the early imperial period, which was found reused for the church of St Tykhon, probably dates to the third

⁹⁷ Hermary (1987: 72-5).

⁹⁸ Gjerstad *et al.* (1935: 136-8, pl. XXIX, 5-7).

⁹⁹ For Cyprus in general, see Anastassiades (1998).

¹⁰⁰ Fourier and Hermary (2006: 6, pl. 1, 1).

¹⁰¹ Flourentzos (2007a).

century BC.¹⁰² The first phase of the double portico, which closed the agora to the west, is difficult to date, but it is almost certain that the first phase of the *balaneion* (the bathhouse, which extends along the south side) goes back to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. It was a rotunda with at least two sets of fourteen slipper baths, twenty-eight in all. There were several rooms to the north, one of them decorated with a mosaic of black and white pebbles. In a second phase, only the tubs of the eastern part remained in use, and two large bath tubs were built in the southwest. This type of bath structure is well known in the Greek world, but in Cyprus it had been attested only at Kition. The *balaneion* of Amathus, very well preserved, has not yet been studied in detail.

Whatever meaning we assign to the construction of the port, and despite the presence of foreigners in the city, Amathus was probably not among the cities most favoured by the Ptolemies. The fact that, unlike Paphos, Salamis, and Kition, Amathus had no mint for coinage is significant, as is the very limited number of bases of votive statues (and inscriptions in general) from this period found on the site. In this respect, an epigraphical text found at Argos, dated 168-165 BC, must be mentioned. This inscription records a donation made in the Greek city by the Ptolemaic kings and the cities of Cyprus: Salamis and Kition contributed 208 drachmas, Kourion 172, and Paphos one hundred, but the Amathusians offered only forty-one drachmas, the same amount as Golgoi and Karpasia.¹⁰³ This distribution does not, however, give an accurate picture of the resources and power of the Cypriot cities at that time, because the contribution of Paphos is also relatively low. In any case, archaeological finds attest to renewed activity in Amathus in the second century and until the definitive annexation of the island by the Romans in 30 BC.

In the sanctuary of Aphrodite the architectural transformations consist primarily in the construction of a Doric portico in the southern zone, where the monumental temple will be built later, and of a small edifice that could be a banquet room.¹⁰⁴ A dedication from the time of Ptolemy VIII (144-118 BC) further informs us that the Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis were now worshiped alongside Aphrodite, with other 'associated gods' who are not named, although certainly Queen Arsinoe was among them, as we have seen.¹⁰⁵ Another inscription, collected by the English

¹⁰² The inscription is a decree in honour of a person who had financed works or festivals in the agora, see Nicolaou (1999: 252).

¹⁰³ Aupert (1982).

¹⁰⁴ Fourrier and Hermary (2006: 38-46).

¹⁰⁵ Hermary (1988: 102, no. 6).

mission in Ayios Tykthonas at the late nineteenth century (today preserved in the British Museum), is a decree of which only a part survives.¹⁰⁶

Under the priest of Aphrodite of Cyprus Charinos, son of Charinos, former strategos, former gymnasiarch, and former magistrate, for the protection of Amathusians and the harvest, the *hegetor* Ariston, son of Euphranor, former strategos, former gymnasiarch, and former magistrate, has suggested that the usual sacrifices be performed [...].

Even if the end is difficult to restore, the text indicates the existence at Amathus of local judiciaries of the same sort as in the other major cities of Cyprus, and it confirms the record of the lexicographer Hesychius according to which a *hegetor* is a priest who, in Cyprus, regulates the sacrifices offered to Aphrodite.

Further evidence for the association of Aphrodite, Isis, and other deities comes from a deposit of terracotta figurines found at mid-slope on the acropolis, below the palace. The sanctuary whence they come has not yet been identified (it is unlikely that they were brought there from the summit of the acropolis). From the thousands of fragments brought to light, a catalogue of nearly 1000 items provides us with a good image of a cult devoted to one or more female divinities, in a context marked by local traditions (figurines of Aphrodite holding her breasts) and a strong presence of images of Isis, but also of Artemis or Dioscuri, with many figures referring to the cult ritual, such as images of musicians or hydria carriers.¹⁰⁷ A number of these types are attested in the tunnel discussed above, where the cult seems to have been revived at the end of the Hellenistic period.

The most visible alterations, however, occurred in the lower city, especially in the agora.¹⁰⁸ The western part of the square is bounded by a double portico – perhaps erected in the third century BC – which forms the transition between the agora and the building located further west, probably a sanctuary whence come the statues of ‘Bes’ and the inscription of Arsinoe Philadelphos. The construction on the south of a portico perpendicular to the double stoa shows a desire to develop this area, marked by the presence of the *balaneion*. Is this Doric portico, of good craftsmanship, the one mentioned in an inscription dating from the time of Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra, ‘gods Philometores’ (161-145 BC)?

¹⁰⁶ Hermary (1988: 102); see also Hermary and Fourier (2006: 7-8, fig. 4).

¹⁰⁷ Queyrel (1988).

¹⁰⁸ The thesis of J.-P. Prête on this issue is still unpublished; see Aupert (2009: 28-32).

The text says that Onesikrates, son of Onesikrates, dedicated the gate and the thirteen capitals of the stoa opposite (or near) the double stoa, which corresponds well to the architectural layout of the area, uncovered in the excavations of the French mission.¹⁰⁹ Although the stone, now held in the Limassol District Museum, has no exact provenance (it was in a private collection), its connection to the construction of the south stoa of the agora is likely. There was probably also a gymnasium in the area, near the *balaneion*. The presence of one or more such structures is normal in every Hellenistic Greek city and there is relevant epigraphical evidence in several cities of Cyprus. This is also the case for Amathus. One inscription preserved in the British Museum (see above) mentions two persons who were strategoi, gymnasiarchs, and judges. Another, found reused in a Byzantine wall near the church of St Tykhon, was engraved on a small altar dedicated to Heracles in the first year of the reign of Cleopatra VII (43/42 BC), while Soteles, son of Glaukias, was gymnasiarch.¹¹⁰ A third, found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, roughly contemporary with the second, mentions ephebes led by a certain Philokrates, who must have perform the role of ‘the archon of the ephebes’ (ephebarch) in the gymnasium.¹¹¹

The agora best illustrates the transformations that Amathus underwent in the late Hellenistic period, especially from the second century BC, when the Ptolemies concentrated more resources in Cyprus after the Seleucids occupied cities on the Levantine coast, such as Tyre and Sidon. In the western section of the site, a double portal opens to what was probably the space of worship, which extended to the west. To the south, a carefully constructed stoa lined the main access route to the agora, forming a monumental vestibule for the *balaneion* and presumably the gymnasium. The interior of the site and, especially, its eastern portion are not well understood for this period, but the first phase of the fountain built in the north certainly dates from the Hellenistic period. Overall, from an architectural point of view, the agora of Amathus is the best known in Cyprus in this period.

It is difficult to define the layout of the northern part of the city in this era, even if an initial redevelopment of the northern gate may be dated towards the end of the Hellenistic period. However, the discovery of a female head in marble, that can be dated toward the end of the second century BC (fig. 5), probably indicates, given the scarcity of marble

¹⁰⁹ Prête *et al.* (2002: 558-68).

¹¹⁰ Nicolaou (1997: 267-9, no. 1).

¹¹¹ Fourrier and Hermary (2006: 12, pl. 6 , 4).

sculptures in Amathus and in Cyprus in general, the close proximity of a place of worship, perhaps another sanctuary of Aphrodite, as we shall see in relation to a later inscription.¹¹²

The Imperial Era

Even if we fix the end of this period in the early fourth century AD, by considering Late Antiquity, or the Early Christian period (fourth-seventh century), separately, the successive rearrangements are very important throughout this period, both in the sanctuary of the summit of the acropolis and in the lower city, especially at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century AD as well as at the end of the second and in the third century.

1. The First Hundred Years

In 22 BC Cyprus became a senatorial province of the Roman Empire, but the island no longer had the strategic and economic importance it enjoyed under the Ptolemies. The fact that Amathus was, just as Paphos, a city of Aphrodite, the legendary ancestor and protector of the imperial dynasty, together with the particularities of her religious traditions and legends obviously caught the attention of Latin poets, who had access to works on local history dating from the era of Ptolemaic rule, like that of Paion mentioned above. A passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a poem composed at the beginning of the reign of Augustus, is particularly significant. The poet tells both the story of the Propoetides who, having dared to deny the divinity of Venus, were 'the first that desecrated their charms' and were eventually turned into stone, and that of the metamorphosis into bulls of the Cerastes, horned figures who sacrificed their guests on the altar of 'Jupiter the Hospitable' (Zeus Xenios).¹¹³ The presence of bulls in the religious iconography of Amathus, most importantly on the large stone vase from the sanctuary of Aphrodite, and of figures wearing a mask of a bull, as with the statuette of the palace, may have given rise to this kind of legend,¹¹⁴ as is the case with the surprising appearance of the local 'Bes'. This iconography does not have a negative value, however, while in Ovid's metamorphosis it is related to human sacrifice, of which we have so far found no trace at Amathus. Similarly,

¹¹² Hermary (2006).

¹¹³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.220-42; see Aupert (1984: 19, no. 29).

¹¹⁴ O'Bryhim (1999).

the cult practiced around ‘baetyls’, stone stood erect, could be the source of the story on the Propoetides, for which we have no other literary or epigraphic testimony.

The reorganization of the city appears to have been limited at this time. Again, this is most evident in the agora, since it was under Augustus or Tiberius that the north and east porticos were built, giving the space its final structure. The west portico was also completely redesigned during this period, as was a small cult edifice in square in front of it, which already existed in the Hellenistic period. We know that a major event occurred at the time in the religious history of Cyprus and of Amathus in particular. The Latin historian Tacitus relates that in 22 AD the Roman Senate required all Greek sanctuaries to justify retaining the right of asylum that they enjoyed and that was leading, it appears, to some excesses. The relevant passage is as follows:¹¹⁵

Then came the Cyprians on behalf of three shrines, the oldest of which had been set up by their founder Aerias to the Paphian Venus, the second by his son Amathus to Venus of Amathus, and the last to Jupiter of Salamis, by Teucer when he fled from the wrath of his father Telamon.

As a later inscription found in material reused in the agora indicates, the right of asylum was indeed confirmed and, thanks to the prestige of its principal sanctuary, Amathus thus enjoyed, not only in Cyprus, but in the eyes of the Romans, the status of one of the most remarkable cities of the island, which explains the construction, albeit many decades later, of a monumental temple dedicated to the goddess. Meanwhile, little seems to have changed in the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis, where the offerings were few in number in comparison to the dedications found in the sanctuary at Palaepaphos or in that of Apollo Hylates at Kourion. A new dwelling appeared further down the hill, however, west of the excavated area of the palace.

The area of the city situated near the northern wall provides the best evidence for the occupation of Amathus at the beginning of our era. In particular, ‘building III’, a vast edifice, has yielded numerous objects from this period: one room (‘Room 5’) had a stucco cornice decorated in relief with lozenges, a cock, a dolphin, and a bust of Helios.¹¹⁶ This type of decoration, which one can compare to some examples in Pompeii, seems to be unique to Cyprus.

¹¹⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.62.

¹¹⁶ Aupert (2000: 537-40, fig. 17).

It is difficult to determine the date of the numerous inscribed funerary cippi from the necropolis of the city, but also from Limassol and various villages or farms in the environs. Their testimony on the population of the city is not negligible, but they have almost never been found in connection with tombs. Regarding the population of the early imperial era, there arises the question of the Jewish community, which is mentioned in an account of the first Christian conversion of Cyprus, following the mission of St Paul. The account is interesting, even if the text, the *Acts of Barnabas*, dates from the fifth century AD. When Barnabas and his disciples Heraclides, Mnason, and Rhodon arrived at Amathus, coming from Kourion,

there was a great multitude of Greeks [pagans] in the temple on the mountain [undoubtedly, that of Aphrodite on the summit of the acropolis], low women and men pouring libations. There also Barjesus, getting the start of us, gained over the nation of the Jews, and did not allow us to enter into the city; but a certain widow woman, eighty years old, being outside of the city, and she also not worshipping the idols, coming forward to us, took us into her house one hour. And when we came out we shook the dust off our feet over against that temple where the libation of the abominable took place.¹¹⁷

No other evidence, literary or archaeological, provides more information about the Jewish community of Amathus.

2. Changes in the Late First and Early Second Century AD

In Amathus, as in many other cities of Cyprus, the Flavian era and Trajan's reign mark an important stage in urban evolution and, especially, in the architecture of sanctuaries. With regard to the latter, the arrival in Cyprus of the future emperor Titus before his Judea campaign in 69 AD certainly played an important role. In fact, he consulted the goddess Aphrodite in her sanctuary at Palaepaphos and the priest Sostratos relayed to him very happy omens for his mission.¹¹⁸ Coming to power in 79, Titus perhaps wanted to thank the goddess for her protection, but the reorganization that one observes in the late first century in the sanctuary at Palaepaphos and in Amathus could also be explained by the earthquake that destroyed part of the island in 77 AD.

¹¹⁷ *Acta Barnabae*, 20-1, in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. XVI; Aupert (1984: 23, no. 44).

¹¹⁸ Tacitus, *Histories*, 2.2-4.

Whatever the case, we have important archaeological evidence in Amathus for this period. The discoveries in the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis, in particular three silver coins that come from a foundation deposit, demonstrate that the monumental temple to the goddess was constructed sometime between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century AD.¹¹⁹ In addition, a stele discovered at the entrance to the city, near the north gate, provides very important testimony that can correct and complement that from another stele very similar in contents. Both texts can be translated as follows:¹²⁰

Text A (discovered *in situ* near the north gate): ‘To the Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus and the Great Goddess of Cyprus Aphrodite, Lucius Bruttius Maximus, proconsul, has restored, as a sacred place, the space between the stelae, year two (of the reign)’.

Text B (found reused in Ayios Tykhonas): ‘To the Cypriote Aphrodite and the Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Lucius Bruttius Maximus, has consecrated, as a sacred place, the space between the stelae, the year two (of the reign)’.

Both texts thus concern the reconstruction (rather than the construction itself) of a place of worship dedicated both to the Emperor Titus and to the main deity of Amathus, who for the first time in the ancient texts is named the ‘Great Goddess of Cyprus’. The dedication was made by the proconsul himself, the highest representative of Rome on the island, in 79/80, the second year of the reign of Titus. This reconstruction is not related to the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis, but to a place of worship that was in the lower town, in the area around the north gate or in the agora. It is possible that the female head in marble mentioned above was part of a statue that had been offered to the same sanctuary earlier.

Parallel to this, a monumental temple was erected for the goddess on the summit of the acropolis. In other areas of the ancient world, the construction of a temple of the Greek type was a common occurrence, but this was not the case in Cyprus. In fact, no monument of this sort was ever consecrated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos, the most important on the island, and only the temple of Zeus at Salamis and that of Apollo Hylates at Kourion can be compared to that of Amathus. All three were constructed in the local limestone, not imported marble, and they have no sculpted decoration. The temple of ‘Aphrodite Kypria’ at

¹¹⁹ Hermary (1994b).

¹²⁰ Aupert (2006).

Amathus was completely destroyed during the erection of the Christian church, around the early seventh century AD, but the excavations of the French mission brought to light a portion of the krepis, the course of the foundations, and a significant number of dispersed architectural elements, allowing a reconstruction of the edifice. The structure incorporated quite original characters.¹²¹ Relatively small (about 32 x 15 m) compared to many temples in the Eastern Mediterranean, but much larger than the temple at Kourion, it is built on a krepis of three steps and not on a podium. Divided into a pronaos, a cella without interior supports, and probably an adyton (a room that could not be accessed from the back of the temple), the temple's facade faced east with four detached columns ('prostyle' plan), while there were engaged pilasters around the entrance, the lateral walls, and at the back. The columns and pilasters were crowned with what are called 'Nabataean' capitals, because of the examples found in Petra in Jordan and in other monuments of the ancient Nabataean kingdom. This kind of capital was originally designed to be similar to Corinthian capitals, but without the plant motifs they have a more geometrical and austere look. This particular form, completely unknown in Greece, Asia Minor, and even on the coast of the Levant, most likely originated in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. In Cyprus, there are examples in the temple of Apollo at Kourion and in isolated specimens at Salamis and Kition. Despite their very fragmentary state, the capitals of the temple of Amathus, one of which was recently made on a reduced scale,¹²² can be considered the most remarkable of the Cypriot examples and, probably, of the entire catalogue of 'Nabataean' capitals. Nothing is known of the internal appearance of the monument and of the 'cult statue' of the goddess, which must have stood in the cella. The discovery of a small marble 'baetyl' or sacred stone of the kind that stood in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos seems to indicate that the goddess of Amathus was also evoked in a non-figurative ('aniconic') form.¹²³ Next to the temple a chapel (*naiskos*) was erected around the same time, whose function remains uncertain. Soundings executed under the central nave of the Christian church have shown that there were other structures contemporary with this phase of the sanctuary. Around the same period or a little earlier, an individual named Loukios Vitellios Kallinikos built an access stairway and a vaulted passage going to the top of the hill on the eastern side of the acropolis, as an inscription in the rock records.¹²⁴ A

¹²¹ Hermary and Schmid (1996: 122-9).

¹²² Bessac and Raboteau (2002).

¹²³ Hermary (2000: no. 1030).

¹²⁴ Aupert (1996d).

street lined with columns crowned with Nabataean capitals – much less carefully made than those in the temple – probably led from this eastern access to the sanctuary proper.

The ‘Nabataean style’ is further attested in the agora, where various sizes of capitals were found that are probably contemporary with those of the temple on the acropolis. Perhaps some of these capitals adorned a small edifice near the eastern portico.¹²⁵ The fountain located to the north of the agora was redone in the same period.

The revival of the cult of Aphrodite at the end of the first century AD raises questions about the text of Pausanias, written some sixty years later. As regards the works of art attributed to the god Hephaistos, the *periegetes* mentions a necklace preserved in Amathus, in ‘an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite’, which he calls ‘the sanctuary of Adonis’ later. This necklace was sometimes thought to be the legendary necklace of Eriphyle mentioned by Homer, but Pausanias disputes this.¹²⁶ The fact that this place of worship was partly or entirely dedicated to Adonis prevents us from identifying it with that of *Kypria* on the summit of the acropolis, because neither inscriptions nor offerings support the existence of a cult of Adonis or any other male god associated with that of the goddess. The dedications of the consul L. Bruttius Maximus are addressed to the Emperor Titus and to Aphrodite, but the fact that one of them (‘inscription A’ above) was discovered near the northern gate of the city is important, because in the same area the excavation of a cistern in 2008 yielded a bronze *oinochos*, or wine jug, with an exceptional dedication (fig. 6): a certain ‘Onesikrates, also called Eunous, son of Achaïos, made the offering to Helios Adonis, in the year 40, the 7th of the month Romaios’.¹²⁷ The mention of a specific date – 7 August in 9 or 18 AD, whether the chronological era of reference begins in 31 (the date of the Battle of Actium) or in 22 BC (Cyprus coming under the authority of the Roman Senate) – could be explained by a festival celebrated on that day, but so far the god to whom the offering was presented has not been attested at Amathus, nor elsewhere in Cyprus, nor, it seems, in the rest of the Greek or Roman world. For Amathus, however, one must keep in mind the late testimony of Stephanos of Byzantium (sixth century AD), who defines it as ‘a very ancient city of Cyprus where Adonis-Osiris was venerated, a god of Egyptian origin adopted by the Cypriots and Phoenicians’.¹²⁸ These two passages appear to correspond to the dual nature of Adonis, Aphrodite’s young lover, killed by a boar, who was shared

¹²⁵ Prête *et al.* (2002: 568).

¹²⁶ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.41.2-5; Aupert (1984: 21, no. 38).

¹²⁷ Aupert (2008: 349-70).

¹²⁸ Aupert (1984: 22, no. 42a).

between the world of the dead (like Osiris) and that of the Celestial Aphrodite, the domain of Helios, the Sun.

Ultimately, the various sources available show that the great Roman sanctuary of the city remained that of the 'Aphrodite of Cyprus' at the summit of the acropolis, but that the goddess was joined with the imperial cult in the lower town, in a place that has not been precisely identified. The sanctuary that was west of the agora, where the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos was celebrated under the Ptolemies and where the statues of 'Bes' probably stood, could have been devoted to a divine couple, as perhaps was the underground sanctuary, although the latter does not seem to have been popular after the Hellenistic period.

Apart from the literary texts already mentioned, an inscription informs us about the worship of Zeus Meilichios, whose chthonic character is well attested in Greece.¹²⁹ Another inscription, found at the base of the acropolis, tells of the cult of Theos Hysistos,¹³⁰ a name that may involve the Greek Zeus as much as oriental gods, especially the Jewish Yahve.

All of these witnesses taken together provide a complex image of the religion of Amathus, combining the oldest cult traditions, reinterpreted and perhaps sometimes misunderstood by literary authors, with accretions under the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire. The fact that the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis is the only one that has been excavated and identified contributes to this difficulty in understanding the local religion, which is clearly original in the context of Cyprus.

We can add to this rapid panorama some magical texts, inscribed on lead or gypsum plates, which probably date from the third century AD. These plead for success in the law courts or in love affairs, invoking against opponents demons whose names usually remain obscure.¹³¹

3. The Final Transformations of the Pagan City

It is difficult to determine whether the repression of the Jewish revolt under the Emperor Trajan in AD 115/116 had consequences as serious as the texts suggest on the island. Yet one is struck by the small number of archaeological finds that can be attached to the time of Hadrian and his successors, contrary to what one observes elsewhere. It is likely that the temple of Aphrodite was completed in haste, as the summary construction of the access stairs suggests, and neither inscriptions nor sculpture reflect

¹²⁹ Petit (2007a).

¹³⁰ Aupert (1996b: 61, fig. 23).

¹³¹ Aupert (1996b: 61).

intense utilisation of the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis in this period, not more than in the third century. In the lower town, the remains of water channels, dating from the second year of the reign of Hadrian (118/119), imply the restoration of the aqueduct that brought water into the city from sources north of the village of Armenokhori,¹³² but the new modifications in the agora clearly date to a much later period. Indeed, under the Severi, around the late second or early third century, a chapel of unknown dedication, of which the fragment of a statue base and a circular altar remain, was constructed in the northwestern section of the agora in front of the fountain. An enigmatic square building (sides of approximately 10 m), situated in the northern section of the agora and probably constructed in the same period, demonstrates the use at Amathus, apparently for the first time, of imported marble – white for the Corinthian capitals, dark for the columns. The edifice's function remains, however, uncertain. It may have been a baldachin or canopy structure that housed a sacred object.

The inscriptions found in the agora during the excavations of the Department of Antiquities were recently published.¹³³ One of them honours an emperor, probably Gordian III (238-244), who is celebrated as the 'benefactor of Amathus', itself described as 'metropolis' of Cyprus.¹³⁴ Even if this honorary title does not imply increased power for the city, it is likely that Amathus and Cyprus in general did not suffer the same recession that other cities and provinces of the Empire underwent in the third century AD.

Late Antiquity¹³⁵

Two *Vitae* of St Tykhon are our main sources, albeit very biased, for the abolition of pagan worship in Amathus in the fourth century AD. There exists a small church on the eastern edge of the city dedicated to the saint, who gave his name to the nearby modern village of Ayios Tykhonas. One of the *Vitae* is anonymous, the other comes from the pen of St John the Almsgiver, the great prelate of the seventh century AD, a native of Amathus.¹³⁶ According to these sources, Tykhon, a baker's son, was consecrated bishop of Amathus by Epiphanius of Salamis under the Emperor Arcadius, i.e., after 383. He converted most of the inhabitants of

¹³² Petit *et al.* (1996: 182).

¹³³ Aupert and Flourentzos (2012-2013).

¹³⁴ The inscription is mentioned in Karageorghis (1979b: 707).

¹³⁵ For late antique Amathus, see also Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume.

¹³⁶ Aupert (1984: 28-32).

the city to Christianity, but the pagans resisted. A certain Kalykios accused the saint of trying to seduce Anthousa, the priestess of Aphrodite (or of Artemis, in the anonymous *Vita*). The governor declared him innocent during the trial that ensued and the saint baptised the priestess and destroyed the statue of Aphrodite that the pagans carried in procession. He performed various miracles, most notably planting a particularly fertile and precocious vineyard, in which the grapes would ripen on the anniversary of the saint, June 16.

From the standpoint of archaeology, the fourth century is relatively unknown at Amathus. It is likely that the city suffered from the earthquake of 365, which was responsible, it seems, for the collapse of the Hellenistic and Roman wall. Nevertheless, the baths constructed in the eastern part of the agora very probably date from this period.¹³⁷ Moreover, it is almost certain that the temple of Aphrodite on the summit of the acropolis was transformed into a church later in the fifth century, to judge from the opening of a new entrance on the south side of the building and the reuse in the later church of marble slabs decorated with plant and animal motifs in a technique called *champlevé*, as in the basilica of Kourion. Some walls must have been decorated with mosaics, as the tiles of gold and of various colors found in the ruins of the building indicate. Toward the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, the temple and other buildings of the ancient sanctuary were razed, with only the two large archaic vases remaining in place. Within a walled quadrangle with a large cistern, a small three-aisled basilica almost square in plan (25 x 24 m) was constructed, preceded by a narthex and an exonarthex. A certain number of annexes were set up to the north and south and the floor of the central nave was covered with an *opus sectile* pavement that was restored after the excavation. Most of the blocks used in the foundations and walls of the church are from the temple of Aphrodite.

Other churches were built in the lower town between the fifth and the seventh century AD. The largest of them, excavated by the Department of Antiquities, is the basilica built in the southeast of the city, on the seashore. Unfortunately, the rising water level has eroded away about half of this building of three naves; at least 70 m long, it was built in the second half of the fifth century and most likely destroyed in the second Arab attack on Cyprus, according to the dates of the latest coins (653/654). Another three-aisled basilica, much smaller, stood at the foot of the acropolis on the south-east side. Its floor was covered with *opus sectile* and its walls were decorated with mosaics, but fragments of plaster reliefs

¹³⁷ Aupert (1996c: 78-9).

with hunting scenes were also discovered.¹³⁸ Near the small cave that is still dedicated to St Varvara there was a church that probably belonged to a monastery that owned oil presses. Nevertheless, of the churches of Amathus that of St Tykhon has the longest history.¹³⁹ A chapel dating back perhaps to the late fourth century AD was later transformed and associated with some tombs, one of which must have housed the body of Tykhon. Most likely another of the tombs contained the body of St John the Almsgiver, the most illustrious Amathusian of that era. The son of Epiphanius, governor of the island, John became patriarch of Alexandria and ransomed a great number of captives from the Persians, who expelled him from Egypt in 619; he died a few months later in his hometown. His body was later transported to Venice. This church was much transformed again in the Frankish period.¹⁴⁰

The prosperity that Amathus experienced in this period (the sixth and first half of the seventh century) is also manifest in the expansion of housing in the city and in the activities of artisans attested in the agora and on the seashore; during the excavations of the port, a group of fresh water wells was discovered along with a water wheel (noria), from which wooden elements from the wheel and ceramic buckets were recovered. The exploitation of the environs is equally indicative: in the zone around the city that was the subject of a survey, twenty-eight sites were identified, predominantly devoted to agriculture.¹⁴¹ A building dating from this period was recently excavated at a place called Asvestoton.

Like the other cities of Cyprus, Amathus fell victim to the Arab raids in the mid-seventh century. The first of these is generally dated to the spring of 649. According to an inscription found at Soloi, this caused many deaths and the capture of 120,000 people. A second raid, probably in 653/654, completed the catastrophe and led to the decline and then abandonment of Amathus, as with other towns of Cyprus (Salamis, Kourion). A tomb that probably contained the bodies of a number of victims was found in the eastern necropolis of the city.¹⁴² Nevertheless, to defend themselves the Amathusians had reconstructed all the walls of the city – of which the most imposing remains are visible on the seafront – and built a new fortification wall at mid-slope on the acropolis, using blocks from older monuments, including column drums from the temple of Aphrodite. These measures were not enough to prevent the taking of the

¹³⁸ Papageorghiou (1996); Procopiou (1996b; 2013: 259-60, fig. 7).

¹³⁹ Procopiou (1996a; 2013: 257, figs. 3-5).

¹⁴⁰ See also Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume.

¹⁴¹ Petit *et al.* (1996: 178-9, pl. 20).

¹⁴² Procopiou (1995).

summit of the acropolis. The city was only sparsely populated afterwards until the end of the seventh century, when the people either moved to inland villages, such as Ayios Tykhonas, or resettled in Limassol, which would become the largest city in the region.¹⁴³

The Territory of Amathus

The question of Limassol belonging to the kingdom and then the city of Amathus is treated below by Laurence Alpe, whose investigations, together with those of Sabine Fourrier on the diffusion of terracottas in the Amathus style,¹⁴⁴ allow us to trace approximately the western boundary of the territory of Amathus.

For the eastern section there is no detailed study, but in the Archaic and Classical periods the spread of pottery and terracottas in the Amathus style clearly indicates that the kingdom's territory extended well beyond the current boundaries of the district of Limassol: Khirokitia, Kalavastos, and Maroni undoubtedly belonged to Amathus, and probably other sites further east. Strabo, who wrote at the time of Augustus, informs us that between Kition and Amathus there were a dwelling called Palaia (Kalavastos?) and Mt Olympus, as the mountain now known as Stavrovouni was then called. In the second half of the second century AD, the geographer Ptolemy lists the four 'districts' into which the island is divided: that of Salamis in the east, Paphos in the west, Lapithos in the north, and Amathus in the south, including Mount Olympus.¹⁴⁵ Later, under the Lusignan dynasty, the district of Limassol still encompassed Stavrovouni as well as the villages of Kophinou, Alaminos, and Mazotos.

We have even fewer sources with which to determine the northern boundary of the territory. It is likely that Amathus possessed some of the mineral resources of the Troodos, as suggested by the phrase 'Amathus, rich in mines', used by the poet Ovid.¹⁴⁶ The discovery in the village of Khandria of a dedication to Zeus Labranios, a god known in a sanctuary near Phasoulla via other dedications and numerous sculptures from the Roman era, seems to indicate that this area belonged to the territory of Amathus, at least in imperial times.

On these questions of expansion and land use, research is still in its infancy.

¹⁴³ See discussion in Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume.

¹⁴⁴ Fourrier (2007).

¹⁴⁵ Strabo, 14.6.3; Ptolemy, 4.13.5.

¹⁴⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.220.



Fig. 1: General view of ancient Amathus [École française d'Athènes].



Fig. 2: The sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Early Christian buildings [École française d'Athènes].



Fig. 3: Hathoric stele found near the palace, Limassol, District Museum AM 805 [École française d'Athènes, P. Collet].



Fig. 4: General view of the agora [École française d'Athènes].



Fig. 5: Marble head (probably Aphrodite), Limassol, District Museum AM AM 2738 [École française d'Athènes, P. Collet].



Fig. 6: Bronze jug dedicated to Helios Adonis, Limassol, District Museum AM 3416 [École française d'Athènes, P. Collet].

LIMASSOL IN ANTIQUITY: FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE END OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

LAURENCE ALPE*

Situated on a vast coastal plain on the edge of the imposing southern foothills of the Troodos Mountains, Limassol is today the busiest port of Cyprus and has become a major industrial centre. Faced with the mass tourism that has spread like wildfire since the 1974 invasion, the city has changed radically in appearance, experiencing dramatic growth. Yet, despite its remarkable location in the Cypriot landscape, its name does not appear in a clear way until the sixth century AD, which would leave one to believe that Limassol did not exist until then, or that the town was nothing but a village without much interest. Moreover, reading travel guides to Cyprus, one gets the impression that the history of Limassol in Antiquity is unclear and the authors, lacking sufficient evidence at their disposal, contradict one another. Some fix the city's birth in the sixth century AD, when it appears for the first time in ancient sources under the name *Neapolis*. Others date it to the fourth century BC, at the close of the era of the Cypriot kingdoms, without saying why, but admitting that historians have not yet managed to date the origins of the city precisely. In the eyes of visitors, therefore, Limassol seems to be a city of recent foundation, much more recent than Amathus and Kourion, its illustrious neighbours.

The archaeological and historical importance of these two cities is taken for granted today, but the development of Cypriot archaeology in the late nineteenth century and the rapid pace of construction after 1974 resulted in the discovery of numerous tombs on the site of the present town of Limassol, some even dating back to the second millennium BC. Archaeological excavations have thus confirmed the presence of an ancient settlement under the modern city, even older than that of Amathus, one that existed in the first millennium BC in parallel with the two

* I would like to thank the supervisor of my PhD thesis Antoine Hermary for his constant encouragement.

developing capitals, Kourion and Amathus. Limassol's position on the outskirts of these cities makes it a site of great interest, permitting us to follow the evolution of the territories and their organisation in the time of the Cypriot kingdoms, the period that will be the primary focus of this chapter, because of the rather substantial archaeological evidence dating from this era.

These discoveries allow us to chart the distribution of sites and attempt an historical reconstruction. In Antiquity, the vast space occupied by the present city, from Kourion to Amathus, was much developed, but the organisation of the 'city' was different from today. It is very probable that the plain was home to not one, but several foci of settlements.

This investigation has met with several obstacles, mainly due to the often incomplete nature of the data. Indeed, the study of the necropoleis alone provides a biased picture of reality, although it can also offer valuable clues about the world of the living and the social status of the inhabitants, which we can only evaluate by comparing objects from the burial vaults with those from other sites in Cyprus, in particular those of the 'capitals' of the Iron Age. Nevertheless, the world of the dead is the only realm that archaeology allows us to explore at present, and the realm of religion, known through the small 'rural' sanctuaries of the region, seems less representative, because it has not yet been studied sufficiently. In addition, this research hinges on the conditions in which the remains have been unearthed, that is, in every instance, the haste of often very old emergency excavations. To understand better the context of this study, let us begin by presenting the history of archaeological excavations in Limassol, supplemented by the rare mentions in the literary sources that help us trace the evolution of the name of the city, before we approach the history strictly speaking of Limassol in Antiquity.

History of the Research

1. Etymology of the Name and Epigraphic Testimony

If the archaeological evidence is abundant, few inscriptions have been found in Limassol, mostly epitaphs engraved on Roman stelae. The rare inscriptions from earlier periods have raised more questions than they have answered, as in the case of the famous inscriptions of the 'Limassol patterns', apparently discovered in the city's environs at the end of nineteenth century, which mention the existence of a Cypriot Carthage, the location of which is still a problem. Some have thought that it could be Limassol, but we will return to the issue below. In any case, the name of

Limassol is not attested at any point in Antiquity, although several hypotheses have been advanced.

The lists of toponyms that we possess never give the name of any town on the site of the modern city. The situation of Limassol between two of the most important ancient cities of Cyprus, however, is translated in the toponymic history of the city. The name the Greeks give Limassol, 'Lemesos' or 'Nemesos', is attested throughout the Middle Ages. According to Kyriakos Hadjioannou, 'Nemesos' means 'city between' and derives from the Greek word 'ἀνάμεσος'. In the beginning, in the Early Christian era, the town was called 'ἡ Νεάπολις Νέμεσος', 'the new town between', implying 'between Amathus and Kourion'. The name assigned to the city today, 'Limassol', is an English version of 'Nemesos', which had then become, for the Cypriots, 'Lemesos'. It still retains the root '-μέσος' ('in the middle').¹ The name 'Neapolis', attested for the first time in the sixth century AD in the episcopal lists, may be surprising, given that the site had been occupied for millennia, but it reinforces the idea that Limassol was an establishment of the 'second order', restricted between Amathus and Kourion. The moment Limassol acquired a certain importance, it took the name 'New Town', as opposed to Amathus, which had gone into sharp decline and would itself later become 'Old Limassol'. The Greek toponym 'Nemesos' could actually be older than 'Neapolis'. Indeed, nothing would explain the appearance of the name 'Nemesos' in the Middle Ages, when Kourion and Amathus had disappeared for good. It is possible that an older toponymic tradition then gained some appeal.

A recent discovery undermines this hypothesis, however. A cadastral base was unearthed in the area to the west of the agora of Amathus, dating from the late Hellenistic period (between 190 and 140 BC approximately). This block has a long inscription containing many place names that could correspond to villages in the Amathusian countryside. Pierre Aupert, who has studied the text, sees a certain permanence in the ancient onomastics in the vicinity of Amathus and Kourion and perceives the Hellenistic appellation of the nearby town of Limassol in the name of the unknown locality 'Mimisos', which, indeed, approximates well-known names of the city: Nemesos, Lemesos, Limissos, etc. Nemesos would thus be a derivation of the Hellenistic Mimisos. This finding is somewhat troubling, when one considers that the text evokes the names of surrounding villages of Amathus. If Limassol was actually called Mimisos in the Hellenistic period, it is difficult to believe Hadjioannou's proposal. The only thing we know for certain is that the city took the name Neapolis from the sixth

¹ Hadjioannou (1983: 197).

century AD.² Material remains are, thus, of greater use than inscriptions for reconstructing the history of Limassol.

2. Archaeological Evidence

Investigations in Limassol began at the end of the nineteenth century in a very haphazard fashion. They continued in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries mainly in the form of rescue excavations. Since Limassol is not mentioned in ancient texts, archaeologists have naturally focused their attention on the neighbouring sites of Amathus and Kourion, which are better documented and much more accessible. Although the existence of the modern city on the ancient site has hampered its exploration, the rapid development of the modern city after the 1974 invasion has occasioned many emergency excavations, undertaken by the Limassol Museum. The vast majority of these archaeological remains are tombs, more rarely deposits linked to religious worship.

The first mentions of archaeological activity in Limassol go back to around 1880, at a time when European scholars and travellers were turning to the Levant, often in search of Phoenician inscriptions. Among them, we must mention the work of Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, consul of France in Beirut, who published his findings in the work of synthesis *Monuments antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte* in 1882.³ This is the first work to mention investigations conducted in Limassol, but only briefly and without providing details on the nature of the material discovered, although he did record three Hellenistic terracotta figurines that are now kept in the Louvre in Paris.⁴

Following Colonna-Ceccaldi's publication, Orientalists' interest in Cyprus only increased, because it seemed that the island had once been a crossroad of the civilisations that occupied the neighbouring continents. When Salomon Reinach set out to compose a work on the excavations and discoveries of the Hellenic East, he naturally turned to Cyprus and was interested in the archaeological investigations carried out in Limassol in 1883 with the funding of a certain M.R. Mitchell, British government commissioner in Limassol. In his description, Reinach rails against the circumstances of the excavation and notes that objects removed from tombs were mixed all together. Indeed, in this collection, Egyptianising

² Aupert and Flourentzos (2008). On the names of the city, also see the relevant section in the chapter by Tassos Papacostas and the note by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari.

³ Colonna-Ceccaldi (1882).

⁴ Caubet, Fourrier, and Queyrel (1998: 474, cat. 722; 488, cat. 763; 628, cat. 1069).

scarabs of the second millennium BC share space with Roman lamps and archaic vases.⁵ John Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter were aware of these works and provided a list of the objects, some of which were reproduced in their book.⁶

After these discoveries and the repeated looting of tombs in the area, investigations fade from view in the early twentieth century. No excavations are recorded either in the inventories or in the published archaeological reports. It thus becomes very difficult to determine what archaeological activities were carried out in the city before 1940, when the first tomb of Limassol was registered in the archives of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. Since then, every year, the Department has been called upon to conduct emergency excavations in the city and its surroundings. By October 2007, when a detailed study of Limassol was undertaken,⁷ 332 tombs and tens of thousands of objects had been registered by the regional museum of Limassol. Before the Hellenistic and Roman periods, from which funerary inscriptions have come down to us, reconstituting the history of Limassol in various eras relies exclusively on material data.

The reason why small sites like Limassol have not attracted more attention undoubtedly lies in the choices of archaeologists, guided mostly by a historical record that is frozen in the available literary sources. In sum, in the case of Cyprus, it is the major centres and places of worship that have priority in systematic campaigns. To study a ‘secondary site’, lacking any dependable historical references, we need to be able to rely on well-established information guiding our research. This historical and social reconstitution of Limassol is based essentially on the world of the dead and the small sanctuary of Komissariato,⁸ the remains of which are the only ones that have been published outside of archaeological reports.⁹

Origins

1. Neolithic and Chalcolithic

Cypriot civilisation seems to bloom in the Limassol region at the dawn of the so-called ‘pre-Neolithic’ period (*ca.* 9000 BC), as the only two sites of the era attest: Akrotiri-*Aetokremnos* and Shillourokambos, located not far

⁵ Reinach (1891: 199).

⁶ Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899: 8).

⁷ Alpe (2007b).

⁸ Karageorghis (1977).

⁹ ‘Chroniques des fouilles’ in *BCH*.

from the present city, the former to the southeast of Kourion, on the Akrotiri peninsula, the latter to the north of Amathus, further inland. It is in the beginning of the Neolithic period (eighth millennium BC), however, that the island was truly organised into an agro-pastoral society, although the first rudimentary pottery appears in the sixth millennium at Troulli, thus marking the beginning of a prosperous phase in the history of Cyprus. Pottery developed mainly in Sotira, west of Limassol, with a quality 'pottery culture' in the next millennium. The rich Neolithic period is characterised by structured settlements, the most representative examples being the circular dwellings uncovered at Khirokitia and Kalavastos-*Tenta*. The Limassol area was thus particularly well developed during the Neolithic period, although it seems that the location of the modern city remained uninhabited, while the population density declined considerably during the following period (Chalcolithic: *ca.* 4000-2500 BC).

Nevertheless this is the period when we find the first evidence of the settlement of the plain of Limassol, specifically at Kato Polemidia, a village north of the present city. A tomb of the Roman era has yielded a few sherds dating from the third millennium BC, neatly stacked in a pit dug on purpose at the bottom of the burial chamber.¹⁰ Even if these remains were not found *in situ*, they still suggest the presence of a small settlement or of regular traffic in the vicinity. We must wait until the end of the first phase of the Bronze Age (Early III), around 2000 BC, to find more convincing evidence of inhabitation in Limassol.

2. Bronze Age

From the beginning of the Bronze Age, around 2300 BC, Cypriots were aware of the rich copper deposits that their island possessed. This commenced a lucrative trade at a time when bronze held a privileged position in the Mediterranean world. This brilliant phase in the history of Cyprus starts out with a period of intense activity and a significant cultural shift that one observes everywhere in the Mediterranean. In the Late Bronze Age, most of the civilisations occupying the Eastern Mediterranean basin experienced noteworthy development, based on political stability and strength, metal working, the exploitation of new raw materials, intense cultural exchanges, and innovation in all domains. The island developed links with the Near East and, from the eighteenth century, it enjoyed preferential trade with Egypt and Crete. Cypriot copper, highly coveted, also enabled the island to establish solid connections with the Aegean

¹⁰ Karageorghis (1986: 832).

world. Mycenaean civilisation increased contacts with Cyprus and contributed to a very important cross-fertilisation that still marked Cypriot civilisation in the Iron Age. The final phase of the Bronze Age witnessed the development of urbanism, and the first true cities flourished at that time.

Traces of mining activities have been found in the Limassol area, but the evidence is vague and uncertain. It does, though, demonstrate with assurance that copper mines operated in the hinterland of Amathus. Besides copper veins, wood, abundant in the Troodos, was also exploited, notably for shipbuilding. The evolution of the Limassol region, near the foothills of Troodos and the Mediterranean coast, happened rather quickly. We witness the organisation and structuring of settlements as well as the establishment of commercial and cultural relations, both with the interior of the island and with neighbouring countries.

As is the case with many other nearby sites, Limassol was born in the Bronze Age, not far from the copper mines and their exploitation. The evidence dating to this first period of Limassol's existence tells us little about the lifestyle of its inhabitants, because the present city is an obstacle to archaeological investigation. The excavations, all conducted in haste, have only uncovered tombs on the site of the modern city. Architectural remains dating from the Late Bronze Age have been unearthed, but conditions permitted very little follow-up investigation.

Early Bronze Age

Unlike previous eras, the Early Bronze Age on Cyprus is primarily seen through necropoleis, and very few settlements have been uncovered. Those of *Kyra-Alonia* and *Sotira-Kaminoudia* show continuity with the Chalcolithic period in the rectangular structure, often irregular, of the dwellings. Above all, the appearance of polished red ware marks the beginning of the Bronze Age. The production of this pottery and its derivatives would persist until the end of the period. Cypriots no longer buried their dead in their dwellings, but in burial chambers gathered in a necropolis, separate from the world of the living.

At this time the inhabitants of Limassol utilised a small portion of the plain, although some settlements, probably smaller, emerged on the outskirts of the present city, especially in *Ayia Phyla*, *Polemida*, and *Paramytha*. A number of other sites elsewhere in the region were also occupied: *Lophou* and *Alassa* in the *Kouris Valley*; *Avdimou*, *Sotira*, *Erimi*, and *Kourion* to the west; and *Pyrgos*, near *Amathus*. Most of these sites, notably *Avdimou* and *Sotira*, were abandoned at the beginning of the

Middle Bronze Age, and Erimi and Pyrgos did not survive to the start of the Early Bronze Age.

In Limassol itself, of the 332 tombs discovered so far, 84 are from the Bronze Age (=BA). The oldest ones date back to the Early Bronze Age, probably between the end of the period (BA III) and the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (BM I), at the dawn of the second millennium. The tombs of this period are concentrated in the eastern section of the present city, especially in the districts of Ayios Nicolaos¹¹ in the east and of Katholiki in the south, near the present shoreline. The first settlements on the plain of Limassol surely date to this period. The cemetery of Ayios Nicolaos yielded only tombs from this time, and they constitute most of the discoveries at Katholiki. Estimating the exact number of these tombs is hindered by the lack of accurate analysis of the objects found. The exclusively funerary nature of the material dating to this time does not inform us at this stage of research about the status of the site during its first phase, but it was probably a relatively important settlement. Nevertheless, some objects published in various annals give us an idea of the objects discovered in the tombs.¹²

Most of the Early Bronze Age tombs found in Limassol contained only pottery. Red Polished vases are quite common, which is consistent with what occurs elsewhere on the island at the same time: jugs or *amphoriskoi* with a flat base and grooved neck cut laterally or provided with a tubular spout, composite vases flanked with multiple cups, large deep bowls fitted with a beak, or conical container vessels, all decorated with complex geometrical motifs incised or in relief. No exceptional vase has been discovered in the tombs of Limassol, but we can mention the surprising discoveries made in Pyrgos, a village not far from Amathus, including a Red Polished ware pitcher found in tomb 35 (fig. 1). The sculptural decoration of the shoulder is quite remarkable, demonstrating that the Cypriot potters of that time achieved a mastery that was uncommon in ceramic art and that of the coroplast: it consists of groups of small terracotta figurines that portray scenes from everyday life and work, like plowing or wine production. This is one of the most remarkable Bronze Age vases discovered in the region.

Although the number of objects placed in tombs is lower than in subsequent periods, it is still quite high and implies that the tombs must have been spacious in order to contain both one or more bodies and the objects buried with them. From this time on, in Limassol and elsewhere

¹¹ Karageorghis (1958).

¹² 'Chroniques des fouilles' in *BCH*.

around the island, the dead were buried in a roughly rectangular tomb chamber, carved into the rock and preceded by an access corridor (*dromos*) that sloped gently or sometimes quite abruptly. The deceased were usually placed along the walls or in the centre of the chamber. In most cases, the tombs were reused and the remains of the former occupants were unceremoniously cast aside. This process would remain almost unchanged until the Roman era.

Limassol thus takes its place among the many small sites that emerged at the end of the Early Bronze Age throughout the island, particularly around areas rich in copper ore.

Middle Bronze Age

The period that followed (*ca.* 1900-1650 BC) did not see real changes; it is basically a continuation of Early Bronze Age civilisation. However, we do witness a rise in contacts with neighbouring lands, mainly those of the Levant, that were established gradually due to the copper trade. These exchanges would lead to alterations in land use, favouring the establishment of new settlements in the east of the island and depopulating those in the west and north. This is indeed what seems to have happened in the Limassol area, where new sites are rare: only Ayios Athanasios is clearly a new settlement from this time. Several sites that had arisen in the Early Bronze Age were abandoned (Sotira and Avdimou). Yet Episkopi, near Kourion, became an important centre in this period (Phaneromeni), constituting one of the many establishments of the Middle Bronze Age discovered in the island. Contrary to the preceding period, archaeologists have uncovered several architectural specimens, such as in Episkopi, but also in Alhambra and Kalopsidha. Traces of fortifications were also found in the Karpas Peninsula.

In Limassol, the only material evidence we have for this period are ten tombs found at Katholiki and in the nearby settlements of Ayios Athanasios and Ayia Phyla. The necropolis of Ayios Nicolaos seems to have been abandoned gradually. Very few objects from this period have been published and it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions with so little data, but clearly in the Middle Bronze Age Limassol underwent a period of decrease in population and decline in importance, presumably to the benefit of the major centres to the east or nearby Episkopi.

Late Bronze Age

The Middle Bronze Age gave way to one of the most brilliant eras of the history of Cyprus. Trade with the Levant was now well established, especially with the Syrian site of Ugarit and with Egypt. Relations with the Aegean world, initiated in previous periods, would be consolidated throughout the Late Bronze Age (1650-1050 BC). The copper trade continued and the main settlements of the Middle Bronze Age now became true cities or commercial ports (Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Morphou). Above all, it was at this time, around the end of the sixteenth century, that there appeared the first vestiges of a local script related to the Minoan writing system, what has been called Cypro-Minoan.

The general area of Limassol was populated in this era, and we know of a significant number of settlements: Kourion-*Bamboula*, Kalavassos-*Ayios Dimitrios*, Maroni, and Alassa, which were either fortified towns (Bamboula) or, according to current scholarship, important administrative (Alassa?) or commercial centres. The inhabitants of the Late Bronze Age utilised more or less the same sites as their ancestors. Around Episkopi, Sotira – long deserted –, Avdimou and Erimi no longer existed, while Kandou was settled for the first time. Around Limassol, Ayios Athanasios and Ayia Phyla were still inhabited and the settlement of Yermasoyia began at that time.¹³ Limassol, then one of the oldest sites in the region, was also inhabited. However, archaeologists have unearthed few tombs, fifteen to date, and the cemetery of Ayios Nicolaos was definitively abandoned. Katholiki remained in use, becoming the main necropolis of the town. Yet new necropoleis also appeared in the localities of Hioni and Khalospita, situated at the northern edge of the present town, in the direction of Ayia Phyla.

Although few in number, nevertheless the Late Bronze Age tombs have revealed rich and abundant material consisting of rare objects, sometimes imported. Let us focus more particularly on the discoveries in the necropolis of Katholiki in 1977.¹⁴ The tombs of the Late Cypriot (=LC) I-II were obviously cleared out to make room for new occupants in the Roman era. The bones and offerings from ancient burials were deposited in shallow pits roughly circular in shape. These *bothroi* yielded especially rich objects. Aside from a large quantity of bowls, jugs, craters and bottles with shapes that were common in Cyprus, made in typical

¹³ For Erimi, Kandou, Yermasoyia, and Ayios Athanasios, see Karageorghis and Violaris (2012).

¹⁴ Karageorghis (1978: 891-2); Karageorghis and Violaris (2012: 103-20).

workshops of the time (White Slip, Base Ring, or Red Lustrous I-II), one should make special mention of the following: a cup of Late Minoan Ib decorated with a frieze of lilies, one of the earliest examples of Aegean imports found in the region; stirrup jars of the Mycenaean type; a beautiful rhyton shaped in the form of a bull; and a small jug of Egyptian alabaster. Noteworthy among the metal objects are a small, finely crafted silver pin and a pretty pair of gold, crescent-shaped earrings, decorated with three small gold beads (fig. 2). There is also a small steatite cylindrical seal, of a type that is well known in Cyprus, decorated with a deity accompanied by a griffin and a lion standing in front of a tree. Other remarkable objects discovered in the tombs of Limassol include a famous Egyptian steatite scarab with an engraved cartouche of Tuthmosis III (1500-1450 BC).¹⁵

The oldest buildings discovered in Limassol also date from this period. A structure of the Late Bronze II (*ca.* 1475-1225 BC) was found in the Ayios Nicolaos quarter, but the nature of the discovery does not inform us about its function.¹⁶ Another establishment, perhaps religious, was discovered at the place called Komissariato, and some sherds also date from the Late Bronze I-II.¹⁷ Despite these discoveries, which suggest the existence of a small coastal town in the Late Bronze II, it is difficult to gauge its importance, but the presence of Mycenaean pottery, Cretan imports, and a silver and gold luxury piece of jewellery placed in the Katholiki tombs indicates that the ‘town’ must have been organised and somewhat wealthy and that it engaged in extra-insular trade, either through its own means or through internal communication networks. Limassol’s excellent location between the sea and the mountains, sheltered by the broad bay that probably already enabled the construction of a port, leads one to believe that Limassol could have been relatively large in the Late Bronze Age. The publication of tombs from this period¹⁸ show that the ‘town’ was occupied in the LC I and II. If one accepts the dating proposals, however, the tombs of the LC IIIA (*ca.* 1225-1190 BC) become very rare and no trace is attested in the LC IIIB and C (*ca.* 1190-1050 BC). The site seems to have been abandoned at the time.

There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon, reflecting the political situation of the island at that time: either the ‘town’ was abandoned, as is probably the case with the nearby sites of Kalavassos, Maroni, and Bamboula, or it was destroyed. In fact, the majority of sites

¹⁵ It was published for the first time by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899: 126, pl. VIII).

¹⁶ Karageorghis (1971: 357).

¹⁷ Karageorghis (1977: 718-20).

¹⁸ Karageorghis and Violaris (2012).

on the island were abandoned at the end of the thirteenth century (*ca.* 1200 BC) and in the twelfth century, for reasons that are still poorly understood. The construction of fortified outposts at *Maa-Palaikastro* and at *Pyla-Kokkinokremmos* implies an atmosphere of turbulent times. At the end of the twelfth century, mainland Greece experienced a troubled period in its history, but there are no indications of this rupture in Egypt or in the Near East, or even in Cyprus, areas that nevertheless experienced two waves of destruction, devastation traditionally attributed to the 'Sea Peoples'. These events significantly modified international relations, but Cypro-Aegean trade was not completely interrupted. Objects imported from Cyprus are found in the tombs of Perati and Tiryns, and trade was conducted on a low level between Crete, the Dodecanese, and Cyprus. In Cyprus, the Mycenaean style of the Late Helladic IIIC is well represented with vases that were imported or manufactured locally and whose influence even reached the Levant. But it is clear that events changed the political power structure and the eleventh century suffered the consequences. Until the resurgence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the eighth century BC, there were no superpowers in the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and the first half of the eleventh century in Cyprus is very poorly known. Only Palaepaphos, Kition, and Idalion continued to exist, and very little traces from this period have survived to our day. Idalion itself did not outlast the Cypro-Geometric (=CG) I (*ca.* 1000 BC). In the area of Limassol, the use of the sites declined.

Nevertheless, a small sanctuary about 400m south-west of the location of the archaic sanctuary of Komissariato was discovered in 1976 during construction works.¹⁹ It is a small constructed niche, covered with a slab under which was a thick layer of earth containing sherds of the Late Bronze I and II. Several offerings, dating from about 1050 BC, had been placed there: two zoomorphic vases made on the wheel, probably representing sheep; a model boat made of clay; two deep bowls; and a miniature amphora of the Canaanite type. Accompanying this ensemble were three terracotta figurines representing the 'goddess with raised arms', one *Proto-White Painted*, the two others *White Painted I* (fig. 3). The representation of the 'goddess with raised arms' was introduced to Cyprus from Crete in the eleventh century BC, especially at Kition and Enkomi.²⁰ The presence of these figurines on Cyprus at this time confirms that relations with Crete were not interrupted, notably in the east of the island, where most of them have been found (Enkomi, Ayios Iakovos, Kition).

¹⁹ Karageorghis (1977: 718-20).

²⁰ Karageorghis (1979a).

The prior dating of the Limassol figurines and their resemblance to the Cretan specimens suggest, however, that this small place of worship was isolated. The data provided by these emergency excavations are difficult to interpret, but we are certain that a small sanctuary was erected on the ruins of an ancient settlement of Limassol. It is possible, as in the case of the sanctuary of the ‘God in Ingot’ at Enkomi, that this was a former place of worship that was rehabilitated. The religious precinct in the Late Bronze I and II would therefore have been west of the ‘town’, and the area of inhabitation was in the north-east. Unfortunately, in the absence of solid archaeological proof and literary or epigraphic evidence, we must be rather cautious regarding this hypothesis, which is only an attractive theory.

The presence of this *favissa* on the Limassol plain does not entail that the old ‘town’ was reoccupied. At that time, between 1050 and 1000 BC, changes brought by the troubles of the end of the Late Bronze Age are noteworthy: some cities were reoccupied, Kourion, for example, others constructed, such as Salamis. The beginning of the Geometric period (1050-950 BC) on Cyprus appears to be prosperous and wealthy, as the material from the necropoleis of Skales and Plakes at Kouklia, from Kaloriziki at Kourion, from Lapithos, and from Tomb T1 of Salamis demonstrate. In the Limassol plain there were disparate settlements at Amathus.²¹ While Kourion became one of the most important centres of the island at the end of the LC IIIB (*ca.* 1190-1125 BC) and especially in the CG I (*ca.* 1050-950 BC), in contrast the plain of Limassol was deserted. Indeed, the sanctuary of Komissariato seems to have been used for a very short time, and no trace was found from the CG I, except for ceramics discovered in a CG II group (950-850 BC) from Tomb 21 and some from Tomb 296, which, in this case, appear rather to be older objects in later reuse. The remains from the acropolis of Amathus and its surroundings are scattered and diffuse. We cannot speak of a true foundation of Amathus at that time. It seems that it was organised, or at least developed and expanded, during the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the ninth century BC. It was not until the end of the Geometric period (CG II: 850-750 BC) that the local inhabitants truly reclaimed the site of Limassol.

²¹ See Antoine Hermary’s chapter in this volume.

3. The Iron Age

Despite the serious disturbances that shook the Eastern Mediterranean basin at the end of the Bronze Age, the first centuries of the Cypriot Iron Age (from *ca.* 1050 BC) were relatively prosperous. From the tenth century, Cypro-Aegean trade resumed hesitatingly, with Euboea in particular. A bit later, probably around 850 BC, the Phoenicians landed on Cyprus and established a colony dependent on Tyre atop the ruins of Kition. The island thus evolved, influenced from two directions by worlds with especially strong traditions, but emphasising distinct Cypriot customs until the end of the Archaic period (around 475 BC).

Around 709 BC, Cyprus submitted to King Sargon II of Nineveh. The inscription that records this dependence mentions the existence of several kingdoms in Cyprus. Assyrian domination entailed the payment of tribute, apparently without military occupation. From about 650 to 570 BC, freed from the Assyrian yoke, Cyprus enjoyed one of its few periods of independence, the last before a new series of political subjugations. From around 570 to 525 BC, according to Herodotus, Cyprus fell to the Saïtes of Egypt. The first coinage appeared at this time, at Salamis, about 530. The Egyptians were quickly replaced by the Persians, led by Darius I.

The Classical period (475-325 BC) gave way to the great influence of Greek art from Attica. The new arrivals transformed the island into a province of the vast empire they had created. Athens became intimately involved in the Cypriots' struggle against the Persians.

During the second half of the fourth century BC, Alexander the Great conquered the island. Upon his death, Cyprus passed into the hands of several of Alexander's officers who divided his conquests between them. Among them, Demetrios Poliorcetes fought the last battle against the Ptolemies, who stroved to establish their dominion over Cyprus. The island finally fell to Ptolemy I Soter, king of Egypt. The kingdoms disappeared in this period. The Hellenistic period concluded with the suicide of Cleopatra VII, queen of Egypt, and the rapid victory of Rome, which was poised to take control of the entire Mediterranean.

The End of the Geometric Period and the Beginning of the Archaic Period

The history of Limassol in the Early Iron Age seems to be closely tied to that of its neighbour, Amathus. We know that the latter's acropolis was inhabited, probably only sparsely, from the second half of the eleventh century BC. According to the remains stemming from this period, everything indicates that the foundation of Amathus was gradual and took

place during the Geometric period, probably in the tenth century, when the number of tombs increases considerably. The study of funerary objects confirms this image of a small and growing settlement that was strengthening its contacts with the outside world, with the Levant and Egypt (scarabs and faience pendants), but also with Greece.

It is precisely during this period that Limassol was reoccupied. Tomb 21, which unfortunately we can no longer locate, dates from the CG II (between 950 and 850 BC) and Tomb 153, discovered in the Ayios Ioannis quarter, clearly received a burial at the end of CG II and at the beginning of CG III. The offerings placed in these two tombs are the only witnesses to the presence of a settlement, undoubtedly modest, at Limassol. The settlement was probably isolated at the time, and we cannot yet assert that the population lived there permanently. Limassol's resurgence is likely linked to the rise and consolidation of Amathus, rather than Kourion, which has left very few traces from this period. The pottery found in Tomb 21 is similar to that of the Geometric pottery from Amathus. Yet, while Amathus was growing and Limassol was rising from its ashes, elsewhere on the island one witnesses a sharp decline in the use of the necropoleis together with an impoverishment of funerary offerings, now fewer and less varied. This is true at Kourion, but also at Salamis, Paphos, and Idalion. Kition alone, at the end of the period (between 900 and 850 BC), exhibits more intense activity, due to the arrival of the Phoenicians.

The reoccupation of the countryside, admittedly slight, in the area of Amathus, on the ruins of an ancient town (Limassol), is suggestive of a change in mentality, when Amathus took control. Nevertheless this is an isolated and rather modest case. Indeed, other smaller sites around Limassol, Amathus, and Kourion, that had been inhabited in the Late Bronze Period, were not resettled until much later, during the Archaic period (from *ca.* 750 BC). But the presence of Tomb 21, rather far away from Amathus and Kourion, heralds a vast movement that would occur a century later in the Cypro-Archaic (=CA) I, the beginnings of which date to the CG III (*ca.* 850-750 BC): the reoccupation of the countryside in each of the Cypriot kingdoms and the establishment of a hierarchical system organised around the 'capital'. The reoccupation of the Limassol plain in the CG II, then in the CG II (with Limassol and Polemidia), is neither trivial nor random: the Limassol plain is an excellent location to establish exchanges both with the interior of the island and abroad. Certainly, Limassol rose from its ashes before the other small sites in the area, but we cannot yet speak of a true occupation during the second phase of the Cypro-Geometric, because our evidence is scattered and sparse.

For the CG III, however, numerous tombs have come to light in Limassol. The location of burial vaults has shown that the thirteen known tombs, utilised in the CG IIIB-CA IA (between about 800 and 700 BC), were scattered around the present city and did not yet constitute major concentrations of graves. Indeed, they form an east-west arch around the present city centre. In the middle of this space, a couple of tombs (Tombs 105 and 288) were discovered in the ancient cemetery of Katholiki, which, until the late Roman period, would only be used occasionally. To the east, the ancient necropolis of Ayios Nicolaos was occupied again, as were the Khalospita, Hioni, and Limnazousa districts in the northwest, in the direction of Ayia Phyla. Other cemeteries appeared in the area of Ayios Ioannis and around the church of Ayia Zoni, but especially at Kapsalos, which would become the most important necropolis of the Iron Age. From the archaic period, a new necropolis also developed to the west of the city, in the heart of the present industrial area, at Tsiflikoudia, Zakaki, and Koutsoulia. The space to the south of Ayios Nicolaos and to the east of Katholiki might have been, from the Archaic period, the area of habitation, in about the same place as in the Early Bronze Age town.

The 'new town' was probably not yet fully established at the end of the Geometric period, but the study of funerary offerings has revealed the remarkable rise of Limassol from the CA I. The number of tombs increased and the necropoleis developed primarily in the districts of Kapsalos and Ayios Nicolaos. Old sites were reappropriated: at Polemidia, from the CG III, Ayia Phyla and Phasoulla, early in the CA I and then, during the Cypro-Archaic, Korphi, Yerasa, Paramytha, and Ayios Athanasios in the north of Limassol; at Yermasoyia, Mouttayiaka, Pyrgos, Pentakomon, and Khirokitia around and to the east of Amathus; at Alassa, Kandou, Limnatis, Ypsonas, Asomatos, Kolossi, Erimi, Sotira, Doros, Lophou, Sylikou, Moniatis, and Trimiklini in the Kouris Valley and around Kourion.²² In short, from the CA I and throughout the Archaic period the countryside was developed and so-called 'secondary' sites reappeared.

At the same time, at the end of the Geometric period, Amathus experienced strikingly rapid growth: the tombs became wealthy and very numerous, the palace was erected, and contacts with Greece and the Levant intensified. The Phoenician necropolis, it seems, was created at that time and its use lasted down to the CA I. Population growth also occurred in the major centres of the island from the CG III, in Palaepaphos, Kition, Salamis, etc.

²² Flourentzos (1991).

One of the oldest Iron Age inscriptions found in Cyprus, written in the Phoenician language and supposedly discovered in Limassol, dates from the second half of the eighth century BC. The inscriptions mentions the existence on Cyprus of a town called 'Carthage'.²³ The second attestation of this toponym appears a few decades later (693-692 BC) on the prisms of Esarhaddon, providing a list of ten kingdoms and ten kings of Cyprus who paid tribute to the Assyrian king.²⁴ The stelae of Sargon II, significantly older (709 and 707 BC), found at Kition and at Khorsabad, clearly indicate that the island, annexed to the Assyrian Empire, was then divided into several well-defined kingdoms. The existence of these independent principalities in Cyprus is also attested in written sources, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny the Elder; these authors mainly inform us that the kingdoms, nine in the Classical period, disappeared in 312 BC during the Ptolemaic conquest, without reporting the date of their appearance. The date of birth of the kingdoms is at the heart of a scholarly debate that has lasted for decades. Some historians speculate that the kingdoms were born in the eleventh century, a political unit introduced by a Mycenaean elite. Others hypothesise that they appeared in the Archaic period. Whether the kingdoms arose in the eleventh century or at the beginning of the Archaic period, we are certain that they were in existence at the end of the eighth century BC. Substantial archaeological evidence supports the existence of royal power, or at least of an elite, from the CA I: built tombs in Salamis, Amathus, and then Tamassos and Kourion; the emergence of fortified enclosures in Amathus, Tamassos, and Kition; increased contacts with the Levant and the Aegean; the appearance or restructuring of great sanctuaries (Amathus, Kourion, Paphos, etc.); the development of the territory (the reappearance of 'secondary' sites and the multiplication of 'rural', 'suburban', and 'urban' sanctuaries); the 're-exploitation' of raw materials (Tamassos, Amathus, Kition, Salamis); the emergence of monumental architecture (the palace of Amathus, and then those of Vouni and Idalion). Within this stable and prosperous political framework ancient Limassol would experience one of the richest phases in its history.

²³ Masson (1985: 42); Masson and Szyner (1972: 77); Renan (1877: 487); Szyner (1985: 50).

²⁴ Yon (2004: 54-5).

The Archaic Period

During the Archaic period a multitude of small sites made their appearance, due to demographic pressure and the new power structure. This is what the charts of the development of the territory for the Geometric and Archaic periods seem to indicate for the Limassol district. In Limassol itself we have many tombs with abundant offerings. The fact that, early in the Archaic period, remains of artisanal production specific to certain major centres have been found on the small sites implies that these new settlements were born under the influence of a new political structure in which power was concentrated in the hands of a single city. This process of the 'urbanisation' and development of the territory seems to have been completed in the CA II, the period when Limassol was the most populated and the boundaries of the necropoleis were definitively established.

The funerary architecture of the Iron Age tombs remained almost the same as in the Bronze Age: a chamber tomb dug out of the limestone to bury the dead.²⁵ However, there were some changes in the shape of the chamber and of the *dromos*, with many variants, especially in the Archaic period. The tomb chambers might have a trapezoidal or roughly rectangular shape, sometimes ovoid or slightly circular, and the *dromos* might be short or long, wide or narrow, deep or shallow, with or without steps. The architecture of the tombs of Limassol seems to follow the types common to the whole island in the Archaic and Classical periods. Nothing remains of the few tombs of the Geometric period, so we have no precise information on the architecture of these early funerary complexes. In all periods following the Cypro-Geometric, the inhabitants of Limassol employed chamber tombs carved into the rock (fig. 4). The most common tombs have a roughly rectangular burial chamber with rounded corners, or are oblong. The *dromos*, where it survives, can be either long or short, preceded, most of the time, by a few steps. The access corridor leads to an entrance in the centre of the chamber. The *stomion*, never constructed, is a narrow passage, closed with one or more plaques of stone, filled in with smaller, unfinished stones. The floor and ceiling of the chamber are generally flat. The ceiling tends to drop sharply toward the back wall, and sometimes it is slightly vaulted. The room is rarely much further articulated, but occasionally there are benches on the three walls surrounding the entrance, and more often rectangular recesses, arranged in the centre of the room. No built tomb has been found in Limassol, but

²⁵ Cassimatis (1973: 117-18).

some tombs stray from the standard model. Tombs 121 and 122, for example, found in the necropolis of Ayios Ioannis, at a place called Kafkalla, share a *dromos* (fig. 5), the burial chambers being located at each end of the access corridor. This type of structure is relatively rare in Cyprus: there are some other examples in Limassol itself (Tombs 124 and 126) and in the large necropoleis of Paphos, Salamis, and Soloi. It seems that the use of common *dromoi* shared by two tombs was purely practical and economic. Cypriots, for lack of room, used various other stratagems to save space in their cemetery, and it is probably for this reason that the tombs were reopened for multiple burials.

The mode of dealing with the deceased did not change after the Bronze Age: at Limassol, the dead were buried. No trace of incineration has been recorded, either in Limassol or in the villages that comprise the present district. In Cyprus, however, cremation, although rare, is not unknown in the Archaic and Classical periods. No funeral rite that could illustrate a religious tradition is known at Limassol. Nevertheless, certain details attest to the practice of ritual customs. The presence of objects, carefully arranged around the dead, is itself eloquent testimony for the existence of funerary customs, as is the very placing of the deceased in a tomb. The deposition of objects for the dead is a practice seen in all the tombs of Limassol, without exception (fig. 4). This ancient Cypriot tradition is attested in all the necropoleis of the island, from the Early Bronze Age until the end of the Roman period. In the Archaic period, the funerary deposits are rich and abundant, consisting mainly of ceramic vases, but one also finds metal objects and, more rarely, terracotta figurines.

At the beginning of the Archaic period, the potters were at the peak of their art, with perfect mastery of the secrets of ceramic manufacturing: the clay, with beautiful pastel colours, is often refined and gentle, and the slip and the decoration are applied with care. The pottery declines in quality at the end of the Archaic period and at the same time the production begins to be more generic, a phenomenon that is more widespread in the Classical period. In many respects the vessels placed in the tombs of Limassol resemble the pottery found at Amathus at the same time. Located at the confluence of the two major artistic currents of the island, the production at Amathus developed a taste for Oriental culture, both Cypriot and Phoenician, and at the same time borrowed some features from western workshops. Besides productions with figures – ‘bird pitchers’ and amphoriskes of the *Amathus Style* (figs. 6-7) – the most common pottery is characterised by round shapes, often ‘collapsed’, with a colourful plant decoration, combined with abundant linear ornamentation. The potters of

Kourion, on the other hand, favoured elongated and more elegant forms, found much more rarely in Limassol.

Among the considerable mass of ceramic objects found in the tombs of Limassol, a series of vases is considered exceptional. A pitcher with trefoil mouth, decorated in the *Amathus Style* and dated to the late Archaic period, was discovered in Tomb 177 in the necropolis of Kapsalos. Made with fine, smooth, clean clay, it is beautifully painted with vegetal friezes, enhanced with incised details. On the shoulder, there are two stylised trees surrounding a scene depicting two cocks fighting around a bouquet of lotus (fig. 7). Stylised trees and lotus leaves also appear on two large *dinoia* of the second half of the Cypro-Archaic (ca. 600-475 BC), uncovered in Tomb 74 in the Limnazousa cemetery. These two large vases, made in a hybrid style proper to the workshops of Amathus, present a rather unusual form, particularly because of their vertical 'forked' handles (fig. 8).²⁶

Besides ceramic vases, one often finds metal objects, although in smaller numbers: jewellery (bronze brooches, silver and bronze earrings, bronze bracelets, silver ornaments for the hair, faience beads), bronze bowls, iron and bronze weapons and tools (knives, swords, arrowheads, bronze pins, iron nails). Among the jewels there is a rather remarkable pair of silver earrings adorned with two small gondola or basket-shaped pendants, called bushels (fig. 9), probably a Phoenician import, dated to the seventh century BC. There is also a fairly substantial number of pendants and amulets designed to protect the deceased. Most are scarab shaped beetles, usually of the Egyptianising type of Phoenician origin, very common in the Cypriots tombs of Kition and Amathus. The flat parts of these objects are sometimes smooth, devoid of decoration, or have engraved patterns, hieroglyphic signs, or genre scenes (fig. 10). In addition, there are many depictions of Egyptian and Phoenician-Punic gods. Bes, according to the Cypro-Phoenician iconographic type well known at Amathus, is probably the most popular in Limassol (fig. 10), but there are also many examples of the 'Eyes of Horus' (*Oudjat*) as well as an amulet representing the demonic mask of the horned god Humbaba.

Occasionally terracotta figurines were buried with the deceased. A group of twenty-five figurines comes from the tombs of Limassol, the vast majority of them dating from the Archaic period. The clay used for making these objects is common to local pottery and Amathusian products. Most of the representations are well known, particularly at Amathus (female figurines pressing a disk on their stomach, figurines of

²⁶ Alpe and Fourrier (2003).

the ‘Astarte’ type, little horsemen, chariots, boats, masks, horses, bulls, rams, dogs, birds), but two of them are unpublished and have no parallel on the island. These examples come from Tomb 327, a small tomb unearthed in Ayios Nicolaos. A small group of completely original terracotta figurines were found together with ceramic vases of the CA I. They include a frog decorated with motifs painted in brown and purple (fig. 11), to my knowledge the only terracotta example attested in Cyprus. Another figurine that is unique on the island is a fragmentary small human figure, seated before a large caldron placed over a wood fire. The object has no parallel elsewhere in Cyprus, but it belongs among the many representations of atypical genre scenes that depict various trades or scenes of everyday life (fig. 12).

Although local pottery made up the vast majority of funerary offerings, there were also vases imported from the Aegean or the Levant, although rather rarely, with only a dozen Aegean examples. The oldest is probably an aryballos of the Late Protocorinthian (between 650 and 625 BC) found at the end of the nineteenth century in an unknown context.²⁷ Most vases from the Aegean world are bowls with rosettes,²⁸ most probably mid- to late sixth century BC, and older *skyphoi* from eastern Greece, most probably of the early sixth century. The presence of Greek imports is exceptional in Limassol. The Hellenic influence is most evident in the use of elements borrowed from Greek art, perceptible in the local pottery of the Classical period. The Phoenician impact is more obvious. Archaic pottery of Limassol, like that of Amathus, is largely characterised by Phoenician influence, notably in the use of open keeled forms that reproduces the so-called ‘Samaria’ series. It is also clearly present in the use of complex shapes on pitchers with a straight and narrow neck, decorated with a jump, but also in the choice of some funerary offerings such as amulets and masks. We find not only influence, but also exact imitations of certain Phoenician pottery and some actual imports, but, like the Aegean vases, they are rare.²⁹ The lack of imports in Limassol is a phenomenon that is not seen in the tombs of Amathus, which are richer in imported goods, and this is one of the biggest differences between the funerary material of Limassol and Amathus. We know there was a Phoenician community in Amathus, as the necropolis of the Four Seasons Hotel attests. It is therefore surprising to find such a dearth of foreign items in Limassol. Yet foreign influence is pervasive on local pottery, and

²⁷ Gjerstad (1977: pl. IV, fig. 3).

²⁸ Karageorghis (1963: fig. 31); Gjerstad (1977: XI, nos. 6-9).

²⁹ Bikai (1987: pl. XI-XIII, nos. 192, 246, 296).

the potters of the area delighted in reinterpreting some aspects of Levantine and Aegean artistic idioms. The objects discovered in the archaic sanctuary of Limassol-*Komissariato*, located northwest of the present city, are clearly influenced by the Phoenician-Punic art, the most striking evidence of Phoenician penetration in the Kingdom of Amathus.

The archaic (CA II) sanctuary of Limassol-*Komissariato* was discovered in the summer of 1953, during levelling roadworks.³⁰ This is a small structure, roughly semi-circular in shape, built on a larger and older rectangular foundation of unknown function, which can be dated to the CA I (seventh century BC). The area had probably long been devoted to cult practice: the *favissa* of the eleventh century BC was unearthed about 400 metres from the archaic sanctuary and the large construction of the seventh century probably also had a religious purpose. The rough appearance of the latter complex is similar to that of many rural places of worship of the end of the Archaic period that have been discovered on the island, located outside the main areas of habitation.

This small sanctuary has yielded a terracotta phallus and some 181 offerings dating from the end of the Archaic period, around 500 BC. Among them there is material that is otherwise unknown in Cyprus, exhibiting significant Phoenician-Punic influences, clearly visible in the male terracotta figurines and the zoomorphic vases (figs. 13-14). Yet these objects are not imports: what we have is an amalgam of diverse influences forming a hybrid Punico-Cypriot art, which is, however, local, as shown by the analysis of the clay and the presence of Cypro-syllabic graffiti on some conical covers of incense burners. This production can be described as provincial with a specific religious function. Its period of use was brief, without a major impact on the art of the region or, on a larger scale, of the island. The zoomorphic figurines depict bulls and evoke fertility, something that allows the assumption that the cult practiced at the sanctuary was devoted to a male fertility god, although the presence of two fragments of female limestone statues, a 'Cypro-Ionian' type from the end of the Archaic period, implies the existence of a female equivalent.³¹ The strong Cypriot tradition that emerges from this material and the fact that it is completely produced *in situ* suggest a diffuse link and probably a gradual integration of the Phoenician-Punic model in the Kingdom of Amathus. It is probably not simply a matter of commercial ties, but perhaps an amalgam of genres and peoples, interacting and participating,

³⁰ Karageorghis (1977); Alpe (2007a).

³¹ Karageorghis (1977: pl. XXI, nos. 180-1).

especially at this time, in the creation of an unusual art, so characteristic of Amathus.

The presence of Phoenicians in Amathus and Limassol provokes the question of the identification of the Cypriot Carthage mentioned in the Phoenician inscriptions of the second half of the eighth century BC and in the prisms of Esarhaddon. In the list of the different capitals of kingdoms, missing are the names of Limassol – completely unknown to us anyway – and of Amathus, and even of Kition. But the Phoenician inscriptions – commonly known as the ‘Limassol patterns’³² – evoking the presence of a town called Carthage in Cyprus have led some scholars to hypothesise that this Carthage could be Amathus, or even Limassol, a Phoenician colony like the one of Kition. These inscriptions, inscribed in two instances on metal bowls, are actually a dedication to ‘Baal of Lebanon’ by Hiram II, ‘king of the Sidonians’, a sovereign who exercised his royal authority over Tyre and Sidon, a tributary in 738 BC of the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC).

The provenance of this discovery is at best uncertain, but several indications lead one to believe that these hooks were found in the environs of Limassol in the late nineteenth century,³³ and some scholars have even suggested they could have come from the city itself.³⁴ The proximity of discovery to the ancient site was one of the main arguments in favour of a ‘Limassol-Carthage’. Yet it is difficult to believe that Limassol was once the capital of a kingdom in the way Amathus was. On the one hand, the Cypro-Phoenician sanctuary of Limassol-*Komissariato* is later (500 BC) than the dating proposed for the ‘patterns’. We must not forget that this little place of worship was located, probably intentionally, on a more imposing building, which some sherds allow us to date to the CA I; but only a very small portion of this structure has been excavated and cleared and this hinders us from determining the very nature of the cult. The archaic Phoenician sanctuary of Ayios Tykxonas-*Asvestoton*,³⁵ close to Amathus, seems to be a more convincing candidate, like that of Ayia Phyla where we have found some Phoenician style masks and terracottas.³⁶ According to current research, however, the material from these two sites is later than the inscribed fragments and can be attributed to the second phase of the Archaic period. On the other hand, some historians

³² Bunnens (1979: 41).

³³ Masson (1985).

³⁴ Hill (1937: 489); Lipiński (1983); Oberhummer (1924: 104).

³⁵ Fourrier and Petit-Aupert (2007).

³⁶ Karageorghis (1993: 111-12).

have suggested Limassol as a possible candidate for Carthage, because the town was called Neapolis, 'new city', in Greek and Carthage also means 'new city'.³⁷ As in the case of the sanctuary of Komissariato, however, the name Neapolis is much later than the Phoenician inscriptions, since the name is attested only from the sixth century AD.

The decisive argument against Limassol as the possible Carthage lies in the fact that Limassol was never as rich as its two neighbours, Amathus and Kourion, capitals of kingdoms. The necropoleis of Amathus, like those of Kourion, present major differences from those of Limassol, since they are composed of a significant number of built tombs, while no tomb of this kind has yet been found in Limassol. With few exceptions (Patriki and Pyla), most of these tombs are located in central sites, such as Amathus, Salamis, Kition, Kourion, Idalion, and Tamassos, which were recognised as 'capitals' in the Archaic and Classical periods. The absence of monumental tombs in Limassol seems to be quite revealing of the social differentiation between it and Amathus. Furthermore, the objects placed in the tombs are also important markers of social status, as we have already seen in the case of imports. In Limassol the local fine pottery, such as the 'bird juglets' and 'small amphorae' of the *Amathus Style*, is much less abundant than in the necropoleis of Amathus, although it is more important than elsewhere in the region. These objects require perfect mastery in the handling of the clay and decoration and they must be viewed as 'luxury products'. What is striking in Amathus, much more than in Limassol, is the wealth, almost constant, of funerary objects and their variety throughout the Archaic period. In Limassol, most of the tombs contained material composed solely of pottery, sometimes along with iron knives. These objects are quite numerous, while one finds only very few ceremonial or military weapons. Finally, jewellery makes up a very small part of the material studied. It is worth recalling that, during the second half of the eighth century and the early seventh century, Limassol was undoubtedly growing, but the dispersion of the tombs suggests that the town was not yet fully organised; at this time Amathus already possessed a palace, the temple of Aphrodite was developed, the first built tombs appeared, the necropoleis were already old, extensive, and numerous, and the first city walls were constructed. Incontestably, the main centre of the region was still Amathus, not Limassol. On the other hand, the material from the tombs has also demonstrated that Phoenician imports, although more numerous than Greek imports, were not common in Limassol, despite a strong 'Phoenicianisation' of the local pottery. There is no doubt

³⁷ Hill (1937: 489).

that it was Amathus that passed its Phoenicianising culture to Limassol. Finally, to address the question of the Phoenicians, no Phoenician inscription has been discovered in Limassol itself, and the provenance of the ‘hooks’ has not really been established. If the Carthage of Cyprus was in the Limassol region, it must have been Amathus: the Phoenician cemetery constitutes irrefutable evidence of the presence of a Phoenician community in Amathus from the eighth century, and therefore of a Phoenician settlement. There can be no doubt that Limassol remained in Amathus’ shadow throughout the era of the kingdoms.

Despite these differences, the material of the Limassol tombs implies, on the one hand, the existence of a prosperous and stable settlement throughout the Archaic period, as the number of tombs, of their occupants, and of the offerings placed in them is high compared to other smaller sites in the environs. On the other hand, the presence of jewellery, sometimes valuable, is much more common than in neighbouring villages. Finally, some tombs carved out of the rock are large and spacious, equipped with benches, complex fittings, or built *stomia*. Moreover, Limassol has yielded quite a number of tombs, not of course in comparison to the necropoleis of Amathus, but it is probably the richest, largest, and oldest necropolis of all the small towns in the western part of the Kingdom of Amathus and the eastern part of the Kingdom of Kourion. In addition, Limassol was in permanent use from the Geometric period to the end of the Classical period and beyond. Although literary and architectural evidence is lacking, I think it is justified to speak of a ‘small town’ rather than just a simple village. In fact, some graves were much richer than others, especially those with a more elaborate architecture (Tomb 74 in particular) and imports along with ‘local luxury items’ (jewellery, pottery of the *Amathus Style*, amulets, etc.). Perhaps one can speak of the existence of a local elite in Limassol, mainly in the CA II.

The Classical Period

If the necropoleis of Limassol were used intensively during the second half of the Archaic period, this drops off sharply at the end of the Cypro-Archaic era and especially during the Classical period. In the current state of research it is impossible to determine whether the decline in the use of the tombs is also perceptible at Amathus or Kourion. The only event that can be connected to this phenomenon is the destruction of the palace of Amathus in the first decade of the fifth century BC, which has been linked to the Ionian Revolt against the Persians. When Onesilos of Salamis drew the kings of Cyprus into this uprising, Amathus remained faithful to

Persia, so Onesilos laid siege to the city. Contemporary destruction is also noticeable in the second phase of the palace. The complex was soon reconstructed following the same plan. On the other hand, one sees general upheaval throughout the acropolis, in particular in the sanctuary. It is possible that, although the city of Amathus appears to have recovered quickly enough, the event shook the territory of the kingdom and a portion of the population of Limassol departed, perhaps for the backcountry. Still, life in Limassol does not seem to have been profoundly disturbed. We find numerous luxury items in the tombs at the end of the Archaic and beginning of the Classical period. The kingdoms of Cyprus are better known in the Classical than in the Archaic period, especially through the minting of coins for each kingdom, through inscriptions, which are more frequent, and through literary evidence. Yet the end of the Classical period in Limassol is very poorly represented. Certainly Tombs 74 and 177, in addition to Tomb 28, have yielded some rich material (gold diadems, jewellery, etc.), but the tombs and offerings deposited are significantly fewer, and their number, rather low, remains stable throughout the fourth century BC. It does seem that the town's prosperity has been weakened, probably because of the political situation the island witnesses at that time, the last king of Amathus, Androkles, being engaged in Alexander's operations against the Persian Empire (siege of Tyre in 332 BC). Small sites and the countryside appear to suffer from the struggles over the succession following the death of Alexander in 323 BC, as did the 'capitals'. It is difficult to account for the damage caused by this political change merely on the basis of the funerary evidence that we possess. During the second half of the fourth century, the use of the necropoleis decline, both in Limassol and in neighbouring sites.

The structure of the tombs in the Classical period did not change, but one should mention the strange shape of Tomb 95 constructed at the end of the Archaic period and used during the Classical era in the necropolis of Koutsoulia (fig. 15). The architecture of this tomb is indeed quite original. The chamber, equipped with arches cut into the long sides, is a unique specimen in Limassol. This is not one of the *loculi*, usually rectangular recesses, carved in the centre or the upper section of a wall, which were in vogue from the Hellenistic period. Nor does it constitute one of those small recesses located near the entrance or in the *dromos*, which served as ossuaries or repositories of offerings, attested in Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age and Iron Age. According to the objects found, the tomb was first used during the first half of the fifth century BC, and there is no doubt that these arches are not the result of later modifications. Tomb 165 of the necropolis southwest of Amathus, dated CG III-CA I, was also equipped

with two apses carved out of the north and south walls of the burial chamber. They were devoid of benches, so bones alone were gathered there, which suggests that they were used only for the deposition of bones. This is the only known example on the island. The peculiarity of Tomb 95 lies not only in the truly exceptional shape of the chamber, but also in that of the *dromos*, which forms a kind of cubic space, as one finds in the necropoleis of Kition. It is quite possible that this form was adopted in Limassol in the Cypro-Classical period to facilitate the passage of the sarcophagi, and in fact there was one of them in Tomb 95. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is very rare, as there is only one other known sarcophagus in the necropoleis of Limassol. It comes from the Cypro-Classic Tomb 186 of Ayios Nicolaos and contained no fewer than eight burials. Both sarcophagi have a monolithic body with a rectangular shape. The rectangular cavity rests on four feet, in accordance with the Amathusian tradition, somewhat in contrast to that of Kition.

Although the tombs of the Classical era are clearly less numerous than those of the Archaic period, they have yielded abundant and sometimes rich material. Ceramic vases are particularly numerous, but the forms tend to be generic. The first phase is still characterised by some changes of the Archaic period, and painting continued to be used for decoration, but monochrome vessels, Plain White and Red Slip, multiplied. The shapes became less original and varied, and miniature vases, very popular in the Archaic period, were totally obsolete. This phenomenon is accentuated during the second phase, but we find fewer pottery items. It seems that the production has become commercialised, prolific and monotonous. The vessels, to mass-produce, naturally tend to be uniform and the work is often shoddy. The production of the second phase of the Classical period, less well known to specialists, undoubtedly heralds future Hellenistic manufacture that breaks definitively from the traditions of the Iron Age.

Alongside the rather ordinary local products, one still finds some Aegean imports in the Classical period, notably an Attic *skyphos* datable to the beginning or middle of the fifth century BC and found in Tomb 9 of Ayios Nicolaos. From the same period one can also mention a *lekythos* found in Tomb 215 of Ayios Athanasios, a village not far from Limassol, in its northern outskirts.³⁸ This is a vase with a rare shape that is found in Attica, but is little attested in Cyprus. Greek pottery, as it appears in the Archaic period, is not included in the common ceramic idiom of the potters in the region. This is not the case, however, in the Classical era, when one finds very clear signs of Aegean influence in local production.

³⁸ Flourentzos (1993: pl. XLII, no. 82).

In general, the Aegean imports found in Limassol in the Archaic and Classical periods are associated with rich tombs. The small sites in the area have not yielded imports, except for Ayios Athanasios, but they are well attested in some tombs of Amathus and abundant in the palace. These vessels are thus rare and exceptional and must be viewed as luxury items. They appear to be a factor of social distinction and therefore representative of a certain social elevation. They reinforce the notion of rich families coming to settle in the vicinity of the ‘capital’, already present during the second phase of the Archaic period. Given the quantity of imports found at Amathus, both in the tombs and in the palace, it seems clear that the inhabitants of Limassol had access to them via the ‘capital’ but that the number of people who could benefit was relatively restricted.

Imports are not the only luxury items found in the classical tombs of Limassol. Four gold diadems are proof of this (fig. 16), two of which were discovered in the same tomb, Tomb 145, uncovered in Tsiflikoudia. They are decorated with a frieze of *anthémia* or of palmettos, worked in repoussé on gold leaf. Three of these diadems can be assigned to the Classical period, but the fourth, found *in situ* in Tomb 74 on the forehead of the last burial, was made in the Hellenistic era. Besides the diadems, one also finds other jewellery, including rings. Some are made of iron, but one cannot determine their specific shape in their state of preservation. These were discovered in tombs that contained burials of the Classical period (Tombs 9, 28, and 186). There are others made of bronze, which also derive from contexts that are rather late. Finally, a gold ring was found in the Tomb 293 of Ayios Nicolaos, and its similarity to certain Greek types suggests a date in the Classical period. Another object, equally exceptional, is worth mentioning: a pair of rings used for hair adornment, uncovered in Tomb 68, in the Kapsalos necropolis (fig. 17). Dating from the fifth century, these two rings are made of gold, silver, and blue enamel. One end of the ring is decorated with a lion’s head and a rosette with six petals. These two objects can be compared with finds from Tombs 211 and 286 of Amathus and a pair of rings from Marion.

The historical reconstitution of Limassol in the Iron Age and in the Classical era has highlighted the close ties uniting the ‘town’ to Amathus, and these ties are made manifest in the eloquent cultural differentiation between the material of Kourion and that of Amathus. Limassol truly emerged at a time when Amathus was booming. The cultural wealth and prosperity of the kingdom in the Archaic period are reflected in the funerary objects of Limassol. Similarly, the political disputes of the Classical period, under the Achaemenid Empire, were felt in Limassol and

in the small sites nearby. Limassol seems to have been fully integrated into the kingdom of Amathus and, because of its location between two capitals, it probably played a key role in its organisation. Certainly, it was a secondary site throughout the period of the kingdoms, but it was probably more than just a village. Some ancient authors, such as Diodorus Siculus, the Pseudo-Skylax, or Strabo, also mention the presence of ‘villages’ within the kingdoms in the Classical period. The kingdoms appear then to have been strongly hierarchical independent entities, organised around an often ancient ‘primary’ town, which served as the great urban centre dominating each region of the island. Within this territory, other towns, smaller, but with an important role to play, are termed ‘secondary towns’. Finally, villages, still smaller, were totally dependent on the larger towns.³⁹ Although this pattern seems to apply to the area of Limassol rather well – Amathus, then Limassol, and then surrounding villages – it does not seem that the small settlements around Amathus and Limassol were poor. On the contrary, the tombs sometimes contained rich and abundant offerings, as in the case of Polemidia, Ayia Phyla, Ypsonas, Phasoulla, and Ayios Athanasios. Like today, the villages far from the large cities and the coast were less populated and to some extent poorer. This society was organised around and probably depended on the main chief town, as is the case in many centralised systems. Although one can hypothesise, it is still difficult to understand the economic and commercial ties that bound the city to its territory. Funerary materials do not necessarily describe reality, and today we are unable to discern the kind of authority the ‘capital’ exercised over its territory and the king over his subjects.

The situation of Limassol differs from that of other small towns and ‘secondary sites’: it is located on the coast, in a densely populated area, surrounded by a multitude of small settlements, very close to its ‘capital’, Amathus, and in a frontier region bordering the kingdom of Kourion. The town was therefore of some importance. Coastal cities are often much more important (Paphos, Salamis, Amathus, Kition) than those located inland. Aside from the capitals, other coastal settlements of lesser importance, such as Limassol, are known from written sources and archaeological exploration, for example Karpasia (St Philon) on the northern coast and Ayia Irini-*Paleokastro* on the northwest coast. Other towns, located inland, could be compared to Limassol of the Iron Age and the Classical era, especially Golgoi, located in a rich and important region, a contact zone between Kition and Salamis, and most certainly Idalion. A settlement of the Late Bronze Age has been discovered at Golgoi and, as in the case

³⁹ Rupp (1987b).

of Limassol, the inhabitation of Golgoi was old and did not survive the troubles of the end of the Bronze Age. Finally, like Limassol, it was once thought that Golgoi might also have been a 'capital' of a kingdom, but this hypothesis has now been refuted. Golgoi was rather a small town attached to the kingdom of Idalion and, from the fifth century BC, to that of Salamis.⁴⁰ Golgoi must have been a major cult centre, which does not seem to be the case for Limassol, according to current research. What the two towns have in common is a rich archaeological record, which is rather striking for sites that are considered 'secondary', as well as their location on the edge of several capitals. Their situation in frontier zones is probably why Golgoi and Limassol developed more than other establishments in the countryside. Although the exact nature of these 'small towns' eludes us, one might hypothesise that, in the time of the kingdoms, they served as 'markers of territorial limits'. From this perspective, we should see them as places of exchange and trade between the kingdoms. With its coastal position, perhaps Limassol played a role as a port of call and as axis of local traffic, undoubtedly between Amathus and Kourion. The presence of a wealthy and dominant aristocratic minority installed in Limassol at the end of Cypro-Archaic and at the start of the Classical period is therefore not surprising. This can also be detected in Golgoi, especially in the beautiful carved sarcophagus in New York, and in Patriki and Pyla, where tombs of particularly careful construction were uncovered.⁴¹ These items all date back to nearly the same period. Although it is difficult to interpret them, we can see in these structures the installation of wealthy families sent by the dominant centres in order to exercise a certain control, as suggested by 'the Idalion tablet'. In this respect, Limassol cannot be regarded merely as a 'secondary site', but as a rich and prosperous small town that undoubtedly played an important role in the kingdom of Amathus.

4. Hellenistic and Roman Eras

The death of Alexander in 323 BC led to conflicts over the succession between Perdikkas and then Antigonos, on the Macedonian side, and Ptolemy, the Lagide installed in Egypt. In 306, Demetrios Poliorketes, son of Antigonos, prevailed and ruled over the island until 294, when Ptolemy took the island. Cyprus remained under Ptolemaic control until the arrival of the Romans. The kingdoms disappeared around 312-311 BC, succumbing

⁴⁰ Hermary (2004: 57-8).

⁴¹ Karageorghis (1972a).

under the pressure of the rivalry between Alexander's successors. It does not appear that Amathus enjoyed much prosperity during this period, and it was no longer one of the leading towns. Nea Paphos became the administrative and military capital of the island. Cyprus was annexed to the Roman Empire in 58 BC. The island was henceforth governed by a proconsul, based in Paphos.

It is difficult to discern Limassol's fate at the end of the kingdoms, because few remains from this period have survived, in addition to the fact that no detailed study has been undertaken for this phase. Yet we do know that, from the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the large necropoleis of the Iron Age, Kapsalos and Ayios Nicolaos, practically ceased being used. The few tombs that have been identified in this sector are reused from the Iron Age. The cemeteries of Ayia Zoni, mainly on Evangelistrias Street, of Ayios Ioannis, and of Tsiflikoudia become the major centres. New sectors developed to the west of Kapsalos at Vasileos Konstantinou and Nikou Pattihi Streets and in the industrial area of Nea Ekali. At Katholiki, the construction of Tomb 125 obviously disturbed the necropolis of the Late Bronze Age, and it seems that the inhabitants then decided to abandon the sector. According to the inventories of the museum of Limassol, there are about 90 tombs dating from this time, but there seem to be fewer from the Hellenistic period. The decline of the major Iron Age centres in the early Hellenistic period, especially Amathus, resulted in the disruption of the necropoleis and the city, which we have been trying to locate. It seems clear that the disappearance of the kingdoms in the late fourth century BC caused significant political upheaval in the city and that a new, to say the least turbulent, era dawned.

The settlements in the countryside were not deserted, however, and the hinterland was relatively well populated in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As new sites appeared in the region, especially in Roman times – for example Pelendri, Ayios Georgios, Sylikou, Kilani, Kato Platres, Vasa, Kivides, Avdimou, Anoyira – others disappeared with the abolition of the kingdoms – Pyrgos, Pentakomon, Alassa (?), Doros, Trimiklini, Yerasa, Apeshia, Paramytha, Asomatos.

Fewer offerings are placed in the tombs, often merely consisting of a few relatively mundane pieces of pottery. Sometimes one finds a few gems and jewellery, like the gold diadem placed on the forehead of the deceased in the last burial of the rich Tomb 74, or the wonderful pair of gold earrings found in Tomb 125, the rings of which terminated in finely wrought dolphins' heads (fig. 18). Terracotta figurines sometimes number among the objects buried with the deceased. Tomb 177, which was found very disturbed, was used in the Archaic and Classical periods and once

again during the Hellenistic era. The objects from this – or these – last burial consisted of some pottery, a few beads, some covered with gold leaf, but also two terracotta figurines; one of them is completely preserved, still bearing traces of red paint in the hair (fig. 19); the other is similar to the first, but was found in a fragmentary state, with only the head surviving. They represent a female figurine of the Tanagra type, very common in the Hellenistic period. In Tomb 200 one of the last versions of molded figurine of the type with Astarte holding her breasts was discovered.⁴² Subsequently, one encounters terracotta figurines more rarely in the tombs. Some coins also appear at this time in the tombs of Limassol, four of them among the funerary objects that have been studied. They are all bronze, three being roughly circular and unreadable. The fourth is a coin of Alexander found in Tomb 64.⁴³ Very few large-scale sculptures have been found in Limassol. Often, the few examples were seized by the police from clandestine excavations or chance discoveries and it is impossible to know their exact provenance. One can nevertheless mention a funerary relief of rough workmanship that must have been found in the city itself in 1959.⁴⁴ It depicts a young girl, dressed in a *chiton* and a *himation* and holding a dove in her hands, and is executed in pure Hellenistic tradition.

In the Roman era, objects in tombs included some pottery and numerous glass vases (jugs, cups, spindle whorls, etc.), sometimes terracotta oil lamps decorated with genre scenes, and more rarely jewellery (pearl necklaces, silver pins, bracelets made of bone or bronze, gold earrings) and metal objects (bronze mirrors in particular). Objects that are out of the ordinary are rarer, but one can mention as an example the small engraved carnelian gem found in Tomb 185, adorned with a scene of a small cupid in front of a tree,⁴⁵ or the small pitcher with a belly in the form of a black woman's head that was unearthed in Tomb 198.⁴⁶

The tombs of Limassol, the architecture of which – to the extent that we know it – remains faithful to the traditions of the Iron Age, were often surmounted in the Hellenistic and Roman eras with funerary *stelae* or *cippi*, which supply the vast majority of the inscriptions found in the ancient city. They are epitaphs written in Greek, as one finds throughout Cyprus at the time. The names of the deceased, where they survive, are

⁴² Karageorghis (1987: 726, fig. 211).

⁴³ Karageorghis (1962: 380).

⁴⁴ Karageorghis (1960: 269, fig. 42).

⁴⁵ Karageorghis (1984: 912, fig. 59).

⁴⁶ Karageorghis (1987: 724, fig. 207).

quite common: Aristion, Theotimos, etc. Sometimes, family affiliations can be traced,⁴⁷ but often these texts are found out of context and it is difficult to attach them to a particular tomb and to associate the name of the deceased with the objects buried with him. Only seven of the 332 known tombs have yielded funerary *stelae*, all seven tombs being from Hellenistic and Roman times.

In the region, in addition to the necropoleis, which have sometimes yielded treasures of precious metal,⁴⁸ some modest architectural remains have been brought to light. The most interesting example is the sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoulla, a small village north of Limassol which had been occupied in the Cypro-Archaic era. The temple, a small elliptical structure, stood on a hill south of the village. Several inscriptions were found there,⁴⁹ along with the remains of about fifty statues; of local limestone and rather coarse craftsmanship, these include mostly bearded figures wearing crowns, clothed in a *chiton* and *himation*, the style of which, certainly Cypriot, resembles Coptic art and some statues from Palmyra in Late Antiquity (around the fourth or fifth century AD). Among this group there is a representation that was very fashionable in the Archaic and Classical periods, that of Zeus Ammon sitting on a throne supported by two rams.⁵⁰ Some historians have linked this discovery to the inscriptions carved on the 'Limassol patterns',⁵¹ but nothing pre-dating the Roman era has been discovered on the site and, even if Phasoulla was inhabited in the early CA I, there is nothing to suggest the presence of a sanctuary already at that time.

Despite the little we know about Roman Limassol, one could suggest that at the end of the period the city grew to become the Neapolis of the Early Christian era.

The Limassol plain, from Kourion to Amathus, was appealing and largely open to the exterior. Secure to the north by the foothills of the Troodos, so rich in copper and wood, it was supplied by many water courses and forests. From the Early Bronze Age, the inhabitants of Cyprus were aware of the many advantages and established a town on the coast, in the location of the Limassol of today. The rescue excavations conducted in the area have revealed a relatively consistent number of tombs reflecting the existence of a coastal settlement of some importance.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Nicolaou (1974: 190).

⁴⁸ At Vasa, for example: Karageorghis (1960: 270-2).

⁴⁹ Mitford (1946: 32).

⁵⁰ Karageorghis (1965: 253-4).

⁵¹ Masson (1985: 45).

The history of Limassol was ignored for a long time, since there was no historical mention before the sixth century AD to justify extensive investigations in the town. The various finds reported in the area at the end of the nineteenth century and numerous rescue excavations yielded abundant funerary material and the two small sanctuaries of Komissariato. The evolution of ancient Limassol is thus known via material culture, the vast majority of it represented by objects from a funerary context. Certainly, pottery can trace the evolution of the site and of the small villages of the hinterland, but it cannot provide definitive historical conclusions. Nevertheless, it has allowed the reconstruction of the history of Limassol along general lines.

The position of the tombs and their dating have revealed the existence of relatively large necropoleis, organised around a settlement located on the coast. It was surrounded by a number of other settlements very close to the town, but probably independent, such as Ayios Athanasios, Polemidia, and Ayia Phyla. Farther inland there were many other sites, apparently just villages. This information presents the image of an area that was developed and heavily exploited from the Bronze Age. The inhabitants of Limassol privileged the sectors of Ayios Nicolaos, Kapsalos, and Katholiki. Katholiki, the great necropolis of the Bronze Age, would be abandoned in the Iron Age in favour of Kapsalos. The displacement of necropoleis reflects the historical upheavals that the 'city' witnessed in the course of these two millennia. The organisation of the site thus changed three times: first at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, when the necropolis of Ayios Nicolaos was abandoned; then at the end of the Bronze Age, when the city was deserted until the middle of the Geometric period, at which time it appears that the locales began to be inhabited again; and finally we see a new upheaval at the close of the Cypro-Classical period, when the large cemeteries disappeared. The permanence of tombs in ancient Limassol and their reuse testify to the permanence of the population and, therefore, of a city rooted in the landscape of the region for two millennia.

The objects found in the tombs have demonstrated that Limassol must have been a small border town in the time of the kingdoms and that perhaps there was a local elite installed there at the end of the Archaic period and in the early Classical era. Indeed, it is quite possible that Limassol was able to exercise a certain influence on its surroundings at the local level, especially during the Iron Age. The neighbouring villages, with few exceptions, retained their original location and their function probably did not change much. There were still farms or large agricultural establishments in the hinterland, quarries higher up, and cities on the coast.

Yet the importance of the cities shifted: Amathus and Kourion are no longer more than archaeological sites, the pride of the inhabitants of Ayios Tykhonas and Episkopi, but Limassol, which does not appear in any text before the sixth century AD, has become a large town, the main one of the region and one of the most important of the island.



Fig. 1: Early Bronze Age jug, Pyrgos [Hadjisavvas (1998: 666, fig. 6)].

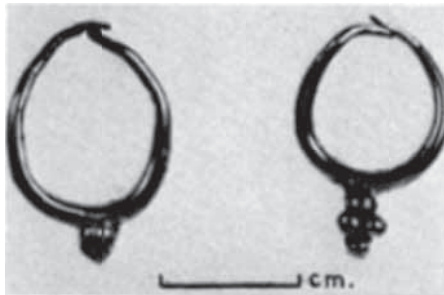


Fig. 2: Pair of gold earrings [Karageorghis (1978: 892, fig. 36)].



Fig. 3: Terracotta figurine depicting 'the goddess with raised arms', sanctuary of Limassol-Komissariato [Cyprus Museum, Nicosia – Karageorghis (1979: 45, pl. XIV)].

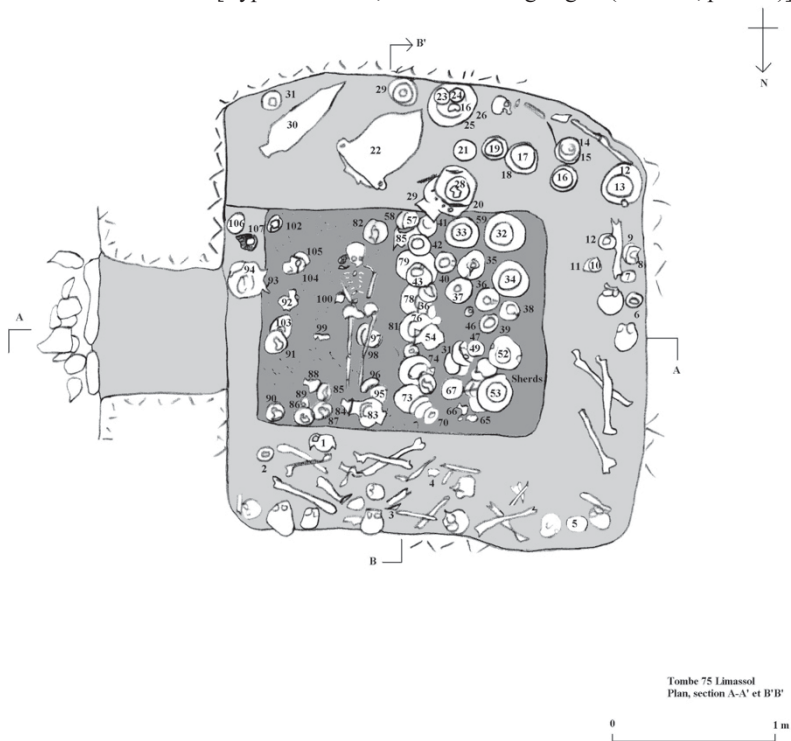
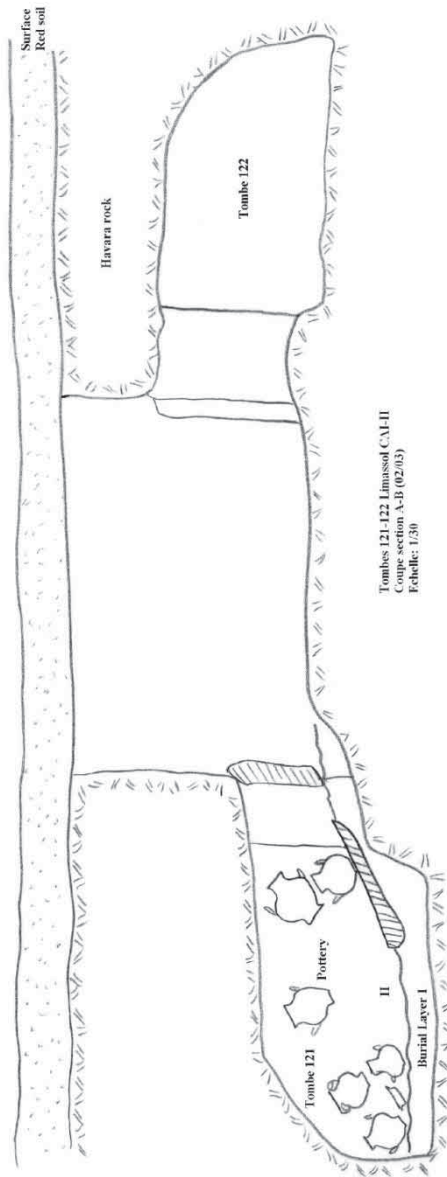


Fig. 4: Plan of Tomb 75 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



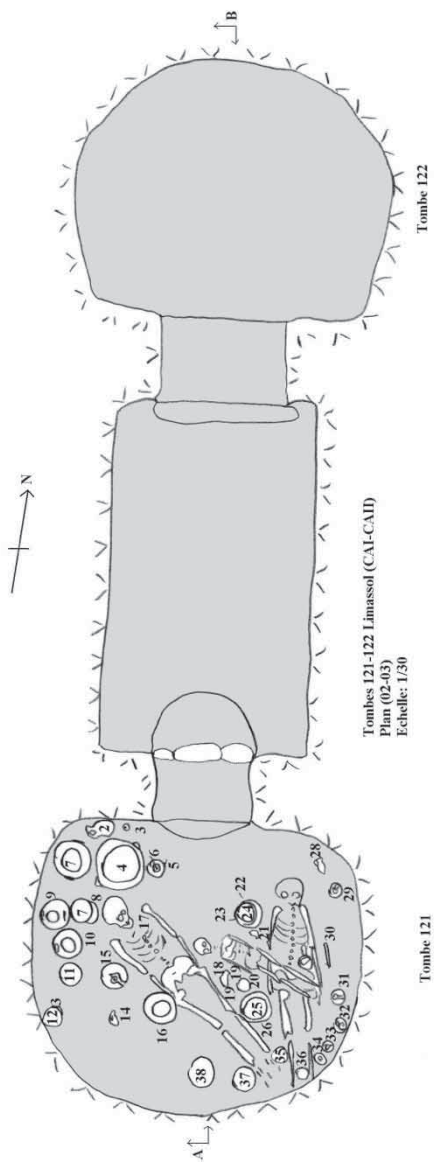


Fig. 5: Section and plan of Tombs 121-122 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].

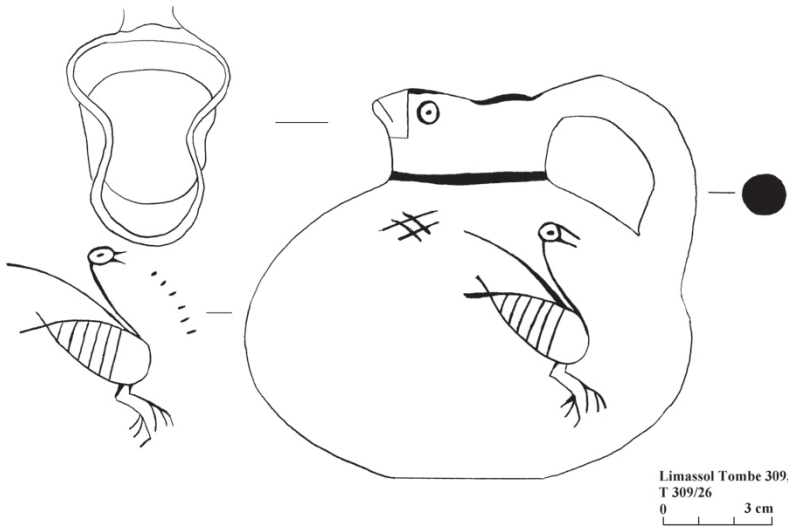


Fig. 6: 'Bird Jug', Tomb 309 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



Fig. 7: Jug in the *Amathus Style*, Tomb 177 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



Fig. 8: Hybrid style Dinoia, Tomb 74 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – Karageorghis (1966: 332, fig. 81)].



3 cm

Limassol-"Ayios Nicolaos" T 186, T 186/32

Fig. 9: A pair of silver earrings of Phoenician origin [Limassol Museum – Alpe (2007a: 282, fig. 10)].



Fig. 10: Scarabs and amulets from various tombs of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



Fig. 11: Terracotta figurine representing a frog, Tomb 327 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



Fig. 12: Terracotta figurine, Tomb 327 of Limassol [Limassol Museum - L. Alpe].



Fig. 13: Terracotta statuette, sanctuary of Limassol-Komissariato [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].

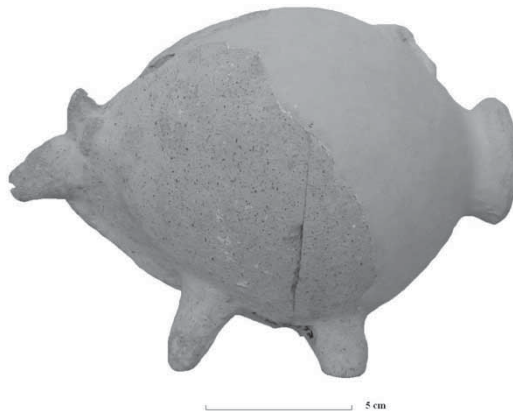
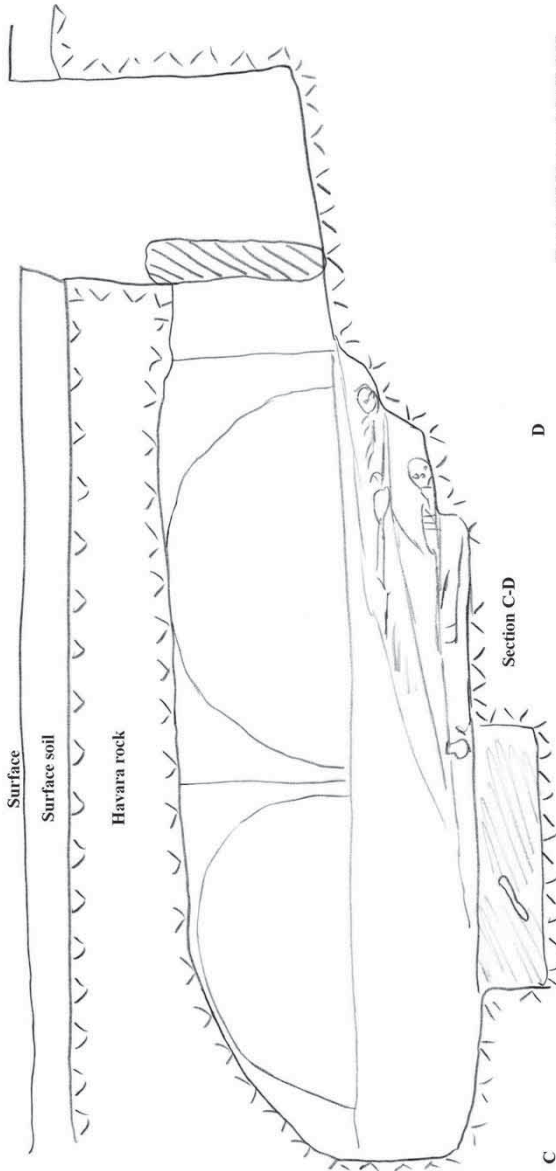


Fig. 14: Zoomorphic *askos* terracotta, sanctuary of Limassol-Komissariato [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



Tombe 95 Limassol CA II-CCI
Coupe section C-D (02/03)
Echelle: 1:30

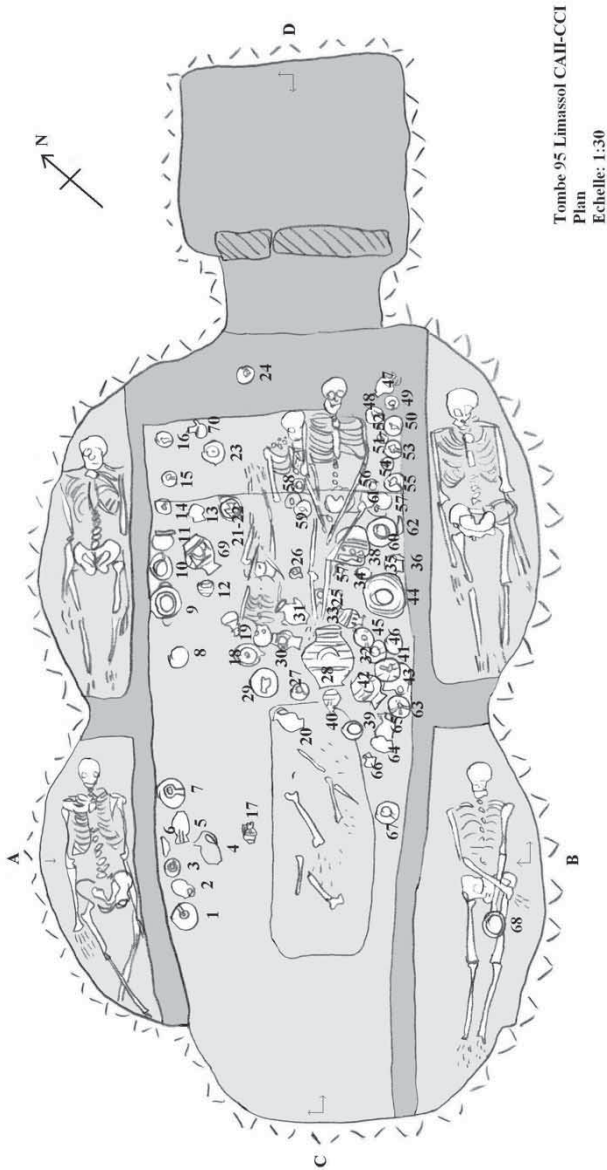


Fig. 15: Section and plan of Tomb 95 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].



_____ 5 cm
 Limassol T 74, LM 372/65

Fig. 16: Gold diadems, Tombs 28, 74, and 145 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].

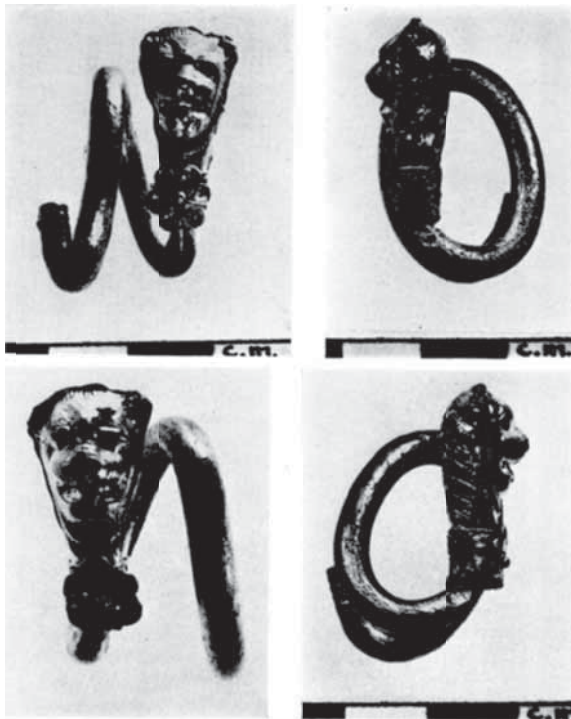


Fig. 17: Pair of earrings, Tomb 68 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – Karageorghis (1964: 328, fig. 58)].



Fig. 18: Pair of gold earrings, Tomb 125 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – Karageorghis (1976: 865, fig. 50)].

Limassol T 177, T 177/92



Fig. 19: Terracotta figure of the Tanagra type, Tomb 177 of Limassol [Limassol Museum – L. Alpe].

NEAPOLIS/NEMESOS/LIMASSOL:
THE RISE OF A BYZANTINE SETTLEMENT
FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE TIME
OF THE CRUSADES

TASSOS PAPACOSTAS*

There is no doubt that the history of medieval Limassol from the end of Late Antiquity to the establishment of the Lusignan Kingdom on Cyprus towards the close of the twelfth century is not well served by either archaeology or the surviving written sources. The thick veil of obscurity covering this half millennium is lifted only once, at the very end of the period, frustratingly briefly, yet most spectacularly. In May 1191 Limassol was unexpectedly propelled to the international limelight literally overnight, as a result of the events surrounding the island's conquest by Richard the Lionheart in the course of the Third Crusade: following the wreckage of some crusader ships during a storm off the coast, the king disembarked at Limassol, captured it, married Berengaria of Navarre there, crowned her queen of England, and made the coastal city his base of operations before departing in early June for the Holy Land in pursuit of the goals of the crusade. This sequence of events that barely lasted a month is indeed the only significant claim to fame of a town making otherwise fleeting appearances in the written record of the Byzantine period.¹

Unlike other Cypriot cities, Limassol never boasted a foundation legend linking its early history to heroes of the Trojan War or to mythical

* I wish to thank the editors for their invitation to contribute to this volume, and for their subsequent suggestions and helpful comments. I am particularly grateful to Michalis Olympios for frequent and stimulating discussions concerning aspects of the archaeology of medieval Limassol.

¹ On the 1191 events, see the extensive account in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter.

figures.² Indeed, to the mind of Étienne de Lusignan, writing in the sixteenth century and presumably inspired by local oral traditions, the town was a medieval creation, a result of the destruction of nearby Amathus by Richard the Lionheart, and was founded or renewed by the first Lusignan kings.³ This legend, which enjoyed a long life, is of course just that, an invented story which, nevertheless, reflects certain truths: the evidence for pre-Lusignan Limassol is anything but abundant, and its rise does perhaps have something to do with the demise of Amathus, although not in the twelfth century but much earlier. It has to be noted, however, that, unlike the sixteenth-century local chronicler, some foreign visitors to the island from at least the fifteenth century, perhaps aware of the accounts of the crusade, correctly associated the events of 1191 with Limassol rather than Amathus.⁴

The essay that follows will attempt to bring together and interpret the available evidence in order to gauge the place, function(s), and importance of Limassol within the local Cypriot and wider Byzantine and Mediterranean contexts. In view of the dearth of evidence, the result of such an investigation will by definition be patchy and hazy. Limassol lies between two important ancient cities, namely Kourion to the west and Amathus to the east. Both flourishing cities until the seventh century, they declined thereafter and, whereas coastal Kourion may have been partly replaced by nearby inland Episkopi, Limassol appears to have eventually inherited the primary functions of Amathus as the region's principal settlement and as the island's major harbour on the south coast.⁵ It is therefore imperative to look at the fate of Amathus before turning to the earliest evidence for the existence of Limassol in order to understand the latter's development.

² On these foundation legends see Hill (1940-1952: I, 85-9). According to the telling testimony of one of the earliest works of the Renaissance dealing with the ancient past of Cyprus, the mid-fifteenth-century *Cosmographia* of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), 'Nimosiensis episcopatus est: turris quendam extat et ecclesia distruta vulgo Limissum vocant', while other cities (e.g. Lapithos, Salamis, Kourion, Paphos, Soloi) are enumerated together with their legendary founders or prominent ancient figures (largely based on Strabo). See Pius II, *Cosmographia*, without pagination (ed. 1477), the relevant passage occurring on two folios following the section on Cilicia towards the end of the volume, and 277 (ed. 1551); also, Calvelli (2009: 49-52) and Tolia (2014: 68-70).

³ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 8v and *Description*, fol. 19v.

⁴ Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 97-8).

⁵ Megaw (1986: 510-12; 1993); Papageorghiou (1993: 37).

Late Antique Amathus

The site of ancient Amathus remained largely deserted throughout the medieval and modern periods, facilitating archaeological investigations that started in earnest in the later twentieth century.⁶ Late antique Amathus was a flourishing city with a harbour, birthplace of prominent seventh-century ecclesiastics such as the Patriarch of Alexandria John the Almsgiver (d. 620) and the prolific author Anastasios of Sinai (d. ca. 700), episcopal see, and cult centre of Tykhon (d. ca. 404-408), its most prominent early bishop whose *vita* was composed by the Almsgiver himself. It boasted several churches, monasteries (two of which were founded by the Almsgiver before his appointment to the patriarchal throne), a walled acropolis, public buildings, perhaps a dyeing workshop, and facilities by the harbour for the manufacture of Late Roman 1 amphoras, presumably used for the export of local produce.⁷ This image of prosperity obtains all over the island and reached its peak in the sixth and early seventh centuries. The Arab raids of the mid-seventh century are thought to have ushered in a period of irrevocable changes.

In 649 Cyprus was attacked for the first time in a campaign that marked the unexpected entrance of the Arabs into the Mediterranean scene, as it was their first major naval operation following their swift conquest of Byzantine Syria-Palestine and Egypt. In 653/4 there was a second raid that resulted in the establishment of an Arab garrison on the island, most probably at Paphos. This was withdrawn before the end of the century when the Empire and Caliphate signed a treaty in 686/7 regulating the status of the island vis-à-vis the two powers, usually and controversially referred to as a *condominium*. According to this agreement taxes would be paid to both powers while military neutrality would be maintained; this status is supposed to have lasted until 965 when Cyprus was reintegrated within the Byzantine Empire.⁸ Although, unlike the island's late antique capital Salamis/Constantia,⁹ Amathus is not mentioned in the sources as the target of an assault in the seventh century, there is overwhelming evidence for destruction in that very period all over the excavated sectors of the site. Indeed, among the excavated late antique settlements of

⁶ Aupert (1996: 13-15). On ancient and late antique Amathus, see also Antoine Herymary's chapter in this volume.

⁷ Aupert (1996: 61-6); Empereur and Picon (1989: 242-3); Leontios of Neapolis, 398 on the monasteries.

⁸ For the most recent treatment, see Beihammer (2004) with extensive earlier bibliography.

⁹ Papacostas (2012: 80-1).

Cyprus, Amathus furnishes some of the most compelling testimonies in that respect.

1. Destruction

On the acropolis, whose southern flank had been fortified in the sixth or early seventh century with the construction of a 265m-long wall (no. 6 on fig. 1), the western gate was burnt down, according to the excavators probably during the first raid in 649, then walled and damaged by fire once more, perhaps during the second raid; the destruction layers on the acropolis contain seventh-century pottery and virtually no evidence for any subsequent occupation.¹⁰ The ceramic and numismatic finds (latest coins from the reign of Constantine IV [668-685]) from the basilica complex on top of the acropolis hill also suggest its abandonment by the end of the century (no. 12). Its collapse, however, was not the result of wanton destruction but of mere abandonment; its excavation in 1984-1990 revealed that the site had been previously occupied by a temple dedicated to Aphrodite which was perhaps converted to Christian use in the fifth century before being replaced in the later sixth or early seventh century by the basilica complex within a large enclosure accommodating annexes and a cistern, functioning probably as a monastic or pilgrimage shrine (perhaps one of the foundations of John the Almsgiver?).¹¹

The picture from the lower town is more uniform and unreservedly dire, at least in the areas excavated so far: the northern section of the city wall and a two-storey building with cistern in the southwest have both produced evidence for destruction at that time (no. 13).¹² The fifth-century basilica in the southwestern sector (no. 4), discovered in the early 1960s next to the modern coastal road and subsequently excavated with its annexes that may represent a monastic site (ossuary, olive-press, cistern, and basins), was destroyed at some point toward the end of Late Antiquity or in the early medieval period (the excavation reports are unclear).¹³ Further to the east in the cemetery near the edge of the lower town, the small church (?) with triapsidal burial chamber built perhaps in the second half of the fifth century and enlarged into a small pier basilica in the late

¹⁰ Megaw (1986: 509); Papageorghiou (1993: 37); Aupert (1996: 94-6); *ARDA 1999*, 43.

¹¹ Pralong (1994: 455); Aupert (1996: 132-45); Lehmann (2005: 29-32); Procopiou (2006a: 114-15).

¹² Megaw (1986: 509); Aupert (1996: 150); *ARDA 1991*, 49; *BCH*, 124 (2000: 528).

¹³ Papageorghiou (1996: 84-8); Lehmann (2005: 32-4); Procopiou (2006a: 114).

fifth or early sixth century was also destroyed perhaps in the seventh (no. 16).¹⁴ This was not a random cemetery church, however, as it is identified with the shrine of St Tykhon which presumably housed the sepulchres (in the northern triapsidal burial chamber?) of Tykhon himself and of John the Almsgiver (fig. 2);¹⁵ the latter, having left Alexandria in the wake of the Persian invasion of Egypt in 619, died and was buried in the oratory of St Tykhon in his native city soon thereafter, between the tombs of two earlier bishops (including perhaps Tykhon?) who miraculously moved apart in order to make room for the holy man.¹⁶ The most secure and accurately dated evidence for damage in this period, however, comes from the large cathedral complex by the sea, partly excavated in the mid-1990s: built in the second half of the fifth century with an atrium and baptistery, it has been plausibly suggested that it fell victim to the second Arab raid, as a coin dated to 653/4 was found in the destruction layer (no. 20).¹⁷ A mass burial excavated in the eastern necropolis outside the city (tomb 636) has yielded evidence of violent death and has been associated with the ravages of the raids, while the buckles recovered from the same site perhaps betray a military presence in the area at the time, linked to the same upheavals (no. 23).¹⁸ Finally, although the monastic complex comprising a small five-aisled basilica with extensive annexes and an olive-press in the same necropolis has not yielded evidence for destruction, there is little doubt that, just like the acropolis complex, it also ceased functioning after the

¹⁴ *BCH*, 117 (1993: 750-2); *BCH*, 119 (1995: 835); *ARDA 1994*, 77-8; Procopiou (1996a: 154-6; 2006a: 114). The layout and dating of the earliest phases remain uncertain; see Lehmann (2005: 36-9).

¹⁵ The earliest attestation of the link between the present ruin and Tykhon dates to the sixteenth century in Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 25r and *Description*, fols. 55v, 57v. Pier basilicas were rare on Cyprus in Late Antiquity – see Megaw and Hawkins (1977: 31, note 127) – and the decision to employ piers rather than imported marble columns at St Tykhon in this period may betray a lack of means which, in turn, would indicate that the cult of Tykhon was perhaps not particularly well developed, although the *vita* by John the Almsgiver contains evidence for incubation at the shrine; John the Almsgiver, *Tychon*, 141-5.

¹⁶ Leontios of Neapolis, 404-5, 408-9: ‘ἐν τινι εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ τρισμάκαρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Τύχωνος’.

¹⁷ *ARDA 1994*, 76-7; *ARDA 1995*, 41; *ARDA 1996*, 47-8; *ARDA 1997*, 50-5; *BCH*, 120 (1996: 1069); *BCH*, 121 (1997: 904-5); *BCH*, 122 (1998: 672); Procopiou (1996b; 2006a: 114); Lehmann (2005: 34-5). Note that the excavation reports of 1997 date the initial construction to the last years of the reign of Herakleios (610-641), based on numismatic evidence.

¹⁸ Procopiou (1995; 1997b; 2006c).

seventh century.¹⁹ The date when the Hellenistic aqueduct that reached the city from the north and supplied the cistern/nymphaeum of the agora went out of use remains unknown, although, again, there is no doubt that it did not outlive the other monuments of the late antique city (no. 14).

The evidence for destruction at the end of Late Antiquity that archaeological investigations have uncovered in recent decades all over Cyprus is usually attributed to the attacks of the mid-seventh century. The Arabs are thus squarely blamed for nothing less than the demise of urban civilization on the island.²⁰ Yet a different interpretation has been proposed by Slobodan Ćurčić. Based on the changes effected in the architecture of ecclesiastical buildings after the period of destruction (columns replaced by piers and timber roofs by vaults, squatter proportions, compartmentalization, accretion of masonry over successive rebuildings), he suggests that in many cases it may have been earthquakes rather than enemy attacks that brought the early basilicas down; carrying his argument further, Ćurčić posits that the architecture of medieval churches on Cyprus was shaped by and evolved in response to the constant threat of such earthquake damage.²¹ Compelling as the earthquake argument may be for some cases, the overwhelming evidence for violent anthropogenic destruction cannot be overlooked. The attack on Salamis/Constantia and the sacking of its cathedral of St Epiphanius are explicitly reported in the sources, while the gutting by fire of the basilica at Soloi during the second Arab raid was recorded in considerable detail in an inscription put up by the local bishop in 654/5 on the occasion of its restoration.²² The archaeological record has also produced clear evidence for fire damage (not least at Amathus) that is probably not consistent with the effects of an earthquake. What is more, had seismic activity on Cyprus

¹⁹ Hadjisavvas (1992: 49-51); Aupert (1996: 169-70); Lehmann (2005: 35). This complex too has been tentatively identified with one of the foundations of John the Almsgiver; see Procopiou (2006a: 115-16).

²⁰ As discussed in Papacostas (1995: I, 4-5).

²¹ Ćurčić (1999; 2000). The evidence from Kourion also suggests that seismic activity was the main cause of the destruction and abandonment of the city's episcopal complex – see Megaw (2007: 560-2) – while the large early seventh-century ecclesiastical complex, being excavated since 2007 by Eleni Procopiou at nearby Katalymmata ton Plakoton, as well as the contemporary basilica at Kophinou may have also been destroyed during an earthquake; see *ARDA 2007*, 67-9, *ARDA 2008*, 58-60, the 2010 campaign report <<http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/DA/DA.nsf/All/A3E9FDBB7FE6DD3D422577AB00370A02?OpenDocument>> (accessed 29.5.2011), and Procopiou (2014).

²² Chrysos (1993: 10-12); Papageorghiou (2001: 18-19; 2003: 104-5); Papacostas (2012: 80).

toward the end of Late Antiquity been so disruptive as implied by this argument, it would have certainly made it into the copious written record of the period. This is not to deny, however, that destruction may have occurred as a result of agents other than enemy attack. Indeed, fire damage in peaceful times is not difficult to imagine in timber-roofed structures full of oil-lamps, nor can the possibility of (undocumented) civil unrest in the wake of the raids be discounted. Nonetheless, what remains irrefutable is the contemporaneity of the devastation all over Cyprus, and this is surely what matters for our purposes.

2. Survival and Decline

The mid-seventh century did not mark the sudden end of Amathus. The image of destruction that the archaeological record has brought to light is mitigated by some evidence for reduced building activity and occupation beyond the time of the initial raids. As in the case of other urban settlements of late antique Cyprus (e.g. Salamis/Constantia),²³ there are indications from both this very archaeological record and textual sources that life clinged perhaps somewhat precariously onto the site for some time, well into the eighth century and perhaps even later. More than fifty lead seals belonging to both ecclesiastical and lay officials, now scattered among various collections and dated primarily to the seventh and the eighth centuries, have a fairly secure or at least highly probable provenance from Amathus. Although the precise findspot within the archaeological site is very often unknown, these seals constitute one of the largest bodies of such material from this period on the island.²⁴ They represent irrefutable evidence for the survival of the city's governing class in some form at least for a while, for among the early eighth-century specimens we find one belonging to a *dioiketes* (presumably responsible for the collection of taxes), another of a *droungarios* (a naval commander), and several belonging to *illoustrioi* and *apo eparchon*, both honorary titles bestowed upon members of the local elite.²⁵ Although the provenance of these seals does not constitute proof of the presence of these officials at Amathus, it does at least indicate that they maintained contacts with authorities in the city, if they were not actually involved with its affairs.

²³ Papacostas (1999b: I, 207-16).

²⁴ Metcalf (2004: 54-5, 114-15).

²⁵ Metcalf (2004: 222, no. 144, 226, no. 150, 238, no. 174, 238-9, no. 178, 243, no. 188b).

The survival of the church hierarchy is attested by seals of both individual bishops and of the Church of Amathus, as well as seals of the archbishops of Cyprus who were obviously in touch with their local suffragans.²⁶ Admittedly the attribution and date of several of these seals remain conjectural, but there is further confirmation of the continuity of ecclesiastical structures from an altogether different type of source: Bishop Alexander of Amathus is attested at the council of Nicaea in 787, together with four other prelates from Cyprus representing the sees of Salamis/Constantia, Chytroi, Kition, Soloi, and Tremithus.²⁷ More significantly, a story related by Anastasios of Sinai in his *Diegemata Steriktika* demonstrates that daily life continued unabated in the wake of the attacks; according to the Amathusian author, in the period immediately following the (explicitly mentioned) first and second raids against Cyprus, a young Jewish slave fled from his Arab master on the mainland, was converted to the Christian faith at Amathus, and spent a week with Anastasios participating in the Easter celebrations there, presided over by Bishop John.²⁸ This is strongly reminiscent of a similar vignette of post-raid life at Tremithus, the cult centre of St Spyridon, where a fair and a gathering of prelates took place in 655 to celebrate the feastday of the local patron saint.²⁹ According to the newly composed *Life of Spyridon* by Bishop Theodore of Paphos, which was read before the congregation for the first time on 14 December of that year, the gathering was attended by the archbishops of Cyprus and Crete (the latter on his way from Egypt to Constantinople) together with the bishops of Kition, Lapithos, and Tremithus (but not Amathus). Similarly, the bishop of Soloi was able to repair his cathedral very quickly after it had been set fire to during the second raid. Whereas the Tremithus episode may be less surprising in view of the protected inland location and relatively minor importance of the settlement, those pertaining to Amathus and Soloi are of cardinal significance for our evaluation of the effects of the raids on major urban centres and our understanding of their aftermath.

These effects are considerably nuanced and, as we shall see below, slightly contradicted by the archaeological record from the structures mentioned above. After the late seventh century the site of the abandoned acropolis basilica was used for agricultural activities (no. 12 on fig. 1). Following the second attack on the western gate of the acropolis wall in

²⁶ Metcalf (2004: 356, no. 434b, 359-61, nos. 444c-d, 365-6, no. 454c, 380, nos. 479a-b).

²⁷ Mansi, XII, col. 1099, XIII, col. 388.

²⁸ Nau (1903: 71); Flusin (1991: 386, 391); *PmbZ*, no. 2867.

²⁹ Theodore of Paphos, *Spyridon*, 89-90; Cameron (1992: 32-3).

the mid-seventh century, its central gate was fortified with an external enclosure in the form of a barbican dated by numismatic evidence to sometime after 680, before this was abandoned too, probably toward the close of the century (no. 6).³⁰ In the lower town there was an attempt to repair the damage to the northern section of the fortifications; a defensive wall was erected in the southwestern part of the city protecting the access to the lower acropolis, and another was built using spolia column drums over the ruins of the porticoes of the ancient agora whose northwestern area with a cistern was rearranged and occupied once more after the initial destruction (no. 1).³¹ The details of the occupation of the southwest basilica site remain obscure; what is clear is that a small church was eventually established in the northern aisle of the destroyed basilica and remained in use into the early medieval period (no. 4).³² A similar fate befell the site of the cathedral: according to the excavation reports, after the damage incurred by the attacks the site was cleared of debris and reoccupied in *ca.* 670 when the surviving structures were altered to suit the needs of a community of diminished means (no. 20). Dwellings, workshops and a storeroom were established among the ruins and were used until the final abandonment of the site, which is thought to have occurred a few decades later (the latest coin is dated to 693/4).³³

Compelling evidence for a continuous albeit much reduced presence at Amathus after the seventh century is provided by the church of St Tykhon (no. 16). The damaged basilica was repaired at some indeterminate date in the early medieval period (later seventh-tenth century?), when it had its timber roof replaced by vaults over the aisles and a dome over the nave, in a type of alteration common in this period. This building phase is thought to have survived at least until the twelfth century, and in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century the church was rebuilt, this time as a single-nave structure, possibly with a dome, its aisles having been turned into chapels or annexes, leaving out the triapsidal burial chamber.³⁴ By this period the area of Amathus was known as *Old Limassol* ('Viel Limesson'),

³⁰ Megaw (1986: 509), where a possible pre-raid date is proposed for the barbican, and Aupert (1996: 96-8, 144-5).

³¹ *ARDA 1986*, 54; *ARDA 1988*, 47; Aupert (1996: 65, 80, 93, 150); *BCH*, 124 (2000: 528). The date (before or after the raids?) of an early Byzantine workshop revealed in the agora cannot be ascertained; *ARDA 1990*, 51.

³² *BCH*, 91 (1967: 363); *BCH*, 99 (1975: 836); Papacostas (1999b: II, 4).

³³ *BCH*, 120 (1996: 1069); *BCH*, 121 (1997: 904-5); *BCH*, 122 (1998: 672); *ARDA 1996*, 47-8; Procopiou (1996b: 164; 2006a: 114).

³⁴ *BCH*, 117 (1993: 750-2); Procopiou (1996a: 154; 2006a: 114).

and it was recorded in 1367 as a *casale* of the Latin Church of Limassol.³⁵ As Gilles Grivaud has noted, this indicates that the ancient site may have witnessed some form of scattered occupation in the late Middle Ages, most probably related to the agricultural exploitation of the region.³⁶

The new configuration of the church of St Tykhon suggests that by the Lusignan period the relics of Tykhon and John the Almsgiver, assuming that initially they were indeed housed in the triapsidal burial chamber, were no longer at Amathus. This is supported by the results of the archaeological investigation in the early 1990s of the two tombs in the burial chamber: these were found empty, their contents having been carefully removed at some unknown date in the past.³⁷ Had any relics been worshipped at Amathus in the medieval period one would have expected perhaps Neophytos the Recluse to refer to them in his early thirteenth-century *Logos* of John the Almsgiver; similarly, the *epitome* of Tykhon's *Life* contains no reference to a cult at Amathus.³⁸ Leontios Makhairas, who lists meticulously some (but certainly not all) of the most important relics venerated on the island in the late Middle Ages, has nothing to say about those of the two Amathusians either; indeed, the region of Limassol is left largely blank in his sacred topography of Cyprus. Tykhon was of course not totally forgotten, as it remained widely known throughout the Middle Ages that he had been bishop of Amathus, and he was depicted in church decorations at least from the early twelfth century onwards (Asinou, Lagoudera, and later at St Nicholas of the Roof and elsewhere).³⁹ The fate of his relic is not known; the naming of a nearby village after the saint may have something to do with it.⁴⁰ That of the Almsgiver's, however, is

³⁵ *Documents chypriotes*, 88-90, 99; same information on toponym in Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 9r and *Description*, fol. 20v. For 1367, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

³⁶ Grivaud (1998a: 233).

³⁷ Procopiou (1996a: 156); Lehmann (2005: 36-8).

³⁸ Neophytos, *St John the Almsgiver*; Delehay, *Saints de Chypre*, 229-32. The *epitome* is preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript (BnF, MS Par. Gr. 1488); see John the Almsgiver, *Tychon*, 5.

³⁹ *Synodikon*, 112; Papadopoulos (1952: 28); Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, 81; Mouriki (1993: 242).

⁴⁰ The village is not recorded before the sixteenth century – see Grivaud (1998a: 450) – and its church is not dedicated to Tykhon; see Delehay, *Saints de Chypre*, 274. The report of the eighteenth-century Georgian archbishop Timothy Gabashvili about 'the tomb of St Tykhon from Amathus, who had become a bishop there [...] the tomb of the Holy father John the Merciful, who also belonged to that place [...] and was buried beside Tykhon' – see Gabashvili, 153 – is surely not the result of an *in situ* inspection of the sepulchres, but of second-hand information derived

relatively well documented, albeit in an utterly confusing manner, as is indeed often the case with saints' relics.

3. The Relic of John the Almsgiver

It has to be stressed at the outset that there is no record of relics of the patriarch on Cyprus in the Middle Ages.⁴¹ Like Tykhon, however, he was depicted in Comnenian and later fresco cycles on the island, as well as on a well-known sixteenth-century icon presenting the Venetian donors Maria Molino and her young son to the enthroned Virgin and Child; what is more, a church dedicated to him is attested in 1193 at Trakhonas outside Nicosia, providing perhaps an indication of the survival of his cult.⁴² It is conceivable that his remains were translated from Amathus to Constantinople during the period of the Arab raids or in middle Byzantine times (eighth-twelfth century), like those of other saints from the island (Lazaros, Spyridon, Therapon), for in 1200 they are attested in two different Constantinopolitan churches (St Plato and one outside the city). A relic or parts of one were still venerated by Russian pilgrims in the Byzantine capital as late as the fourteenth and perhaps even in the fifteenth century, in the church of *kyra* Martha.⁴³ Gunther of Pairis, however, includes it among the host of relics taken away by his monastery's abbot Martin after the crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204. Martin was back at his monastery in Alsace by the summer of 1205, and judging by the number of holy relics he amassed (Gunther's inventory contains fifty-two entries naming various relics of the Passion, of holy sites in Palestine, and of forty-two individual saints), it would seem certain that they consisted of rather small particles. Similarly, Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, who returned to Germany from the East at about the same time as Martin (August 1205), is also said to have endowed his cathedral church with numerous relics of the Passion, of the Virgin, and of no fewer than thirty-six named saints, including the Almsgiver.⁴⁴ The inscriptions on a now lost

perhaps from Archbishop Philotheos, whom Timothy visited in Nicosia in late 1758, and from the two holy men's *vitae*.

⁴¹ The monasteries of Kykkos and Makhairas, however, claim to possess parts thereof; see Meinardus (1970: 32). For some preliminary remarks, see Papacostas (2014: 194-6).

⁴² Mouriki (1993: 244-5); Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 95. The icon was preserved at the monastery of Koutsovendis; see Papageorghiou (1992: 143).

⁴³ *Russian Travelers*, 43, 153, 165, 308.

⁴⁴ Gunther of Pairis, 177; Andrea (1996: 476).

reliquary of likely Palaeologan date (fourteenth century?), preserved until the eighteenth century in Florence, include a reference to relics of the Almsgiver among those presumably contained therein.⁴⁵ As the object itself does not survive, however, and its origin and date of transfer to Italy remain unknown, it is not possible to draw any conclusions other than a confirmation of the proliferation and wide circulation of relics in this period.

An altogether different story is told by Venetian sources, which assert that the entire incorrupt body of the Almsgiver was translated in 1249 from Alexandria to Venice in order to be placed in the church dedicated to the patriarch at Rialto (San Giovanni Elemosinario, attested as early as the eleventh century); it was eventually deposited in San Giovanni in Bragora instead (dedicated to the Baptist), as the ship carrying the precious cargo (and following a common hagiographical *topos*) would not move further; the legs, however, were taken to the treasury of San Marco. In the late fifteenth century a chapel was especially erected at San Giovanni in Bragora in order to house the relic, which is still to be seen there today.⁴⁶

The origin of the Venetian claim is uncertain. The Venetian historian Flaminio Corner (1693-1778), who reports the story of the translation in considerable detail, merely states that his sources were ‘ancient authentic documents’, without elaborating further (‘la storia sincera di tal translazione [...] è la seguente tratta da antichi autentici documenti’).⁴⁷ The earliest medieval source for the translation, Andrea Dandolo’s fourteenth-century *Chronica extensa*, merely states that the body of John the Almsgiver was taken to Venice at the time of Doge Marino Morosini (1249-1253), without giving its origin.⁴⁸ What is in doubt here is not the translation itself but its circumstances and date, as what was believed to be the patriarch’s relic was certainly in Venice by the early Renaissance (the feast commemorating the translation on 3 February is attested in 1455). Of course its alleged Alexandrian origin raises suspicions in view of the attestations at Constantinople, not to mention the burial at Amathus; it is understandable that the Almsgiver would be associated primarily with the

⁴⁵ Gori, *Thesaurus*, III, 350-6. I owe this information to Andreas Rhoby (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna), whom I wish to thank; the epigrams will be published in his forthcoming second volume of the *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* (Vienna); see also Rhoby (2010: 112).

⁴⁶ Riant, *Exuviae* II, 228-9, 272; Tramontin *et al.* (1965: 119, 200); Humfrey (1980: 351); the relic in Venice was also recorded in the seventeenth century by Rodinos (1659: 26) and in the eighteenth by Kyprianos (1788: 521).

⁴⁷ Corner (1758: 29).

⁴⁸ Dandolo, *Extensa*, 89.

city whose patriarch he had been and which, as the origin of St Mark's relic, had a particular resonance for Venetians. But the very period when this took place, at the time of the Latin empire (1204-61), was also when the churches of Constantinople were being despoiled of their religious treasures, and whence the relic may have made its way to Venice. Let us not forget that Venice was no stranger to contentious and indeed highly dubious relic claims, often as a result of antagonistic *furta sacra*: following the First Crusade and only a few years after the translation of the remains of St Nicholas of Myra from his Lycian cult centre to Bari (May 1087), then under Norman rule, Venice asserted that it had acquired the very same relic from the same place, Myra, and safely deposited it in the monastery of San Nicolò di Lido (December 1100); Bari's claim was dismissed, as the Apulian city was allegedly in possession of merely an arm of the saint.⁴⁹

To complicate matters even further, another relic of the Almsgiver is attested in the royal chapel of the castle at Buda, where it was allegedly placed by King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1458-1490), who received it as a gift of the Ottoman sultan from Constantinople shortly before his death; it was subsequently transferred to the Hungarian coronation church of St Martin in Pressburg/Bratislava.⁵⁰ Later Venetian authors again dismiss this rival claim, pointing out that the relic in Hungary was that of the Patriarch of Constantinople John IV Neseutes (582-595) and insisting that their city possessed the entire body. Indeed, the erudite and patriotic Corner goes so far as to posit that, as the Almsgiver had been buried at Amathus and his relic was translated to Venice from Alexandria, it must have been transferred to the patriarchal church in the Egyptian city from its original burial place; had it been taken to Constantinople instead, he observes rather candidly, would the Venetians not have taken it after 1204?⁵¹

The multiplicity of relics in both East and West is in itself not surprising, and the real issue of course has nothing to do with their authenticity but with medieval beliefs: in which places were there relics

⁴⁹ Both accounts (Bari and Venice) are by near-contemporaries; see Pertusi (1978); see also Geary (1978: 115-27).

⁵⁰ *AASS*, II, Ianuarii 16-31, col. 530; *Medieval Buda* (1987: 50); Corner (1749: VI, 345-7; 1758: 30-1); Morini (1999: 190-3). On his cult in Hungary, see *Matthias Corvinus* (2008: 416-17, 431-2) and, on the fate of Christian relics in the Ottoman court in the later fifteenth century, Babinger (1956).

⁵¹ Corner (1749: VI, 345-7; 1758: 30-1). More relics are attested in the Renaissance and Early Modern periods in Lower Austria and in the County of Hainaut; see *AASS*, II, Ianuarii 16-31, col. 530.

traditionally thought to belong to John the Almsgiver? By the end of the twelfth century Constantinople was certainly one, and if the Venetian sources are to be trusted, Alexandria was perhaps another. Never Cyprus, though, and certainly not Amathus. The discussion of these contradictory claims should not distract from their principal contribution as far as the issue of Amathus is concerned: the native city and burial place of the patriarch is nowhere mentioned in these accounts. Amathus, the most obvious place to claim as the origin of relics, is not associated in any way with them by any recorded medieval tradition. This is also reflected in the most widely circulated late medieval Latin hagiographic collection, namely the late thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* that includes the Almsgiver's life among more than two hundred saints' lives: not only does it have absolutely nothing to say about either Amathus or the location of the Almsgiver's sepulchre, but it even fails to mention Cyprus as the holy man's place of origin.⁵² When Étienne de Lusignan visited the church of St Tykhon (which he calls a cathedral) in the mid-sixteenth century, he reported that the structure was still standing and that the feast of St Tykhon was still being celebrated every year in June; not surprisingly, he says nothing about relics in the church, although elsewhere in the text he does mention that the Almsgiver had been buried there and that subsequently his tomb exuded miraculous oil for several years, explicitly naming Leontios of Neapolis as his source for both pieces of information.⁵³ Medieval pilgrims and visitors to the island who usually do not fail to mention Salamis/Constantia and its links with Barnabas and Epiphanius, again, never associate in their accounts Amathus with a cult of the patriarch.⁵⁴ According to William of Tyre (*ca.* 1130-1185), John the Almsgiver was the original patron of the hospital of the Order of St John in the late eleventh century, although this claim was already being challenged in the early thirteenth in favour of John the Baptist.⁵⁵ The order of course owned extensive properties on late medieval Cyprus, especially in the region of Limassol.⁵⁶ The lack of any sign of or an allusion to an

⁵² Iacopo da Varazze, 1.188-97.

⁵³ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 9r, 25r and *Description*, fols. 55v, 57v, 58v, where by mistake the feast is said to be celebrated in January, together with that of Mnemon; for other sixteenth-century attestations, see Grivaud (1998a: 233).

⁵⁴ Talbot, *Missionaries*, 126; Daniel, 79; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 182; *Excerpta Cypria*, 20, 53.

⁵⁵ William of Tyre, 123, 816-17 ('Eregerunt [the Hospitallers] etiam in eodem loco altare in honore beati Iohannis Eleymon. Hic vir [...] natione fuit Cyprius'); Riley-Smith (1967: 34-5).

⁵⁶ See Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

interest on behalf of the knights for the saint's burial place at Amathus may suggest that this had long been forgotten, or, perhaps more crucially, that William's testimony was indeed deemed untrustworthy quite early on.

The period between the burial of the patriarch in 620 and the demise of the city was probably too brief to allow the establishment of a fully-fledged cult that would survive the decline of Amathus. The cult of Tykhon, on the other hand, considerably older, was preserved.⁵⁷ Until its final destruction and abandonment in the course of the Ottoman period (eighteenth century?), the church of St Tykhon followed the pattern observed at many an important early pilgrimage shrine on Cyprus (St Barnabas and St Epiphanius at Salamis/Constantia, St Philon at Karpasia, St Lazaros at Kition/Larnaca, St Spyridon at Tremithus, St Herakleidios at Tamassos): although the vibrant settlements and episcopal seats which had initially prompted the development of local cults lay deserted or much reduced in size and vitality after the end of Late Antiquity, their churches, housing the tombs of early bishops such as Tykhon, were not only maintained but were also rebuilt over the centuries, even after the translation of the precious relics and the loss of their focus of veneration.⁵⁸

4. The Episcopal See

The evidence presented so far concerning the decline of Amathus is somewhat contradictory in that whereas the sigillographic record seems to suggest some continuity into the eighth century, the excavated structures (at least as interpreted in the excavation reports) indicate that abandonment occurred slightly earlier, toward the end of the seventh. It is very likely that this inconsistency is caused by the fact that in archaeological reports the proposed date of abandonment most often follows very closely the latest coin finds. The latter, however, merely provide a *terminus post*

⁵⁷ An indication of Tykhon's cult in Late Antiquity may be offered by the seals of the bishops and Church of Amathus, if the unidentified standing figure (bishop?) represented on their obverse can be shown to represent the saint: he is flanked by fruit-bearing plants (vine?) and (on some specimens) accompanied by an (agricultural?) implement; see Metcalf (2004: 359-61, 380). Tykhon is of course traditionally considered the patron saint of vine-growers – see for example Lequeux (2010: 167) for a late medieval attestation – while one of his most prominent miracles involved bringing back to life a dead vine branch. However, his earliest surviving depictions in monumental decorations on Cyprus (Asinou and Lagoudera, both twelfth-century) show him in episcopal vestments without any attributes; see Mouriki (1993: 242).

⁵⁸ Papacostas (1995: I, 50-6; 1999b: I, 214).

quem: coins may have remained in circulation for decades; what is more, in a period characterised by a severe dearth of numismatic evidence,⁵⁹ the lack of coins from after the year 700 in no way excludes the possibility of continued occupation into the eighth century. Unlike Paphos,⁶⁰ no evidence has come to light so far for an Arab presence at Amathus in the second half of the seventh or in the eighth century. The unpublished Arabic inscription on one of the columns of the basilica excavated in the mid-1990s on the beach of Kourion, which belongs to the same type and period as those found at Paphos (probably funerary, eighth century?), provides the only secure testimony of an Arab presence in the wider region, although of course its character is not illuminated by the text; ‘Abd Allāh ibn Nufayl’, the person for whom the supplication to Allah is made, may have been a visitor (merchant?) or an inhabitant of the area of Kourion.⁶¹ A small number of lead seals with Arabic inscriptions and a reported provenance from the wider region (Lophou, Limnatis, Limassol) indicates at least some form of contact with Arabs either from the mainland or from within the island.⁶² At Amathus itself the recovery of a relatively large number of Byzantine lead seals from this very period belonging to important officials of the imperial administration, if not the result of a mere accident of survival and recovery, may indicate an enhanced status for the city in the eyes of Constantinople, related to the appearance of the Arabs on the scene and perhaps their brief establishment at Paphos. This presumed interest, however, clearly did not last long.

By the time Cyprus was reintegrated within the empire in 965, Amathus, together with other ancient Cypriot cities such as Kourion, Salamis/Constantia, and Soloi, was a mere shadow of its former self and no effort was ever made to revive its fortunes. Its inclusion among the island’s cities in the tenth-century geographical work compiled by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and commonly known as *De thematibus* is not surprising in the sense that the lists are largely based on sixth-century works such as the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles and do not

⁵⁹ Pitsillides and Metcalf (1995; 1997).

⁶⁰ Megaw (1986: 513-16; 1988: 145-6); Christides (2006: 53-8, 113-22); Durand and Giovannoni (2012: 88, no. 31).

⁶¹ The inscription was scratched on a Proconnesian marble column before its collapse (now re-erected in the north colonnade of the basilica); I am grateful to Robert Hoyland (University of Oxford) for its transcription. On the excavation, see *BCH*, 120 (1996: 1088), *ARDA 1998*, 66-7, and Procopiou (2006a: 118).

⁶² One of the seals is inscribed with the island’s name (Qubrus) and must therefore have been manufactured locally; Metcalf (2004: 502-3).

reflect contemporary (tenth-century) reality.⁶³ Similarly, the *notitiae*, lists of ecclesiastical dioceses well known for their conservatism and often anachronistic nature, continue mentioning Amathus into the same period, in the same way that they continue including long-abandoned Kourion and even Salamis/Constantia as the island's metropolitan see.⁶⁴ This is not to suggest, however, that the episcopal administration ceased functioning.

Although after the second council of Nicaea (787) both the historical and the sigillographic record dry up as far as the local ecclesiastical administration is concerned, in the twelfth century we suddenly hear of two bishops of Amathus. John has been recorded for posterity because he was deposed by a synod on Cyprus in *ca.* 1157-1170 for reasons that have gone undocumented; he appealed to Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180), who convened a court that reinstated him, justifying its decision by the uncanonical number of bishops (eleven instead of twelve, excluding the archbishop) that composed the synod.⁶⁵ The young bishop Theodoulos, on the other hand, became notorious for his reckless behaviour. In the winter of 1176/7 during his visit to Cyprus, Leontios, the former hegumen of Patmos and newly appointed patriarch of Jerusalem, who was on his way to his see in the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, discovered while inspecting the properties of the Holy Sepulchre on the island that the bishop had helped himself to the patriarchate's assets, appropriating sheep, cows, horses, and mules. In vain did Leontios summon the culprit to discuss the irregular situation. When Theodoulos finally appeared before the patriarch not only was he unrepentant but he was plainly insolent. Needless to say that he was duly punished by divine retribution, for he died a few days later when he fell off his horse while crossing a muddy torrent.⁶⁶ This incident is related by a hagiographer who, understandably, stresses the sanctity of his hero (Leontios) and his successful struggle against evil, in this case represented by the disobedient bishop. What is significant for our purposes here, however, is that unquestionably the see was still active, that the Holy Sepulchre owned estates on its territory, and that a conflict arose concerning the status of these properties. What neither

⁶³ Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, 80. An eleventh/twelfth-century seal belonging to the *spatharokandidatos* Michael Aronites that was perhaps found at Amathus provides no tangible evidence for the occupation of the site, especially since its provenance is not certain; see Metcalf (2004: 283).

⁶⁴ Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 234, 338.

⁶⁵ Hadjipsaltes (1954: 38-45). A Cyprus Museum seal of Patriarch Loukas Chrysoberges, who was implicated in this episode, has a likely provenance from within the island; see Metcalf (2004: 382-3; 2009: 113).

⁶⁶ *Life of Leontios of Jerusalem*, 120-4.

John's nor Theodoulos' story illuminates is the location of the bishops' headquarters in middle Byzantine times. Where were they based? Despite their title, neither of the two twelfth-century bishops, nor their predecessors for several centuries for that matter, can have resided among the ruins of Amathus, their cathedral having been destroyed long ago.⁶⁷

During the Lusignan period the sees of Amathus, Limassol, and Kourion formed a single diocese, operating from Lefkara at least from the first half of the thirteenth century onwards.⁶⁸ The date of the establishment of the bishops in the mountain village remains an open question. There is no literary evidence to illuminate the issue. Neophytos the Recluse, who was born in Lefkara in 1134 and spent his youth there before fleeing his parents' matrimonial plans at the age of eighteen, has nothing to say in his voluminous writings about the presence of higher clergy at his native village. He does, however, imply that Lefkara belonged to the administrative region of Amathus ('Λευκάρων, πόλεως Ἀμαθούντων'), and this, incidentally, remains to date the earliest reference to Lefkara in the written record.⁶⁹ Despite Neophytos' silence, the relative prominence of Lefkara in this period is not in doubt. Soon after the Latin conquest the village became crown property (was it part of the imperial domain before 1191?) and in 1217 King Hugh I made an annual grant of corn, wine, and barley from the production of the royal *casale* to the Teutonic Order.

⁶⁷ Papageorgiou (1993: 37), followed by Procopiou (1997a: 292), suggests that the bishops of Amathus moved to Limassol; the discussion which follows will propose a different scenario.

⁶⁸ For the bishopric of Lefkara, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume. For partial lists of bishops, see Appendix II in the same chapter, Hackett (1901: 317-18), and Fedalto (1988: II, 878).

⁶⁹ Neophytos the Recluse, *Typike Diatheke*, 77 (ed. Tsiknopoullos) and 33 (ed. Stephanes). This reference occurs in a passage relating a vision that Neophytos had, which involved Mount Olympus (Stavrovouni), described as rising opposite Lefkara. The recent English translations of the text render this passage as 'facing/opposite Lefkara [and] the city/town of Amathus', Neophytos the Recluse, *Rule*, 1351 (transl. Galatariotou) and 138 (transl. Coureas); considering, however, that the prominent isolated peak of Stavrovouni (688m asl) lies indeed not far from Lefkara (732m asl) across the parallel valleys of the Syrkatis and the Xeropotamos (ca. 8 km away), but at a much longer distance from Amathus (ca. 34 km), with which it has no visual contact, I would translate 'opposite Lefkara, a town of [the territory (or enoria?) of] Amathus' (the term *polis* being used in this case rather loosely and not to designate civic status for Lefkara), or possibly, 'opposite Lefkara, [in the territory] of the city of Amathus'; compare 'ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν Λευκάρων τῆς ἐνορίας Ἀμαθοῦσας' in Lampros (1921: 340) and *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 367, 233.

Slightly earlier (*ca.* 1200?) the nearby church of the Archangel, outside Kato Lefkara, was decorated with frescoes of good quality, perhaps commissioned by a local priest; it may be significant that among the six officiating prelates in its apse, where the most prominent early church fathers and bishops are routinely depicted (usually headed by John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea), the Amathusian John the Almsgiver appears next to Epiphanius of Salamis.⁷⁰ Another local church, however, may offer more tangible clues.

The large basilica of the Holy Cross stands in the centre of Lefkara and is a largely nineteenth/early twentieth century structure (figs. 5-6). Its eastern half, however, incorporates portions from a much older building phase. The fresco decoration in the soffits of the arches between the *parabemata* and the central bay of the sanctuary (depicting prelates) has been ascribed to the first half of the thirteenth century, providing a secure *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the original church on the site, which was a cross-in-square structure with a dome carried on rectangular piers. The surviving *bema* doors furnish a similar *terminus*.⁷¹ The latter may, however, be pushed further back by at least a century as a result of the restoration of the eastern façade in 2000-2001. The removal of layers of plaster covering the curving walls of the three apses has revealed the original tiers of arched niches that articulate their surface and which, together with the architecture of the surviving portions of the early church (elongated plan, rather heavy proportions, semi-circular arches in the sanctuary, low barrel vault over the *parabemata*), strongly suggest a middle Byzantine date, perhaps as early as the tenth century and definitely not later than the twelfth.⁷² This, the principal church of the settlement,

⁷⁰ Hubatsch (1955: 255, 292); Papageorghiou (1990b); Papacostas (1999b: II, 14-15); Spanou (2002: 31-4). John the Almsgiver was also depicted together with Tykhon in the twelfth century (before 1192) among the eight officiating prelates in the apse of the Panayia of Arakas at Lagoudera (figs. 3-4); see Mouriki (1993: 242, 245) and Nicolaidès (1996: 12). The special treatment reserved for the two prelates from Amathus who flank the officiating group (more local prelates are depicted in the centre of the apse wall and in a zone of medallions above) may reflect the continued prominence of the see in the late Comnenian period and perhaps some link with the (unknown) patron of the earliest wall-paintings at Lagoudera.

⁷¹ *ARDA 2001*, 31, where a fourteenth-century date is suggested, and Spanou (2002: 34). The cross-in-square church prior to the nineteenth-century alterations is shown in two drawings made in the 1860s by Edmond Duthoit; see Severis and Bonato (1999: 173-4).

⁷² Papacostas (2006: 228-9), where an eleventh/twelfth-century date is proposed; for the earliest examples of the cross-in-square scheme on Cyprus, see Papacostas (2002: 59-61). According to an unverifiable and probably dubious report in Gunnis

was presumably the bishop's cathedral in the thirteenth century. But could the unusually handsome building have had an episcopal function from its inception? In other words, can its construction be attributed to the bishops of Amathus, who would have therefore established themselves at Lefkara well before the thirteenth century? It is certainly a possibility, but the evidence does not allow a firm conclusion. In any case, even if this scenario were to be confirmed, it would still not shed any light on the location of the ecclesiastical administration of the diocese in the period immediately following the abandonment of Amathus.

It also raises yet another pertinent question: why Lefkara? The mountain village is not the most obvious choice after all, as it is rather distant from Amathus. What is it that may have drawn the administration of the diocese there? Once more the church of the Holy Cross may yield some clues. It possesses a particle of the True Cross encased in a silver reliquary whose oldest part is dated to the early fourteenth century on the basis of an inscription that names as supplicant (and implied patron), Bishop Olvianos of Lefkara (‘Ὀλβιανὸν ἐπίσκοπον Λευκάρων’).⁷³ Assuming that the reliquary was made for the church where it is still to be found today (and there is no evidence to the contrary), one may go further and suggest that the precious item of veneration had been housed there as early as the middle Byzantine period and the construction of the church, and possibly even earlier. This would invest Lefkara with the spiritual but also economic stature of a major pilgrimage site that could have caught the attention of the local church hierarchy. There is, however, an insuperable problem: in no source prior to the fourteenth century is Lefkara associated with a cult of the Cross. The Cypriot tradition according to which Helena Augusta left relics of the Passion on her return journey from Palestine does not involve Lefkara, although it does name nearby Tokhni and Stavrovouni as repositories of particles of the True Cross and/or of the cross of the penitent thief. The Stavrovouni association with the Helena legend is first reported in the early twelfth century by the Russian monk Daniel; it was there that Neophytos would head for a few decades later when he wished to venerate the Cross, and, significantly, not to a shrine in his native Lefkara.⁷⁴ The relic at Tokhni was stolen by a Latin priest in

(1936: 321), the church of St Mamas at Lefkara used to contain frescoes allegedly dated by inscription to the year 900 AD, which would make this building the earliest known monument in the settlement.

⁷³ Papageorghiou (1994); on the floruit of Olvianos, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

⁷⁴ Daniel, 80; Neophytos the Recluse, *Typike Diatheke*, 77 (ed. Tsiknopoullos) and 33-4 (ed. Stephanes). See Bacci (2004: 229-34) and Papacostas (2007: 43-6).

1318, at about the same time as the commission of the Lefkara reliquary by the Orthodox bishop. If Papageorghiou's implied dating of the latter after the period of incarceration of Olvianos is correct (1313-1318? Olvianos was still in office in 1321), it would make the Lefkara particle clearly distinct from the one at Tokhni and lift any suspicion of a translation of relics.⁷⁵

Before his elevation to the episcopal throne, Olvianos had been a monk and hegumen at the monastery of Asomatos of Lefkara ('μονῆς τοῦ Ἀσωμάτου Λευκάρων'), usually identified with the surviving church of the Archangel, mentioned above. Because of this it has been suggested that the Asomatos/Archangel may have also served as the episcopal church in this period.⁷⁶ This scenario appears implausible: had the late thirteenth and fourteenth-century prelates resided there, the offices of bishop and hegumen would in all probability have been amalgamated and held by a single individual, something that is refuted by the evidence (Olvianos' predecessor, Bishop Matthew, was clearly not a hegumen of Asomatos). The same unwarranted assertion has been made on the basis of a later attestation: in July 1406 a synod was convened to discuss the reintegration of the Church of Cyprus within the Orthodox communion; it was held in a church of St Michael 'also called of the Asomatoi', at an unnamed mountainous location.⁷⁷ However, the fact that the bishop of Lefkara, being in disagreement with the other participating prelates (who considered him a renegade), was absent from the meeting, speaks against the attribution of an episcopal function to the Archangel of Lefkara (assuming of course that this was indeed the location of the synod).⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Papageorghiou (1994: 250); on the recovery of the Tokhni Cross in 1340 see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume. It is worth noting that the church at Tokhni (rebuilt in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century) may have also been a middle Byzantine structure, as the drawings by Edmond Duthoit suggest; see Severis and Bonato (1999: 175-7).

⁷⁶ *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 367, 226; Schabel (2000-2001: 227-9). For the episcopal function, see Procopiou (2007: 166).

⁷⁷ *Syntagma*, 177, and Katsaros (2000: 33) ('ἐν ὄρει τῆς Κύπρου, εἰς ναὸν τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ οὕτω λεγόμενον τῶν Ἀσωμάτων').

⁷⁸ Note that Papadopoulos (1995: 621, note 222) tentatively suggests the monastery of the Archangels at Analiontas, on the northern foothills of the Troodos, as the location of the synod. This establishment, however, is not attested until the eighteenth century; see Kyriazis (1950: 20), Barskij, 81-2, and Kyprianos (1788: 584).

5. Abandonment

The move of the church authorities from Amathus to Lefkara in the early Middle Ages remains to be proven; if true, it may be partly attributed to the appeal of an important pilgrimage shrine and the concomitant benefits for the prestige and finances of a see impoverished by the decay of its urban base. But the abandonment of Amathus still remains to be explained. It was part of a much larger development that affected not only Cyprus but also the entire Eastern Mediterranean in this period.⁷⁹ What is difficult to account for is not so much the demise of the city after the eighth century, a pattern observed all over the Byzantine world and which may be explained through a combination of economic, demographic and geopolitical factors, but the absence of a revival later on: in middle Byzantine times, cities throughout the empire, following a period of decline and/or contraction, often into a fortified core (depending on the region), characterised by a process of de-monumentalization and de-urbanization, witnessed an upturn in their fortunes with demographic growth, economic revival and renewed building activity.⁸⁰ Regardless of the reasons that led to the implosion of the early medieval period, why did this revival have no impact whatsoever on Amathus and other ancient city sites of the island such as Kourion and Salamis/Constantia? In all three cases the frequently cited relocation to a nearby site makes little sense if it was prompted by security concerns, as is often alleged: the acropolis of Amathus, as well as the hilltop location of Kourion, are in fact much more defensible than the exposed sites of both Limassol and Episkopi, while the site of Famagusta is hardly more secure than that of the island's nearby late antique capital. Considering that archaeology leaves little room for doubt about the decline of these late antique cities and the eventual rise of new settlements nearby, the reasons that led to the abandonment of the former and the growth of the latter must be sought elsewhere, and in particular in extraneous economic developments that affected the entire island and the wider region.

The appearance of the Arabs in the Levant and North Africa in the seventh century caused major upheavals that disrupted centuries-long patterns of trade and well-established networks of exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, by virtue of its geographical position, was directly affected by these events, not only as a target of often violent attacks, but,

⁷⁹ Papacostas (1995: I, 4-8; 1999b: I, 208-16); for the wider context, see Wickham (2005), Whittow (2008), and Brubaker and Haldon (2011: 531-72).

⁸⁰ Recent overviews in Dagron (2002: 397-402) and Laiou and Morrisson (2007: 23-42).

in the longer term, because the changed geopolitical environment imposed by the new state of affairs had a profound impact on its economic life and consequently on its settlements.⁸¹ The island's prosperity in Late Antiquity was based on a vibrant urban culture that fostered the development of agricultural production, manufacture, and trade links with the neighbouring coastal areas (Egypt, Syria-Palestine, southern Anatolia).⁸² The changes ushered in by the disruption of exchange networks in the seventh century must have dealt a severe blow to the economy of Cyprus, which became increasingly inward-looking and subsistence-oriented, and to its principal coastal cities, which lost much of their urban character and *raison d'être*. Although the remarkable Hellenistic harbour at Amathus had fallen out of use early on,⁸³ some sort of quay and anchoring facilities must have nevertheless existed in Late Antiquity when, as mentioned above, the city was prospering. The loss of one of the main functions of the city – as trade centre, outlet for the produce of its hinterland and gateway to overseas markets – must have rendered meaningless its resurrection later on. I shall return to these issues below, in connection with the rise of Limassol.

Late Antique Neapolis

1. Bishopric and City

Limassol appears in the written record under a variety of different names, including Neapolis, Theodosiane, Nemesos/Lemesos, and finally Limassol. It is first mentioned in late Roman times, when it seems to have been a minor (urban?) centre and seat of a bishop. Its civic status remains a vexed question. It is not included in the fifth/sixth-century list of cities of the empire known as the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, where Cyprus is represented by thirteen entries (another two – ‘Leukousia’ and Tremithus – may be medieval interpolations), nor is it mentioned in the geographical work of the seventh-century George of Cyprus, a native of Lapithos, who, like Hierokles, enumerates thirteen cities.⁸⁴ Moreover, it is not marked on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a medieval copy (ca. 1200 AD) of a schematic late antique map of the known world thought to date from the fourth or

⁸¹ Rautman (2003: 258-62).

⁸² Papacostas (2001).

⁸³ Empereur (1996: 164-8). The third-century *Stadiasmos* mentions the city as ‘ἄλιμενος’; see *Geographi graeci minores*, I, 502.

⁸⁴ *Synekdemos*, 38, 70. Malamut's claim that the settlement probably did not exist in early Christian times, however, is refuted by the evidence presented below; see Malamut (1988: I, 251).

fifth century (*ca.* 300 AD?), which includes the island's most important settlements, although the main road linking Amathus to Kourion and which also appears on the map of course passed through or very close to the settlement.⁸⁵ The (undisputed) presence of a bishop, although usually a sign of city status, may in this case not be decisive, as we know from the fifth-century ecclesiastical author Sozomenos that Cyprus was among the regions that shared the peculiarity of having bishops even in *komai*, that is, in rural settlements.⁸⁶

By the end of Late Antiquity it was believed that the see, known (perhaps anachronistically) as Neapolis, had been founded in the first century and that its first occupant was Tykhikos, appointed by Herakleidios of Tamassos at the instigation of St Paul himself; this is at least what the seventh-century *Life of St Auxibios*, the first bishop of Soloi, tells us.⁸⁷ In later centuries the memory of Tykhikos was preserved in episcopal lists, often together with another early local prelate, the obscure Zeno.⁸⁸ It should be noted here that a Neapolis is also mentioned much earlier, in a third-century BC inscription from Gypsou, in the northeastern Mesaoria; Mitford suggested to identify it with a settlement in Cilicia rather than on Cyprus, but the case for the latter (and the site of Limassol) has also been made.⁸⁹ Considering the long gap between this and the earliest late antique attestation, however, the Limassol option remains doubtful at best. The evolution of the toponym *Nemesos*, used for the same site and discussed below, does not support it either.

Late antique Cyprus boasted fifteen episcopal sees, recorded in various documents of this period. The church council held at Serdica in the Balkans (modern Sofia) in 342/3 was attended by no fewer than twelve bishops from the island; their sees, however, are not named, thus depriving

⁸⁵ Bekker-Nielsen (2004: 34-6, 196-9); on the proposed dates see Salway (2005) and Talbert (2007).

⁸⁶ Sozomenos, *Church History*, 330; discussed in Gregory (2001: 719-20). A similar phenomenon has been observed in Apulia and Calabria; see Martin and Noyé (2005: 152).

⁸⁷ *Auxibios*, 185. On the date of the text, see Noret (1986); on the see, Procopiou (1997a: 290-3).

⁸⁸ *Synodikon*, 112; Papadopoulos (1952: 28); Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, 82; Constantinides (2003: 503). On Zeno, see also Schizas (2000-2001: 141). Tykhikos is mentioned in the thirteenth century among the Cypriot saints honoured by the Latin church of the island; see *Synodicum Nicosiense*, 172. Lusignan, *Description*, fol. 60r makes Tykhikos a contemporary of John the Almsgiver and a predecessor of Leontios of Neapolis.

⁸⁹ Mitford (1961: 136) and Nicolaou (1976); see also Bagnall (1976: 115-16).

us of what could have been the earliest secure attestation of Neapolis.⁹⁰ For this we have to wait for more than a century, until the ecumenical council of 451 that was held at Chalcedon, across the Bosphoros from Constantinople. A bishop named Soterias whose see's name is given as Theodosiane ('Σωτηρίας ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως Θεοδοσιανῆς') attended the council, also representing the bishops of Amathus and Arsinoe (but not nearby Kourion, whose bishop neither attended nor was represented).⁹¹ We hear again of this see as Theodosias in the early seventh century, when its bishop John is briefly mentioned in one of the stories related in the *Life of St Spyridon* by Theodore of Paphos. The same text very conveniently explains that Theodosias is the same as Neapolis ('Θεοδοσιάδος ἦτοι Νέας Πόλεως τῆς Κυπρίων ἐπαρχίας').⁹² After the seventh century the see does not appear again with that name (the see of Bishop John of Theodosiana/'τῶν Θεοδοσιανῶν' mentioned by Anastasios of Sinai in the same period must be in Phrygia Pacatiana).⁹³ It has been suggested that the name *Theodosiane* was given to the settlement as a result of its foundation in the first half of the fifth century by Theodosios II.⁹⁴ Although this is entirely plausible, it remains conjectural as it lacks a secure foundation on either archaeological or textual evidence (why not Theodosios I in the later fourth century?).

The best-known occupant of the see of Neapolis was undoubtedly the seventh-century Leontios, prolific hagiographer and author, among others, of *vitae* of Symeon the Fool of Emesa in Syria, of the Amathusian John the Almsgiver, and of Spyridon of Tremithus (now lost and not to be

⁹⁰ Mansi, III, col. 69; the fifteen sees are Salamis/Constantia, Amathus, Arsinoe, Chytroi, Karpasia, Kition, Kourion, Kyrenia, Lapithos, Ledra, Neapolis, Paphos, Soloi, Tamassos, and Tremithus.

⁹¹ *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense*, 64, 273, 287, 333, 346.

⁹² Theodore of Paphos, *Spyridon*, 81; as the earliest manuscripts of the *Life* date from the tenth/eleventh century, it is impossible to tell whether the explanatory clause was included in the seventh-century original or is a later interpolation. Note that, on the map accompanying the recent English translation of the acts of the Chalcedon council, *Theodosiane* is placed in the Karpas peninsula, *Chalcedon*, III, 233, while Hackett (1901: 316-17, 326-7), unaware of the identification of Theodosias with Neapolis, presents their (incomplete) episcopal lists separately, as does Fedalto (1988: II, 883, 888).

⁹³ Anastasios of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 264. The Phrygian Theodosiana (whose exact location remains unknown) was represented at the council of Ephesus in 431 and is mentioned in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles; see *Synekdemos*, 25 and Belke (1990: 403).

⁹⁴ Hill (1938-1939: 375); Gregory (2001: 723).

confused with the *vita* written by Theodore of Paphos in 655).⁹⁵ His literary production in what must have been a minor township of late antique Cyprus, still overshadowed in this period by its prominent neighbours Kourion and especially Amathus, gives a measure of the activity that could flourish even in such peripheral centres. The evidence presented so far suggests that in all likelihood late Roman/early Byzantine Neapolis/Theodosias did not initially have the status of a city, despite boasting an episcopal organization. The very name *Neapolis* (New City) of course implies civic status and must have been given to the settlement in contradistinction to the ancient cities of Kourion and Amathus. But when was this status acquired? As discussed above, the toponym is not securely attested before the hagiographic texts of the seventh century (*vitae* of Auxibios, Spyridon, John the Almsgiver); this must surely remain the only certain *terminus ante quem* for its rise to city status until further evidence (epigraphic, sigillographic or other) is brought forth. The same lack of evidence obscures the circumstances that led to this change of status.

2. From Late Antique Neapolis to Medieval Nemesos: Archaeology and Topography

Until recently early Byzantine settlements usually came to light as a result of excavations at sites known to have been those of ancient cities. Our invariably fragmentary knowledge of their layout, architecture and economic activity is thus a mere collateral benefit of such digs. In the past, however, the latter resulted in considerable collateral damage instead, as the early modern, medieval, and late antique layers were often obliterated in the rush to reach the classical levels.⁹⁶ Limassol has neither benefited nor suffered from the evolution of archaeological methodology, since it has not had the privilege of sitting on top of a renowned classical city and has therefore not attracted much interest. The thriving modern city would, in any case, have hindered sustained archaeological investigation. The only significant work carried out so far has been restricted to rescue excavations prompted by the discovery of important remains in the course of building works, in particular during the construction of the city's sewage network in the 1990s.

⁹⁵ Leontios of Neapolis, 55, 343; *PmbZ*, no. 4570; Efthymiadis and Déroche (2011: 72-7). On the lost *vita* of Spyridon, see now Cavallero (2013).

⁹⁶ On the problems affecting the archaeology of Byzantine cities, see Bouras (2002: 498-500), Whittow (2009: 139), and several contributions in Kiousopoulou (2012).

The lack of adequate evidence precludes any attempt to reconstruct the settlement's topography. Nevertheless, the centre of both late antique and medieval Neapolis must have been located in the area of the present old town on the east bank of the Garyllis, near the (old) harbour and around the castle. This is strongly indicated by various chance finds and, as we shall see below, a very important excavated site. In 1955 an inscription was found next to the castle, on Berengaria Street. It may have had an honorific function, but the exact meaning of the text, which names a certain *comes* Markos Ioulios, is obscure; it has been attributed to the mid-sixth/mid-seventh century.⁹⁷ As the title *comes* (κόμης in Greek) was used for several offices with a large variety of functions in this period (administrative, fiscal, military), it is not possible to draw any useful conclusions from this attestation in late antique Neapolis (assuming of course that the inscription was found on the site for which it had originally been carved). The castle itself now consists of an Ottoman shell enveloping a Gothic core which recent research has shown to belong to a fortified thirteenth-century church, perhaps a Templar foundation.⁹⁸ In other words it would seem that the site of the present castle was not occupied by a fortified structure until after the end of Byzantine rule on Cyprus. Indeed, on the evidence of admittedly extremely meagre remains incorporated or found within the present building (a column plinth, traces of four column bases, a capital, all in the lower floor), it has been suggested that a small basilica may have stood on the site in Late Antiquity (fig. 7).⁹⁹ Several finds in the surrounding area, within a radius of ca. 300m from the castle, may confirm its occupation in this and later periods: a capital said to resemble that found within the castle was discovered together with part of a stone column in June 1955 during work at the nearby harbour; on the site of the Lanitis carob mill, immediately to the west of the castle, remains of columns were reported together with a 'building of some size'; to the south, next to the chapel of St Thekla where a row of warehouses was erected in the 1950s, more structures were reported and pottery sherds, lamps, and a later coin attributed to Isaac Doukas Komnenos were found; on the western side of the southernmost section of Eirinis (formerly Victorias) Street, not far from the seashore to the east of the castle, a marble capital was discovered in April 1954 at 1m80 below the street level at what is thought to have been the original

⁹⁷ Mitford (1961: 110-11).

⁹⁸ See Corvisier and Faucherre (2000) and Corvisier (2006b); see also the relevant discussion in Michalis Olympios' chapter in this volume.

⁹⁹ Procopiou (1997a: 293, note 38; 2006b: 185-6); Petrides (1965: 19, 22).

floor level of an ancient structure.¹⁰⁰ All these finds were reported primarily as a result of the diligence of Nicos Petrides of the Limassol District Museum in the 1950s, during construction work in the town centre. As none of the sites in question was properly excavated, however, nothing more can be said about the date, function, scale, layout, and history of the reported structures.¹⁰¹ The same applies to the remains of a monumental structure in ashlar discovered in 1995 to the west of the early twentieth-century cathedral of Ayia Napa but not excavated; it may also date from Late Antiquity, as a fifth/sixth-century coin was found above its floor level.¹⁰² At a short distance, immediately to the north of Ayia Napa, Petrides reported in 1958 the foundations of a building that he tentatively identified with those of a church.¹⁰³

Well to the east of the castle (*ca.* 1000m away), on the seashore near the late nineteenth-century Roman Catholic church of St Catherine, a large hoard of 178 coins (including 155 *solidi*) from the reign of Herakleios (610-641) was recovered in 1952. Stray finds of the same period were reported in 1955 further away (*ca.* 1700m to the north), in the area formerly known as Limnazousa within a structure comprising at least five rooms (near the present junction of Makariou Avenue and Petros Tsiros Street). Slightly earlier a gold coin of Phokas (602-610) was found on the site where a row of council houses was being erected in 1952-1953 on Misiaouli and Kavazoglou (formerly Paphos) Street, within what was identified as a settlement that allegedly extended over the site of the nearby Turkish school (*ca.* 1100m northwest of the castle). A third area where late antique finds prompted the suggestion of a late Roman/early Byzantine settlement is located immediately to the west of the church of Ayia Zoni, between the present Ipparchou and Vasili Michailidi Streets (*ca.* 1300m north of the castle): here the finds included marble fragments, lamps, and Roman cippi used in the foundations of structures identified as houses.¹⁰⁴ Whereas the finds from these three sites (Limnazousa, council houses, Ayia Zoni) surely represent some form of occupation on the periphery of the late antique settlement (assuming the suggested dating is to be trusted), the hoard on the waterfront must represent activity near its very core, and it has been tentatively associated with the arrival of

¹⁰⁰ Petrides (1965: 19-20); Sergides (2003: 27, 38).

¹⁰¹ I am most grateful to Yiannis Violaris and Eleni Procopiou of the Department of Antiquities for bringing to my attention the notes and *memorandum* of Nicos Petrides.

¹⁰² Procopiou (1997a: 295, note 46).

¹⁰³ Petrides (1965: 21).

¹⁰⁴ Petrides (1965: 14-15, 18-19); Sergides (2003: 38).

refugees from Alexandria following its capitulation and occupation by the Arabs in 641-642.¹⁰⁵ The suggestion that a mint producing folles and half-folles may have operated temporarily at Neapolis during the reign of Herakleios (in 634-636) remains controversial, and until more positive evidence comes forth, perhaps unlikely.¹⁰⁶

There is little evidence from Limassol for destruction in the seventh century, not because the settlement escaped unscathed but simply because there has been so little archaeological work.¹⁰⁷ The alleged presence of Bishop Leontios of Neapolis at Rome in 649 for the Lateran Council, which has been linked with the upheavals of the period, is no longer accepted as it is based on a false identification of the prelate who attended the council.¹⁰⁸ Judging from the abundant evidence from Amathus discussed earlier, however, it would seem natural that devastation was perhaps the order of the day here too. This is only partly supported by the fate of settlements and individual structures in the wider region, although very often the dating of their destruction and/or abandonment remains far from certain. The field survey of an area of 2,700 ha in the territory of Amathus has revealed a slight decline in occupation during Roman times followed by marked expansion in Late Antiquity, especially in the fifth-to-seventh-century period when twenty-eight out of a total of thirty-nine recorded sites were occupied; although the evolution of occupation in the area in subsequent centuries was outside the remit of the survey, the assumption appears to be that the expanding seventh century gave way to a period of decline. The more recent excavation (in 2008-2009) of a small rural complex of uncertain (agricultural?) function at the site of Ayios Tykhonas-*Asvestoton*, 1.5 km to the northwest of the acropolis of Amathus, confirms this assumption: the site was occupied in the later sixth and early seventh century, only to be abandoned thereafter; no evidence for violent destruction has been uncovered.¹⁰⁹ The fate of two late antique suburban ecclesiastical complexes is marginally clearer: the first, a three-aisled basilica at Ypsonas-*Panayia*, was replaced by a small chapel in the Middle Ages; the second, a single-aisle church with annex buildings at

¹⁰⁵ *ARDA* 1952, 15; Megaw (1953: 137); Sergides (2003: 24, 33); Nicolaou and Metcalf (2007: 405).

¹⁰⁶ Metcalf (2009: 164).

¹⁰⁷ The late antique structures reported near Ayia Zoni were probably destroyed by fire at an unknown date; Petrides (1965: 15).

¹⁰⁸ The link was made by Krueger (1996: 15) and rejected in *PmbZ*, no. 4570.

¹⁰⁹ Petit *et al.* (1996: 178-9); Hermary (2010); Antoine Hermary's chapter in this volume.

Yermasoyia-Kaloyeroi, was probably destroyed by fire.¹¹⁰ Another late antique basilica in the periphery of Limassol may have stood on the site of the now ruinous but still impressive St Tykhikos, a cross-in-square structure to the north of Ayia Phyla that dates to middle Byzantine times; its *synthronon* and *opus sectile* floor testify to the existence of the early phase.¹¹¹ More concrete evidence comes from two larger rural sites. The late antique village excavated at Kalavastos-Kopetra, to the east of Amathus, flourished into the early seventh century. Although not directly on the coast, it nevertheless witnessed damage to its churches and, despite a short period of post-raid occupation, the area was finally abandoned. To the northwest of Limassol the small basilica excavated at Alassa in 1984 presents a slightly different picture: first built in the early seventh century, it was destroyed by fire some time after the reign of Herakleios (when the latest coin finds in the destruction layer are dated); the site, which included (industrial?) buildings excavated to the north of the church, was abandoned perhaps as early as the close of the century and not reoccupied until the middle Byzantine period (twelfth/thirteenth century?), when a smaller church was erected.¹¹² Did Neapolis conform to this pattern of abandonment that can also be observed elsewhere on the island? Before turning to the sources in order to see whether they shed any light on the fate of the settlement in the early medieval period, we have to turn to a site at its very heart, the only one properly investigated so far, as it provides some significant clues.

It was long suspected that an earlier structure stood under the Great Mosque (Cami Kebir/Eski Cami), 150m to the northeast of the castle. The opportunity to excavate a small part of it arose when during the construction of the sewage network of central Limassol in 1993 the remains of two apses were uncovered behind the eastern wall of the mosque, under the present street level (fig. 8). Because only a small portion of the building could be excavated within the confines of the narrow street, however, the interpretation of the remains that follows is necessarily tentative and largely based on the meticulous excavation report.¹¹³ This should in no way detract from the immense significance of this excavation, as it provides the only available evidence for the evolution of occupation at the heart of the settlement. Indeed, it illustrates most aptly the wealth of data that even an excavation of no more than 25 m² can

¹¹⁰ ARDA 2001, 71; BCH, 126 (2002: 710); Procopiou (2006a: 116).

¹¹¹ Papacostas (1999b: II, 78); ARDA 2004, 39; ARDA 2005, 34.

¹¹² Rautman (2003: 147); Flourentzos (1996: 37).

¹¹³ Procopiou (1997a).

yield. On the other hand it is far from clear how representative of the fate of the wider region the history of this particular site is.

The investigation revealed the eastern part of a church with several building phases stretching from Late Antiquity down to the Venetian period. The two five-sided apses belong to the late antique phase, which may have taken the form of either a bi-apsidal single-nave or a twin-nave building, both rather uncommon schemes (the evidence is inconclusive). If the Corinthian capitals preserved today outside the mosque originate from this (presumably timber-roofed) church, then a layout with colonnade may be assumed; the nave area where evidence for its plan might be found is under the praying hall of the modern mosque and was not excavated; similarly, the investigation did not extend to the north to examine the possibility of an additional aisle.

The northern and larger apse contains a *synthronon* and its original floor level would have been *ca.* 2m below the present street level, at approximately the same depth as that of the aforementioned structure on nearby Eirinis Street (where a marble capital was reported in 1954 by Petrides) and consistent with the evidence from the nearby site of the castle, in whose lower storey the aforementioned colonnade fragments are preserved (from a late antique basilica?). In the upper courses of the apse masonry (which date from a subsequent rebuilding) a block bearing an inscription was inserted. This inscription, only the second to have come to light from late antique Neapolis, contains the prayer of a certain Paul, son of Phasourios (‘Παύλου Φασουρήου’). The late fifth or sixth-century date ascribed to it by Ino Nicolaou is perhaps the date of the original building phase itself.¹¹⁴ Deep in the smaller southern apse there was a stone sarcophagus, the lower part of which was found well below the floor level of the late antique church. Access to it was maintained in the later rebuildings of the shrine, indicating that it was deemed important. Whether it housed some venerated relic or marked the burial place of a holy man or early bishop we cannot tell. Neapolis is not mentioned as the locus of any cult in Late Antiquity (or later for that matter) and the location of the sepulchre of its (legendary?) first bishop, Tykhikos, remains unknown. Had it been possible to demonstrate that the site of the Cami Kebir was that of the episcopal church of Neapolis, then one might perhaps associate the sarcophagus with Tykhikos. But the lack of evidence, both archaeological and textual, precludes at present such a link.

¹¹⁴ Nicolaou in Procopiou (1997a: 318); this is based of course on the assumption that the inscription was not brought from elsewhere.

According to the excavation report this initial phase suffered damage, which may be dated to the seventh century on account of a copper buckle found in the destruction layer.¹¹⁵ Not long thereafter the church was rebuilt (eighth century?), perhaps as a vaulted structure incorporating the apses of the earlier phase, and survived into the thirteenth century. In the excavation report it is assumed that a period of abandonment and destruction, caused by the alleged departure of the local bishops to Lefkara in the thirteenth century and perhaps by the natural disasters and enemy attacks recorded in the Lusignan period, was followed by the occupation of the site by the Latin Church, when the structure was rebuilt once more to serve as Limassol's Latin cathedral.¹¹⁶ But the evidence is inconclusive, to say the least. The aforementioned reconstruction of the building's history implies that it served as a cathedral church in the middle Byzantine period, something for which there is absolutely no evidence, and that the Latin cathedral was later established on the same spot, also a moot point.

One of the elements that have been used to determine the rite of the reconstructed church is a burial excavated to the north of the larger apse. This is securely dated by numismatic evidence to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and is said to be the tomb of a (Latin) priest or possibly a bishop, although what the evidence for that is remains unclear (the seal of Pope Innocent IV found nearby?).¹¹⁷ The Latin rather than Greek affiliation of the late medieval (fourteenth-century?) reconstruction may be argued much more convincingly on the basis of the flat eastern wall, provided that its proposed medieval date can be verified: it left out of the perimeter of the new church the earlier apses while at the same time maintaining, as we saw above, the access to the sarcophagus. As the excavation report rightly points out, such an arrangement is of course rare in the architecture of Orthodox churches, although not uncommon in those of the Latin rite (e.g. the abbey church at Bellapais, St Anthony's at Famagusta, the Royal Chapel at Pyrga and, closer to Limassol, the Karmiotissa near Pano Polemidia). But on the other hand we know from a thirteenth-century document (discussed below) that when a Latin episcopal see was established at Limassol in 1196 it took over the Venetian church of St Mark, which had been built by members of the town's Venetian community in the second half of the twelfth century. It is difficult to

¹¹⁵ Procopiou (1997b: 334-5); the destruction is said to have been caused by fire, Procopiou (2006a: 116).

¹¹⁶ Procopiou (1997a: 287, 294-5; 2006a: 116). For a slightly different scenario, cautiously proposing a twelfth-century reconstruction, see the chapter by Michalis Olympios in this volume.

¹¹⁷ Procopiou (1997a: 289, 320; 2006a: 116).

imagine that St Mark could be identified with any building phase of the excavated remains. Thus, if the Latin cathedral functioned throughout the Lusignan and Venetian periods on the same site, this was probably not that of the Cami Kebir. The identity and function of the church under the mosque during both the late medieval but also the Byzantine period will remain unknown until further secure archaeological evidence emerges.¹¹⁸

Middle Byzantine Nemesos

1. The Toponym and Administrative Region

The sources of the period following the first Arab raids contain only scarce references to the see of Neapolis and no individual bishops are known after Leontios until the thirteenth century. Unlike nearby Amathus and as in the case of most of the island's other bishoprics, there are no known surviving seals attributed to its bishops, and Neapolis was not represented at the council of Nicaea in 787 which, as we saw above, was attended by Alexander of Amathus and by the bishops of Salamis/Constantia, Chytroi, Kition, Soloi, and Tremithus. It is, however, included (as *Neapolis*) in the episcopal lists of the ninth-century (?) *notitia* 3, in thirteenth place among the island's fifteen sees, and again in the two lists of the late tenth-century appendix 1 to the *notitia* 10, as *Neapolis* in the first and *Nemesos* (‘Νεμεσός’) in the updated list, and this time it is ranked at the bottom of both.¹¹⁹ These mentions, however, tell us virtually nothing about the settlement itself, as does the inclusion of *Nemevos* (‘Νέμευος’, surely a scribe's mistake and perhaps an interpolation) in one single and much later manuscript of the contemporary geographical treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenetos.¹²⁰

The toponym *Nemesos*, by which these tenth-century sources refer to the episcopal see and settlement, and which is the form that eventually gave birth to the current (Greek) name *Lemesos*, is first attested in the

¹¹⁸ See also the extensive discussion in Michalis Olympios' chapter.

¹¹⁹ Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 234, 338. The Neapolis whose bishop is attested among the signatories of the acts of the council of Constantinople in 869/70, Mansi, VI, cols. 97, 144, is one of the numerous cities and sees of that name known to have existed elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire and in particular in Asia Minor (Caria, Isauria, Pisidia), most probably the Pisidian, Belke (1990: 347), and not the Cypriot see, despite (admittedly cautious) claims to the contrary, Malamut (1988: I, 251).

¹²⁰ Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, 20, 80; the thirteenth-century BnF, MS Paris. Gr. 854 is the only manuscript among those considered for the edition that contains the references to Kourion, Nemevos, and Lefkousia.

textually bountiful seventh century. According to one of the edifying stories in the *miracula* extolling the healing virtues of Sts Kyros and John at their shrine near Alexandria, a Cypriot pilgrim named George arrived seeking a cure for his crippled legs. George is described in the text as ‘a peasant, living in a village near Nemesos called Phava, which is 50 *stadia* [ca. 9.5 km] away from the city [of Nemesos] and three and a half *stadia* [ca. 660m] from the sea’.¹²¹ The reliability of this information is in no doubt, for the author of this text, Sophronios of Jerusalem (ca. 560-638), was not only writing about events of his own time, but as he explicitly states he had himself visited Cyprus, where he heard from eye-witnesses some of the stories which he reported.¹²² The phrasing of the narrative admits no doubt about its belonging to the original seventh-century composition, even though the earliest surviving manuscript of the *miracula* (BAV, MS Vat. Gr. 1607) does not antedate the late tenth century. Thus, if Phava was situated near the coast to the east of Neapolis/Nemesos, it would have been very close to Amathus; but in that case one would have expected its location to be defined with reference to that city rather than to Nemesos. If on the other hand, as seems more likely, it was situated to the west, it would have been located somewhere in the Akrotiri peninsula, from where other visitors to Alexandria are attested in this period.¹²³ The reference to Nemesos as a *polis* in this text may confirm the information about its status at the end of Late Antiquity, discussed above.

Nemesos and *Neapolis* appear in the sources at the same time, in the seventh century. It is far from clear why two different names (leaving aside *Theodosias*) would have been used contemporaneously for the settlement. A possible explanation may be that *Neapolis* became current in ecclesiastical circles as it was used in the bishop’s title, while *Nemesos* was more common in the secular sphere and was the one that survived and prevailed in the Middle Ages. Indeed, all references to the town from the tenth century onwards, not only in Greek sources but also in Arabic and Latin texts of the middle Byzantine period, use variants of this form. Thus a long late eleventh-century note in the BAV, MS Vat. Barb. Gr. 528

¹²¹ ‘Γεωργὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ Γεώργιος, καὶ χωρίον ᾧκει τῇ Νεμεσῷ παρακείμενον· Φαῦα τὸ χωρίον ἐλέγετο, καὶ πενήκοντα μὲν τῆς πόλεως, τρισὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμισυ τῆς θαλάττης σταδίους διέστηκεν’, Sophronios, *Miracula*, col. 3628; Fernández Marcos (1975: 231, 371-2).

¹²² Sophronios, *Miracula*, col. 3625; Fernández Marcos (1975: 370-1).

¹²³ Theodore of Paphos, *Spyridon*, 82; Jean Gascoü makes a similar observation concerning the location of Phava in his translation of the text, Sophronios, *Miracles*, 191, note 1156.

enumerating the properties of the monastery of Krinia near Lapithos mentions the *enoria* of Nemesos (‘τὴν ἐνωρίαν Νεμεσοῦ’), where the monastery owned an olive grove.¹²⁴ The same term (*enoria*) is used in this document for Paphos, Kourion, Kition, and Lapithos, where localities in which the monastery also owned estates were situated, and may refer either to the episcopal sees or to fiscal administrative units, as *enoria* was used for both in this period.¹²⁵ Considering, however, that the document in question is an inventory originally compiled for fiscal purposes, the latter use is more likely, although of course ecclesiastical and fiscal units may have coincided. It nevertheless seems curious that Platanistos (‘ἡ Κάτω Πλατανιστός’, modern Plataniskia/Platanisteia), much closer to Kourion than to Paphos, belongs to the latter’s *enoria*, and Parameda (‘Παραμήδα’, modern Paramytha) in the *enoria* of Kourion is nearer to Nemesos. Similarly Lethrinous (‘εἰς τὸ χωρίον Λεθρινοῦντα’), usually identified with modern Lythrodontas, falls into the *enoria* of distant Kition although it is much closer to Tamassos.¹²⁶ The latter was the centre under whose jurisdiction came the monastery of Makhairas, only a few kilometres to the west of Lythrodontas, and whose bishop in the twelfth century granted the monastery a *stavropegion* (autonomous status outside the jurisdiction of the local bishop); and it was after all at Tamassos that Neilos of Makhairas founded a nunnery and became bishop himself.¹²⁷ The boundary of the *enoria* of Kition must have therefore ran through the mountains somewhere between Lythrodontas and Makhairas separating it from Tamassos and, further south, turning eastwards to avoid Lefkara, which clearly belonged to Amathus.

All this speculation merely serves to show our dismal knowledge of the administrative geography of middle Byzantine Cyprus.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, the information that Paramytha came under the jurisdiction of Kourion (as certainly did Alassa, mentioned above) rather than Nemesos may indicate that the late antique setup was maintained in later periods and that there was little subsequent readjustment to reflect the realities of the Comnenian era, by which Nemesos had definitely overtaken both Kourion and Amathus as the main settlement on the south

¹²⁴ Darrouzès (1959: 49); Constantinides and Browning (1993: 58-9); Papacostas (1999b: II, 163-8).

¹²⁵ Grivaud (1998a: 24). For the ecclesiastical use, see Ahrweiler (1965: 55-6); for the fiscal term *Actes d'Iviron*, I, 263, Svoronos (1959: 55-7), and Malamut (1988: II, 417, note 229).

¹²⁶ Papacostas (1999b: II, 163-8).

¹²⁷ Neilos, *Typike Diataxis*, passim.

¹²⁸ Grivaud (1998a: 23-4).

coast of Cyprus, as we shall see below. This also suggests that the *enoria* of Nemesos may have been rather compact, something that is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the Krinia property is merely described as ‘an olive grove in the *enoria* of Nemesos’, whereas in the case of all other *enoriai* a place-name within their boundaries is given in order to locate each property more accurately (Platanistos, Parameda, Lethrinous, etc.). In other words, it would seem that it encompassed little more than the town itself and its immediate hinterland.

At about the same time as the Krinia inventory Nemesos is mentioned in a major Byzantine source. This is none other than the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene, which covers extensively the episode of the suppression of the rebellion of Rhapsomates on Cyprus. Nemesos appears in this very context as the harbour (‘πρὸς τὴν Νεμεσόον’) that the rebel, fleeing Nicosia and pursued by the imperial troops sent by Alexios I Komnenos to restore order in *ca.* 1095, attempted to reach in order to board a ship to Syria. He never arrived there, however, as on the way he was captured by Manuel Voutoumites and delivered to John Doukas, the leader of the expedition.¹²⁹ In the twelfth century al-Idrīsī (Edrisi), the Arab geographer of King Roger II of Sicily, in his treatise covering the entire Mediterranean as well as parts of northern Europe, states that Cyprus boasted several cities, the most important of which were *an-Nimīsūn* (Nemesos), *Lifqusiya* (Lefkosia), and *Kirīniya* (Kyrenia).¹³⁰ The earliest known mention of Nemesos in a Western European language appears in Latin, as *Nimisso*, and is to be found in a commercial contract of 1139 pertaining to a transaction among Venetians.¹³¹ The sources of the Third Crusade contain a staggering variety of spellings, usually substituting the initial N with an L (‘Limazun, Limeszun/Limezun, Limechon/Limeçon, Lymesson/Limesson’, etc.).¹³² Documents, travellers’ accounts, and a navigation manual from the same period or slightly later furnish an equally imaginative array of spellings (‘Limisso/Limiso, Nymocium/Nimocio, Lamezis’).¹³³

¹²⁹ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 263 (ed. Reinsch and Kambylis) and II, 163 (ed. Leib); on the date and for further bibliography, see Papacostas (2007: 66-7).

¹³⁰ Idrisi, *Opus geographicum*, V, 643-4.

¹³¹ Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti*, I, 77-8; Lanfranchi, *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, 405-6.

¹³² *Itinerarium*, 189; Benedict of Peterborough, II, 163; Roger of Howden, III, 105; ‘Ernoul’, 270-1; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 118-21. See also extensive discussion in the note following this chapter by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari.

¹³³ Delaville le Roulx (1895: 73-4); *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, II, no. 755a; *Cartulaire*, II, 23, 122; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 181; *Liber de existencia*, 171; see also the note following this chapter by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari.

As this survey of the earliest attestations of the toponym indicates, *Nemesos* was without a shred of doubt the early form of the place-name, confirmed by both the Arabic and Latin versions, which are clearly corruptions of the Greek name. Its etymology remains unknown and has puzzled many a historian. Even as far back as the sixteenth century the chronicler Étienne de Lusignan was perplexed and attempted to explain the name (which he gives as *Nemosia*) by reference to the Greek for woodland (*νέμος*, Latin *nemus*), while attributing the (Italian) form current at his time, *Limissò*, to some locality in the French homeland of the ancestors of the Lusignan kings of the island, at Poitou (presumably referring to the neighbouring Limousin region, known as *Lemosin* in Occitan).¹³⁴ In more recent times various suggestions, none of them particularly convincing, were posited: fanciful derivations from the Greek for harbour (*λιμὴν*) or from the place-name *Telmessos* in Lycia (Asia Minor) appeared in the nineteenth century, while at the dawn of the twentieth the Christian martyr Nemesios and the pagan goddess Nemesis were brought into the discussion. More recently a link with the Greek for inbetween (*ἀνάμεσαος*) was proposed.¹³⁵ There is, however, a slight problem. All early Greek attestations (except for the problematic *De thematibus*) in the nominative bear the stress on the last syllable (*Nemesós*) rather than the first (*Némesos*), which would have made the last derivation (*anámesos* – *Némesos*) more likely. The Nemesis link was revived in 2008 by Theodoros Mavroyiannis, who proposed a derivation of the place-name from the genitive *Νεμέσεως* and a connection between the Roman cult of Nemesis-Tyche (attested through a first-century AD inscription of unknown provenance now in the Cyprus Museum) and the Christian cult of Tykhon at Amathus.¹³⁶ This engaging argument does not explain, however, how the place-name was eventually assigned to the emerging settlement some 10km west of Amathus, nor does it account for the transposition of the accent (*Neméseos* – *Nemesós*).

In view of the above and of the lack of an obvious solution to the puzzle, it would certainly be unwise to add yet another fanciful etymology

¹³⁴ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 8v. Lusignan was followed in the eighteenth century by Giovanni Mariti and the Archimandrite Kyprianos, who proposed the same etymology: Mariti, 82, Kyprianos (1788: 33).

¹³⁵ Menardos (1903: 107-11; 1906: 8-9); Hill (1938-1939: 375-9); Indianos (1940); Hadjioannou, *Ancient Cyprus*, V, 197. The derivation from an unattested Limnessos, recently proposed by Makrides (2012), cannot be substantiated as it is entirely based on a debatable reconstruction of the ancient topography of the wider region.

¹³⁶ Mavroyiannis (2008).

to the already long list. The debate, however, needs to be rekindled, and a fresh proposal may achieve just that. Stephanos of Byzantium, writing in the sixth century, probably during the reign of Justinian, mentions in his *Ethnica* the city of Amamassos (‘Ἀμαμασσός’) as one of the ancient cult centres of Apollo on Cyprus. To the best of my knowledge Amamassos is not attested in any other text, either ancient or medieval, and its location remains unknown.¹³⁷ If the *Ethnica*’s information is accurate and ancient Cyprus did indeed boast a settlement of that name, could it have anything to do with Nemesos? A tentative answer may only emerge if some future epigraphic discovery from modern Limassol provides evidence for a cult of Apollo in the area and perhaps some clues on the evolution of the place-name.

The longevity of Cypriot toponymy is often extraordinary, as the case of even minor rural places demonstrates (e.g. Flasou and Larnakas tis Lapithou),¹³⁸ and the survival of an ancient toponym, albeit in a corrupted form, would not be surprising provided that such an alteration (Amamassos – Nemesos) can be linguistically substantiated, something that only specialists in the history of language may determine.¹³⁹ The recent publication of a fragmentary yet remarkable mid-second-century BC inscription from Amathus may provide a determining clue. A cadastral document, it contains several toponyms from the region of Amathus. One of them is mentioned at least twice in the text, in the genitive, as ‘ΜΙΜΙΣΟΥ’, which the editors transcribe as ‘Μιμίσου’, suggesting Mimison or Mimos for the nominative and plausibly linking it with Nemesos.¹⁴⁰ This toponym from the Hellenistic period could very well be

¹³⁷ ‘Ἀμαμασσός πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ἣ τιμᾶται Ὑλάτης Ἀπόλλων. τὸ ἔθνηκόν Ἀμαμάσσιος καὶ Ἀμαμασσεύς’, Stephanos of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, 174. Drymou in the district of Paphos has been suggested as the possible location of Amamassos, on the basis of syllabic inscriptions from the area that testify to a local cult of Apollo; see Hadjioannou, *Ancient Cyprus*, IV, 52-3. Hogarth (1889: 25), however, places it in the region of Kourion, while on the map accompanying K. Müller’s edition of the *Stadiasmos in Geographi graeci minores* it is marked at Yermasoyia; the *Barrington Atlas* omits it altogether.

¹³⁸ Mitford (1950: 12, note 2).

¹³⁹ There is no indication of any link with Mamassos/Momoasson near Nanzianzos in Cappadocia (later Mamasun and cult centre of St Mamas), which may or may not be identical with Ptolemy’s Nanassos/Nanessos; see *RE*, XXXIII, cols. 41-2; Hild and Restle (1981: 239); Hadjinicolaou-Marava (1953: 58-61); Ptolemy, *Geography*, II, 520.

¹⁴⁰ Aupert and Flourentzos (2008: 316, 326, 329, 343); Laurence Alpe’s chapter in this volume. I owe particular thanks to Yiannis Violaris for bringing this inscription to my attention.

Μιμισός (gen. *Μιμισοῦ*), the earliest known attestation of what became Nemesos by the end of Late Antiquity, and perhaps another version or corruption of a much older Amamassos.

2. Growth and Prosperity

It is usually claimed that with the demise of Amathus the latter's population moved to Neapolis, which as a result grew into an important port city. This assumption needs to be treated with caution, as there is no conclusive evidence; it will be discussed below. What is more, there is a gap to be filled between the decline of Amathus in the later seventh/eighth century and the rise of Nemesos, not documented as a port city before the eleventh. A move in the same direction has been claimed for the bishops of Amathus. But this could have taken place only if the local see at Nemesos was abolished or if the two dioceses were merged; neither option is warranted by the scant evidence. In fact the latter seems to suggest that the episcopal see of Nemesos remained active throughout the early medieval period. As we saw above, it is included in the *notitiae*, although their testimony is not always reliable. For the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is no direct evidence whatsoever.¹⁴¹ It would nevertheless not be unreasonable to suppose that the diocese continued to operate and be managed by its bishops. The treatise of Neilos Doxopates on the five patriarchates, written in Sicily in the mid-twelfth century, does not include it among the thirteen enumerated Cypriot sees either, but this is not surprising: Neilos relied heavily for this material on late antique sources such as the work of George of Cyprus, who, as mentioned above, also ignores Neapolis/Nemesos.¹⁴²

The most secure piece of information indicating that the number of bishops in the Comnenian period remained more or less the same as that known from late antique sources (at least a dozen) comes from the incident mentioned above concerning the deposed Bishop John of Amathus:¹⁴³ the

¹⁴¹ The reference to a tenth-century bishop Leo of Neapolis of Cyprus from BAV, MS Vat. Gr. 1810 in Evangelatou-Notara (1982: 117), based on Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 261), is the result of a misunderstanding: a Bishop Leo (of unspecified see, perhaps in South Italy?) was the copyist in 953, but Neapolis is only mentioned in the context of the volume's contents, which included works by the seventh-century Leontios of Neapolis; see 'Ad catalogum codicorum hagiographicorum Graecorum bibliothecae Vaticanae supplementum', 9 and Darrouzès (1957: 157).

¹⁴² *Synecdemus et notitiae*, 285.

¹⁴³ Papadopoulos (1995: 543-8).

Cypriot synod that relieved him of his duties in the mid-twelfth century was composed of eleven prelates, excluding the island's metropolitan. Half a century later Wilbrand, son of the count of Oldenburg and later bishop of Paderborn and Utrecht, who visited Cyprus in the summer of 1211, reported that in addition to the Latin Church hierarchy (established in 1196) there were thirteen Greek bishops on the island, including the archbishop.¹⁴⁴ Although in neither case are the sees of these bishops given, and while admitting that some may have moved their base of operations out of its original late antique location (e.g. Kourion to Episkopi),¹⁴⁵ there is little doubt that the episcopal organization itself was maintained, including most probably that of Nemesos. If we accept then that the see of Nemesos not only survived into the middle Byzantine period but also preserved its independence from that of Amathus, this would provide an additional reason to reject the suggestion that the latter's bishops moved there, and to look for an alternative location, most probably the one suggested above, at Lefkara.

Here a brief excursus is necessary in order to discuss what is meant by frequent statements claiming that populations moved from a city in decline to a rising centre nearby. The period in question (seventh-ninth centuries) was marked by economic and severe demographic decline. The population of Constantinople itself, the city in the empire that best resisted the changing trends of these difficult times, is thought to have dropped from perhaps as many as *ca.* 400,000 inhabitants in the Justinianic age to perhaps as few as 40,000 in the eighth century, a dramatic tenfold reduction.¹⁴⁶ The population of Cypriot settlements must have dwindled accordingly. Thus, we should not imagine the entire population of a crowded Amathus packing up and leaving in search of greener pastures. This may have happened on a small scale in a few exceptional cases, best illustrated by the example of Kourion and Episkopi: the archaeological evidence from the site of Sarayia in the latter shows that architectural elements from the episcopal basilica on top of the cliff were intentionally dismantled and reused in a new church on the west bank of the Kouris River in the fertile plain below. As Peter Megaw suggested, this was presumably the new episcopal seat that gave the settlement its name;¹⁴⁷ the ecclesiastical authorities must have relocated in an area already settled by

¹⁴⁴ Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 180.

¹⁴⁵ The *floruit* of a bishop of Kourion named Michael, attested in a note in the eleventh-century BnF, MS Par. Gr. 648, may fall within this period; see Darrouzès (1950: 179; 1951a: 103).

¹⁴⁶ Mango (1990: 51, 54); see also note 79 above for relevant bibliography.

¹⁴⁷ Megaw (1993).

people from both Kourion and the surrounding countryside who sought to exploit the well watered region for agricultural purposes.

As demographic decline set in, prompted by profound changes in the patterns of economic life, the ravages of war, and possibly the outbreaks of plague recorded in the empire (but not specifically in Cyprus) into the eighth century, Amathus must have suffered severe depopulation. By the end of the century the extensive site of the city was perhaps dotted with a couple of small communities living in makeshift accommodation among the ruins and making a living primarily out of the land. A similar trend must have occurred at Neapolis/Nemesos, which was a centre of no great consequence in the earlier period anyway. As the population of the entire island in this period was probably well below 100,000, of which a very high proportion lived in rural areas, the former cities must have looked like little more than villages.¹⁴⁸ When finally Cyprus woke up in the course of the eleventh century to the developments experienced elsewhere in the empire some two centuries earlier, it was Nemesos that benefited and grew at the expense of Amathus. Why this was the case is not clear at all. Perhaps any remaining inhabitants of Amathus moved to the emerging centre of the region in search of opportunities, but their numbers must have been small. Thus, the statement that Nemesos replaced Amathus must be qualified: this has more to do with the role and function of the city within the wider context of the island, as the major settlement on its south coast, and not with a wholesale transfer of population. As we saw above, the same is surely true of Kourion – Episkopi, but also of Salamis/Constantia – Famagusta, Karpasia – Rizokarpaso, and probably ancient coastal Lapithos – medieval Lapithos on the mountain slope overlooking the ancient site known as Lambousa.

That is not to say that no transfer of population ever affected the demography of Nemesos. In view of the above reconstruction of its growth and the undisputed evidence for the presence of a strong Armenian element in its population by the late twelfth century, it is likely that the latter was the result of a centrally planned initiative. The sources describing the events of 1191 provide unequivocal testimony of the importance of the Armenian community in town. Its inhabitants are referred to time and again as Greeks and Armenians who initially defended but eventually abandoned it to the hands of Richard the Lionheart.¹⁴⁹ Although it is usually thought that there were Armenian

¹⁴⁸ Papacostas (1999b: I, 23-5); Rautman (2005: 458-9).

¹⁴⁹ 'Estoire de Eracles', 165; Ambroise, I, 25, 27, 28 (ed. M. Ailes and M. Barber); Benedict of Peterborough, II, 164, 166; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 119.

communities on Cyprus as early as the sixth century, it is perhaps in the course of the twelfth that their settlement became significant. According to the Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr, during his campaign in Cilicia and following the capture of Anazarbos in 1137 John II Komnenos conquered Tell Hamdun and had its inhabitants transferred to Cyprus before advancing against Antioch. The ethnicity of the transplanted population is not specified, but it is plausibly assumed that it was largely if not exclusively Armenian. Neither the numbers involved nor the reasons behind the emperor's decision are known, although a possible military connection has been suggested.¹⁵⁰ It is likely that the strong Armenian presence at Nemesos may be the result of this or other unrecorded relocations of the middle Byzantine period. As we shall see shortly, another strong element in the population was that of western merchants who settled in the town during the last decades of Byzantine rule.

3. Busy Port and Trade Centre

Middle Byzantine Nemesos had one predominant function: it was an important harbour. This is how the settlement slowly emerges into the limelight in the eleventh century, and not as an ecclesiastical nor as an administrative centre. When in *ca.* 1095 the rebel Rhapsomates, pursued by the imperial troops that had landed at Kyrenia, fled Nicosia intending to catch a ship to Syria, he did not head for the east coast facing the mainland but for the south, towards Nemesos. This would indicate that its harbour was the island's main hub for communications with the Syro-Palestinian mainland. It also suggests that there was a road linking the island's administrative capital with Nemesos. This is presumably the same as the 'strata regia' mentioned outside the town in 1191; its designation as 'royal', if reported correctly by the contemporary compiler, presumably reflects a distinction among different types of road in the local network that is also attested in other parts of the Byzantine world (e.g. the 'δεσποτικὸς δρόμος' or 'βασιλικὴ ὁδὸς' on Sicily).¹⁵¹ Its course along the coast in the vicinity of Nemesos in all probability followed that of the Roman road, presumably the 'Σαλαμινία ὁδὸς' of the aforementioned Hellenistic cadastral inscription, linking Kourion with Kition via Amathus,

¹⁵⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, I, 424; Kyrris (1970); Grivaud (2000: 44-5).

¹⁵¹ *Itinerarium*, 197; *ODB* 3: 1798; *Actes de S. Maria di Messina*, 150, 157. The Krinia inventory mentions a public road ('δημοσία', see note 124 above). For the road network in Byzantium and the relevant terminology, see Avramea (2002: 60-61) and Belke (2008: 303-4).

as shown on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and reconstructed by Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen.¹⁵² The evidence for Venetian trade in commodities from the rural hinterland through the harbour, discussed below, also implies the existence of an adequate secondary road network linking the two, and in this case too it is worth noting that the majority of the Venetian estates in question were largely situated along or very close to the old Roman roads leading north, through the foothills and over the Troodos watershed down to Arsinoe/Polis, Soloi and Tamassos respectively (map 2). Although there is no definite archaeological or textual evidence for this network (e.g. bridges, milestones, medieval maps), the partial overlap between the location of Venetian holdings and the Roman road system may suggest that the latter was perhaps maintained into (or reactivated in?) the medieval period, an issue that requires further investigation.

Below we shall look at the evidence for the role of the harbour as a major gateway into and out of the island for merchants and western pilgrims, and perhaps also as a naval base for the Byzantine fleet. All these functions were enhanced as a result of the single most important event of the middle Byzantine period in the wider region. As in the seventh century, a major new player appeared on the scene; and the island, by virtue of its geographical position, found itself along the intruder's path. Only this time the economic repercussions were distinctly advantageous. The arrival of the crusaders in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 1090s opened up new opportunities for trade and commerce. In the course of the twelfth century Cyprus became a source of supplies for the newly established Crusader States and exported its agricultural produce and manufactured goods.¹⁵³ As the discussion below will argue, Nemesos played a key role in these developments. Its harbour must have also been involved in short-distance small-scale trade along the shores of Cyprus, although the total lack of documentation for this type of exchange precludes an assessment of its extent. Before looking at the economic aspect, however, let us first consider some admittedly inconclusive yet tantalising evidence suggesting that the harbour of Nemesos may have functioned as an (occasional?) base for the Byzantine fleet stationed in Cyprus.

In May 1191 there were five manned galleys anchored there and ready to defend Isaac Komnenos against the large crusader fleet that descended on the bay; they were captured by Richard without much difficulty.¹⁵⁴ It is

¹⁵² Apurt and Flourentzos (2008: 316, 327); Bekker-Nielsen (2004: 194-7).

¹⁵³ Papacostas (1999a: 499).

¹⁵⁴ *Itinerarium*, 190, 196; Ambroise, I, 24, 28 (ed. M. Ailes and M. Barber); 'Ernoult', 271.

not clear whether these ships and their crew represent the remnants of a Byzantine squadron that switched sides after the usurpation of Isaac, or if they were acquired either as a result of Isaac's alliance with the Normans of Sicily or by any other means. The alliance had worked in favour of Isaac in 1186 when a fleet of seventy vessels was sent from Constantinople to oust him. The Byzantine troops disembarked to engage his army in battle, leaving their ships largely unattended. Isaac sought refuge in an un-named castle. At that point a Norman fleet that had been operating in the Aegean under Admiral Margaritone (probably married, like Isaac himself, to an illegitimate daughter of William I of Sicily) came to his rescue. The abandoned Byzantine ships were captured by the Normans, while the troops on shore were annihilated by Isaac's mercenaries.¹⁵⁵ The location of these events is not given in our sources, but it is unlikely to have been Nemesos: the presumably strong castle to which Isaac withdrew cannot have stood there, as the events of 1191 discussed below clearly show; Paphos or more probably Kyrenia with its fortress was perhaps the theatre of operations, as in *ca.* 1095 during the campaign against Rhapsomates. Perhaps a small Norman contingent was left behind after the cessation of hostilities and the departure of Margaritone, accounting for the vessels in the harbour of Nemesos five years later. But had these vessels been manned by Isaac's Norman allies one might expect our (western) sources to mention it in their description of the scuffle that led to their capture; after all these same sources single out for special mention Isaac's Norman mercenary who tried in vain to help his master's hapless captives.¹⁵⁶

During the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) Cyprus, being in close proximity to the increasingly crusader-dominated Syria-Palestine, is thought to have been one of the most important naval bases of the empire together with Dyrrachion, opposite Norman-held South Italy, and may have retained this position into the late twelfth century.¹⁵⁷ What remains unclear is the role that the harbour of Nemesos may have played. No source reveals the location(s) where the Byzantine fleet was stationed and operated from, but Kyrenia would seem a natural choice, at least as a first port of call from other Byzantine harbours, in particular along the south shore of Asia Minor.¹⁵⁸ Nemesos, on the other hand, may have been used

¹⁵⁵ Lavagnini (1975); Vranoussi (1976); Theodosios Goudeles, 150; on relations between Cyprus and Norman Sicily in this period, see Papacostas (1999a: 482-4).

¹⁵⁶ 'Estoire de Eracles', 162, *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 116-17.

¹⁵⁷ Ahrweiler (1966: 160, 224, 283-4); Malamut (1988: II, 603-4); Asdracha (2005: 323-6).

¹⁵⁸ Papacostas (1999b: I, 47).

in the context of operations in Syro-Palestinian waters like the expedition of twenty-two vessels in 1097 against Laodicea, the Byzantine mission to Bohemond of Antioch in 1099, or in later campaigns such as that against the Egyptian fleet in 1169.¹⁵⁹ In *ca.* 1174 a Genoese citizen appealed to the emperor, citing the death of his brother during a naval expedition, which may be this same campaign of 1169, and his own loyal service in the Byzantine army and the fleet, which he joined on Cyprus (perhaps at Nemesos?).¹⁶⁰ This casual but fascinating snippet of information confirms the (occasional?) presence of both the fleet and westerners on the island during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). The latter will be discussed in detail below.

Although there is no evidence for the local ship-building industry in this period, and the silence of the sources is even more deafening as far as naval construction is concerned, the proximity of the abundant timber resources of the Troodos may have encouraged the development of shipyards for both military and commercial vessels. The economic significance and success of the harbour is borne out by an indication concerning the town's customs revenue: shortly after the establishment of the Lusignan kingdom, the rights to the customs of Nemesos were ceded for two years by King Aimery to Peter Muntol for 28,500 white bezants. In the same period the total annual revenue of Cyprus is said to have reached 700 pounds of gold (*ca.* 50,400 *hyperpyra*), that is *ca.* 150,000 white bezants; provided that these figures are reliable (something that is far from certain), the income from Nemesos would represent a significant proportion of the island's revenue.¹⁶¹ The suggestion that a mint may have operated in the coastal settlement during the short period of Isaac's rule (1184-1191), in addition to the main mint of Nicosia, makes perfect sense in view of its economic role and overseas contacts; it is further enhanced by the recent proposal that Richard may have also struck coins there during his brief stay.¹⁶² Information on industrial or artisanal activity, on

¹⁵⁹ Kemal ed-Din, 578; *Alexiad*, 352 (ed. Reinsch and Kambylis); Choniates, I, 161.

¹⁶⁰ *Codice diplomatico*, II, 223-4.

¹⁶¹ Delaville le Roulx (1895: 73-4) (28,500 bezants); *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, II, no. 755a (28,050 bezants); for the problems that such figures pose, see Hendy (1985: 173).

¹⁶² Hendy (1969: 136-42; 1985: 438); Metcalf (1998: 80); Bendall (2004) with earlier bibliography on the coins attributed to Richard I. Bendall (2005)'s suggestion that Isaac's second mint may have been located at Amathus is of course untenable in view of the demise of that city long before the twelfth century; his

the other hand, is virtually non-existent. The possible presence of a mint, however brief, may indicate that the raw materials and know-how were locally available and that, as in any settlement of this period, metalworking workshops were part of the town's streetscape.¹⁶³ Natural resources whose exploitation is known from later times do not feature in the written record. A case in point is the salt lake in the Akrotiri peninsula with its salt pans, well known in later centuries for its abundant fish stock (especially dorado – *coryphaena hippurus*);¹⁶⁴ in medieval Byzantium there are documented cases of monastic establishments owning and presumably managing such resources, and the monastery of St Nicholas (discussed below) near the south edge of the salt lake may have indeed conformed to such a model.¹⁶⁵ But it was surely raw and processed commodities that made the fortunes of the town's economy. Although in contrast to Paphos no seals belonging to *horreiaroi* of Nemesos are known (officials in charge of warehouses and granaries),¹⁶⁶ there is little doubt that at least in the twelfth century there was surplus agricultural production that was exported through the harbour. The crucial evidence concerning the role of Venetians in this will be examined shortly.

Nemesos is very briefly mentioned in the *Liber de existencia riveriarum*, a Pisan navigation manual that describes the coastline of Cyprus but does not comment on the anchorages and port facilities, despite often doing so in the case of other coastal regions.¹⁶⁷ If one accepts the traditional dating of this document to the second half of the twelfth century, then the inclusion of the island would presumably reflect the rise in maritime traffic in Cypriot waters and the presence of vessels from distant parts of the Mediterranean. In a recent reassessment of the evidence, however, a date in the first decades of the thirteenth century has

location of the main mint in Kyrenia is, similarly, primarily based on the erroneous assumption that Nicosia was not sufficiently important in this period.

¹⁶³ For examples of craftsmen working for both the mint and other clients in late medieval Venice, see Lane and Müller (1985: 237-9).

¹⁶⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 78; Bustron, 28; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 7v and *Description*, fol. 18v.

¹⁶⁵ A document dated to 1089 mentions salt pans among the estates of a monastery at Longos (Chalkidike) called 'τῶν Ἱερομνήμων ἤτοι τὰ Βουρβουροῦ', which was granted with all its properties by Basil II to the Athonite Xenophontos, while a document of 1227 also mentions salt pans as part of the properties of the monastery of St George Exokastrites near Smyrna, which were granted by John Vatatzes to the Panayia Lembiotissa; see *Actes de Xénophon*, 73 and *Acta et diplomata graeca*, IV, 45.

¹⁶⁶ Metcalf (2004: 241).

¹⁶⁷ *Liber de existencia*, 171.

been suggested instead, primarily based on a comparison of the information on Black Sea ports contained therein and in similar documents from the same period.¹⁶⁸ Despite the later dating of the *Liber de existencia riveriarum*, this traffic must have nevertheless increased considerably in the course of the twelfth century as a result of the dramatic rise in pilgrimage voyages from Western Europe to the Holy Land. Although in the few instances where the Cypriot port of call is named in the travellers' accounts it is usually Paphos rather than Nemesos, the latter must have hosted its fair share of pilgrims. The magnitude of the phenomenon is illustrated by the testimony of the (German?) monk Theoderich, who reported counting thirty pilgrim-carrying ships moored in the harbour of Acre on Wednesday of Easter week, probably in 1169. Surely some of these must have stopped at some Cypriot harbour, perhaps Nemesos, either on their way to the Holy Land or during their return journey.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, a few decades earlier we hear of thirteen ships returning to the West with the rather improbable number of 7,000 ill-fated pilgrims on board, making a stopover along the coast of Cyprus in early July 1113. While there, a sudden storm broke out and destroyed all but two vessels; according to the chronicler it took three weeks to bury in the flat plains (around Nemesos?) the thousands of victims washed up on the shore.¹⁷⁰

Such stopovers along the island's coast were common for pilgrims well before the twelfth century, indeed, since Late Antiquity. For the immediate pre-crusader period the testimony of a Catalan document is significant, as it concerns the presence of pilgrims from the other end of the Mediterranean before the opening up in earnest of the pilgrimage routes: the sacristan Isarn made the long journey to the Holy Land and reached his goal but died on Cyprus in February 1068 on the way back from his pilgrimage.¹⁷¹ Ten years earlier another pilgrim died on the island: Thierry, former abbot of St-Évroul in Normandy, is said to have been buried by his fellow-pilgrims at a monastery of St Nicholas, probably to be identified with the homonymous establishment in the Akrotiri peninsula. The same account speaks of inns ('hospitia') at an unspecified location where these pilgrims lodged and had their meals, suggesting that the island

¹⁶⁸ Jacoby (2007a: 685-6; 2009b: 64 and note 37).

¹⁶⁹ Galatariotou (1991: 54); *Peregrinationes tres*, 12, 186; earlier editions erroneously give larger numbers for the ships present at Acre. On the extent of pilgrimage traffic to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Jacoby (2002b: 28).

¹⁷⁰ 'ad portum et stationem insulae Cypri applicuerunt', Albert of Aachen, 698-9 (ed. *RHC Occ.*) and 846-9 (ed. S. Edgington); see also Jacoby (2002b: 28).

¹⁷¹ Baraut (1983: 176-8).

was well equipped with facilities catering to their needs.¹⁷² If the identification of the monastery is correct, the inns in question may have been at Nemesos. Pilgrims from within Byzantium may have also availed themselves of these facilities at what was after all the last Byzantine territory before reaching the Holy Land. According to the *typikon* of the monastery of Makhairas, founded in the mid-twelfth century high up in the Troodos range by ascetics from Palestine, eminent pilgrims heading for the Holy Sepulchre (presumably from Constantinople or other parts of the empire) should be received by the community and offered a place at the monks' table for three days; this suggests that the monastery, despite its remote location away from the coast and the main ports of call, was at least occasionally if not regularly visited by such pilgrims who included the island in their itinerary.¹⁷³ The testimony of the Persian poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw who visited Jerusalem in 1047 implies that the Holy Sepulchre regularly attracted numerous visitors from the empire. David Jacoby has plausibly suggested that these devout travellers must have sailed on Byzantine commercial vessels whose destination was either Cyprus or Fatimid Egypt, and that the same may be true of the ship that the Russian monk Daniel boarded in *ca.* 1106-1108, sailing from Constantinople along the west coast of Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean islands and visiting Cyprus along the way before reaching Jaffa.¹⁷⁴

The main routes that vessels, such as the one Daniel was travelling on, would have followed to and from the Holy Land in the medieval period have been reconstructed by John Pryor on the basis of textual evidence, the prevailing winds, and sea currents. According to Pryor's proposed reconstruction, the south coast of Cyprus was often included in the eastward journey, whereas in the opposite direction sailing along the coasts of Syria-Palestine and then of south Asia Minor towards the Aegean was preferable.¹⁷⁵ What this means for Nemesos is that it could have been used as a stopover, should a Cypriot port of call be sought, only during the eastward voyage, the return journey usually avoiding the island altogether.

¹⁷² Orderic Vitalis, II, 72. For pilgrimage in the eleventh century, see Jacoby (2005: 282) and for St Nicholas see below.

¹⁷³ Neilos, *Typike Diataxis*, 50 (ed. Tsiknopoulos), 152 (ed. Agathonos); Papacostas (2013: 183-8). The venturing into the Troodos of pilgrims passing through Cyprus is attested in later centuries through the graffiti they left, for example in the church of St John Lampadistis at Kalopanagiotis; see Papageorghiou (2008: 52).

¹⁷⁴ Jacoby (2000: 37-8); Daniel, 79-80; on Byzantine pilgrimage in this period, see also Talbot (2001).

¹⁷⁵ Pryor (1988: 89-90, 95).

A recent reassessment of the evidence, however, has cast doubt over Pryor's conclusions: Renard Gluzman argues that sailing along the coast of the continent for the return journey is far more treacherous than through the open sea, that the advantageous anti-clockwise current postulated by Pryor along the same coast is far less powerful, and that the vast majority of vessels sailing from Palestine or even Egypt westwards in fact sailed along the south coast of Cyprus as well, if not across the open sea.¹⁷⁶ This again has even more important implications for Nemesos and the volume of traffic passing through its harbour, for the latter may have thus attracted much westbound in addition to eastbound traffic.

Cyprus and its harbours were involved in trade with the neighbouring regions of the Levant well before the crusader period. Arab sources mention the island as a place of trade for merchants from lands under Arab rule. The tenth-century geographer al-Maqqdisī (Muqaddasi) describes it as a producer and exporter of garments and other goods, and as full of populous cities, although none is mentioned by name. Al-Idrīsī (Edrisi) in the twelfth century, on the contrary, specifically talks of Nemesos as 'a beautiful city with markets and numerous buildings'.¹⁷⁷ The treatment of Cyprus in another Arab source from the intervening period is most fascinating, although highly problematic when it comes to a possible reference to Nemesos. This is the cosmographical treatise known as *The Book of Curiosities*, which was compiled in Fatimid Egypt in the eleventh century, probably in its second quarter, and came to the attention of scholarship only in 2002 when a late twelfth/thirteenth-century manuscript containing the anonymous treatise was acquired by the Bodleian Library of Oxford (Department of Oriental Collections, MS Arab. c. 90). It includes numerous astronomical diagrams and schematic maps among which Cyprus figures prominently. First it is shown on the map of the Mediterranean Sea (fol. 31a) as its most notable island together with Sicily (both are shown as rectangles; all other islands are represented by roughly 120 small disks of the same size floating in the oval basin representing the Mediterranean). Then in the chapter on the 'islands of the infidels' there is a separate full-page diagram representing Cyprus (fol. 36b); the only other Mediterranean island thus illustrated is, once more, Sicily, which gets an even larger and far more detailed two-page map (fols. 32b-33a) with information on its mountains, rivers, strongholds and cities, including numerous details concerning Palermo, and a lengthy commentary.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Gluzman (2010: 268-71).

¹⁷⁷ Muqaddasi, 229; Idrisi, *Opus geographicum*, V, 643-4 and *Géographie*, II, 130.

¹⁷⁸ Johns (2004).

The Cyprus diagram is accompanied by brief notices on the geographical position of the island, its agricultural and mineral resources, and the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century (fig. 9). Cyprus is represented as a square around which seventeen anchorages are marked with their names and succinct information on the prevailing winds, while nine more are described within the square (the total is twenty-five, as there is one duplication). Although many of the Arabicised toponyms are difficult to recognise, others are readily identifiable (e.g. Aqamah, Sulīs, Karfāsiyah, Qusṭanṭīnah, Qīṭus, Bāfus, Baliyā Bafus); Nemesos is not among them (nor is Amathus for that matter). In the wider region anchorages are marked at Kourion as Qūrah, while Nahr al-Malik ('river of the king') must be Vasilopotamos (Vassilikos, east of Amathus) and Ra's al-'Abbās ('promontory of al-'Abbās') has been tentatively identified with Cape Akrotiri (Zevgari/Kourias) because of its place in the sequence of anchorages.¹⁷⁹ Although the list of anchorages on the map does not follow a strict geographical sequence, there is a certain clustering of places according to their proximity to each other; thus, the anchorages at the lower part of the diagram moving anti-clockwise start on the right with Paphos, followed to the left by Palaepaphos, al-Aṭriṭūs (presumably Strabo's Treta and the Tretoi of the *Stadiasmos*, in the region of Avdimou), Kourion, and Cape Akrotiri (?) at the bottom left; then moving up along the left side of the map the first anchorage is marked as follows: '[...] of Jurjis which has a church protected from all the winds and 950 ships.' After this the geographical sequence breaks, as the next anchorage is 'the fortress called Constantia'.

The excellent online and the more recent print editions of the *Book of Curiosities* suggest a monastery east of Limassol as a possible candidate for *Jurjis*.¹⁸⁰ The rubric, whose opening is missing, clearly refers to a place with a church dedicated to St George and also seems to imply that it boasts good mooring facilities, although what exactly the excessive number of ships is meant to represent remains unclear (the same number of ships is

¹⁷⁹ *Book of Curiosities*, 476-8 and online version, fol. 36b; Savage-Smith (2003; 2009); Metcalf (2009: 507-11). It is not clear why this particular promontory is given with an Arabic name that is neither a corruption nor a translation of a Greek toponym (like Nahr al-Malik); was it so popular with Arab seafarers that they had their own name for it, unrelated with the local toponymic tradition, or does it betray permanent Arab settlement in the area (perhaps from an earlier period)?

¹⁸⁰ Perhaps the 'San Giorgio' in Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 9r? *Book of Curiosities*, 476.

given for Paphos).¹⁸¹ Can it be identified with Nemesos at all, as its place in the map sequence next to Kourion and perhaps Cape Akrotiri might suggest? The identification of the latter, as mentioned above, is not certain. The allusion to an important harbour, however, is tempting. What is more, although the dedication to St George is of course extremely common (indeed the most frequent on medieval Cyprus after the Virgin), Nemesos is among the few places on the island where a church with that very dedication is securely attested in middle Byzantine times, albeit slightly later: as we shall see below, Richard the Lionheart married Berengaria of Navarre in May 1191 in a church of St George which may be identical with the Venetian shrine of the same name, attested in the later twelfth century. Why this among all other churches of Nemesos would be singled out, however, is difficult to tell. But even if the identification of Jurjis with Nemesos is rejected, the latter must certainly have been included in the *Book of Curiosities*, and must be sought among the unrecognizable place-names.¹⁸² The same applies to Kyrenia, which has not been identified with any of the anchorages on the diagram but whose harbour is explicitly mentioned in late eleventh and twelfth-century sources, while the various building phases of its castle confirm its occupation throughout this period.¹⁸³

Regardless of the difficulties in interpreting the evidence of the *Book of Curiosities*, one thing is certain: the prominence accorded to Cyprus by the anonymous Arab compiler is extraordinary. Suffice it to note that no other Byzantine island is treated in this way, while Sicily, the only other Mediterranean island that is described in even greater detail, was of course under Arab rule in the period of the treatise's compilation. Crete, although also under Arab rule for more than a century (*ca.* 824-827/8 to 961), is merely marked with a disk on the map of the Mediterranean and mentioned only briefly in the text on account of its past dealings with the Arabs. What, then, might be the reason behind this? As far as we can tell Cyprus was not yet an important centre for international trade at the time of the *Book's* compilation. The thousands of documents in the Cairo *Geniza*, many of which deal with the business ventures of Jewish merchants from Fatimid Egypt across the Mediterranean in this period, barely mention the island. Only one relevant document is worth

¹⁸¹ Metcalf (2009: 511) wonders whether the reference to 950 ships may not have been accidentally repeated from the entry on Paphos; the editors of the *Book of Curiosities*, 476, amend to 150 ships.

¹⁸² For a different view see Metcalf (2009: 510), who suggests that the omission may reflect a prohibition against Arab shipping there.

¹⁸³ Papacostas (1995: I, 15).

mentioning: in a letter of *ca.* 1066 we hear of a merchant trading in textiles for many years between Egypt and Syria-Palestine; together with the Egyptian flax, Syrian cotton, and Lebanese silk that he bought and sold, there was also silk from Cyprus, which he obtained at Ramla in Palestine.¹⁸⁴ An intriguing contemporary allusion to carpets from Cyprus, apparently highly prized in Baghdad at that time, suggests that goods from the island found their way deep into the Fertile Crescent, almost certainly through Fatimid territory.¹⁸⁵ Although these references would indicate some traffic between Cyprus and the Levantine coast, they are hardly evidence of a flourishing trade. Yet a recent reassessment of commercial links between Byzantium and Egypt may provide the very framework into which these and the evidence of the *Book of Curiosities* fit.

In a groundbreaking study of trade networks in the Eastern Mediterranean David Jacoby has argued that, beyond the well-known East-West routes, in the eleventh century there existed a north-south axis between the empire and Egypt that was joined in the twelfth century by the crusader Levant, creating a local triangular pattern. In the eleventh century this was still in the hands of local merchants, Italian traders appearing in the middle of the century (with the Amalfitans first) and consolidating their presence only in the following century when Venice became an important player. Indeed, the *Geniza* documents contain evidence for Cretans active in trade between their island and Egypt in the mid-eleventh century.¹⁸⁶ The aforementioned evidence for Cypriot silk at Ramla may provide a parallel from Cyprus. By virtue of its position the island must have actively participated in this network. Arab authors of the second half of the tenth century attest to this: according to al-Maqqisī, mentioned above, ‘Cyprus offers many advantages to Muslim merchants on account of its great quantities of merchandise, textiles and goods’, while Ibn Hawqal’s testimony provides confirmation.¹⁸⁷ So does the text at the bottom of the *Book of Curiosities* diagram that enumerates the commodities available locally (mastic, labdanum, storax, vitriol), adding that more goods were imported from Byzantium (and presumably purchased by Arab traders). The prominence accorded to Cyprus in the *Book of Curiosities* and the relatively detailed knowledge of its coastline

¹⁸⁴ Goitein (1973: 45-7).

¹⁸⁵ Serjeant (1951: 76) and, for further details, Papacostas (1999b: I, 72).

¹⁸⁶ Jacoby (2000). I owe particular thanks to Prof. Jacoby for incisive comments and for making available to me both very recent and especially forthcoming publications of his.

¹⁸⁷ Muqaddasi, 229; Ibn Hawqal, I, 199. Ibn Hawqal’s statement concerning the abundance of silk on Cyprus confirms the testimony of the Cairo *Geniza* letter.

by Arab seafarers that it demonstrates constitute the most tangible reflection of this state of affairs.¹⁸⁸

4. Venetian Merchants at Nemesos

By the twelfth century, and al-Idrīsī's statement concerning the prosperity, agricultural production, manufacture, and mineral exports of Cyprus that imply a certain role for the island in Levantine economic affairs, the situation had changed. Nemesos is recorded as being actively involved in trade with Fatimid Egypt, albeit now perhaps largely through the agency of western merchants, as revealed by the Venetian contract cited above as evidence for the earliest Latin attestation of the toponym.¹⁸⁹ This document, drafted at Damietta in October 1139, mentions an earlier transaction at Nemesos concerning the setting up of a business partnership between the Venetians Dominicus Rossani and Angelo Agnello; it also provides the earliest explicit reference to commercial shipping between Nemesos and ports beyond Cyprus, in this case Damietta. Venice was granted free access to the island under John II Komnenos in *ca.* 1136, reflecting the Republic's increasing interest in trading there almost half a century after it had been granted exemption from taxes at numerous other ports of the empire.¹⁹⁰ The right to trade freely in Cyprus (and elsewhere) was subsequently confirmed by Manuel I in a chrysobull of 1147.¹⁹¹ It is within this legal framework that the growth of the Venetian presence on the island took place. Notarial deeds from later on in the twelfth century do not specifically mention Nemesos, but they do testify to the growing presence of Venetian merchants on Cyprus: a document of January 1143 from Constantinople mentions a Venetian ship on her way from Acre to the Byzantine capital that made a stopover at Paphos, where three Venetians witnessed a transaction concerning a slave; in the mid-1170s

¹⁸⁸ That exchange between the island and mainland markets either in crusader or in Muslim-held territory continued into the twelfth century may be evidenced by the Byzantine coins found in hoards on Cyprus (significantly, though, at inland locations: Morphou and Ayios Panteleimon of Akhera) and scratched with graffiti in Arabic script; see Metcalf (1991: 241-2).

¹⁸⁹ Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti*, I, 77-8; Lanfranchi, *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, 405-6.

¹⁹⁰ The date of the chrysobull of Alexios I continues to generate a lively scholarly debate; for the most recent contributions, arguing for the traditional date of 1082 and for a later date in 1092, see Madden (2002), Jacoby (2002a), and Frankopan (2004).

¹⁹¹ Jacoby (1994: 351-2); Papacostas (1999a: 485); Otten-Froux (2005: 34-5).

business dealings are recorded among Petrus Rambaldus and Iohannes Mençulo, a Venetian living perhaps at Paphos at the time (he is described as ‘de Baffo’); the same individuals are mentioned in connection with business at Alexandria and later on (1201) at Tyre; in 1189 a document from Venice testifies to the earlier dealings of a certain Bisancio Longobardus, who had passed away in the meantime, with a man on Cyprus (‘homo de Cipro’).¹⁹² This handful of documents makes plainly obvious that Venetian merchants were occasionally active on Cyprus, sometimes settled there at least for a while, and were operating within the wider Levantine world using perhaps the island as a convenient stopover between Egypt, Syria-Palestine and ports further west.

Unequivocal confirmation and indeed striking amplification of the above conclusion comes from a thirteenth-century report listing former Venetian properties on Cyprus.¹⁹³ The importance of this document for our purposes cannot be overestimated, despite the insuperable problems that its interpretation poses. It is certainly the most important source dealing with Nemesos in the middle Byzantine period and will therefore be discussed in some detail. Now preserved in the library of the Querini Stampalia Foundation of Venice (Codex IV 3 [1064], fols. 41r-45v), it is part of a larger undated report compiled by Marsilio Zorzi, Venetian *bailo* in the Crusader States in 1242-1244, listing Venetian properties, privileges, and rights in the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and on Cyprus. According to David Jacoby, it was put together during Zorzi’s term in office.¹⁹⁴ The list enumerates more than one hundred properties, the vast majority in the town and region of Nemesos (‘civitatis Nimis’), giving details about the location and sometimes the nature of each property, the name of its original Venetian owner, and that of its new proprietor. It does not provide, however, any information about the size of the properties, nor does it record their value and income.¹⁹⁵ The text is not without its problems, as some terms are unclear, words are not always easily legible because the ink has faded despite the generally good state of preservation of the thirteenth-century manuscript, and the meaning is often obscured by

¹⁹² Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti*, I, 85-6, 366-7, 444-5; Otten-Froux (2005: 31-2).

¹⁹³ Marsilio Zorzi, 184-91. The report is also discussed in the next chapter with relation to the thirteenth-century owners.

¹⁹⁴ Jacoby (1992: 229). On an earlier occasion I mistakenly claimed that the report was compiled by the copyist of the manuscript, Jacobus de Vairago; see Papacostas (1999a: 488).

¹⁹⁵ Grivaud (1998a: 332-3).

the idiosyncratic grammar. These difficulties do not hinder, however, a most profitable examination of the document.

What becomes quickly obvious from the information provided therein can be summarised as follows: the properties were no longer in Venetian hands at the time of the document's compilation; the few for which there is independent evidence on the date of acquisition by the new owner suggest that they changed hands within the first two decades of Lusignan rule, that is at least two decades before Marsilio Zorzi's tenure.¹⁹⁶ Among the new owners were the Latin see of Limassol, the Cistercians, the military orders, the king, various westerners (from Pisa, Genoa, Provence) and a few Greeks. The Venetian community was well established on Cyprus, since it is stated that several properties were acquired through inheritance and marriage, indicating more than a transient existence;¹⁹⁷ it was also well organised, for it enjoyed fiscal exemptions and judicial autonomy, and possessed communal facilities including churches, a cemetery, a bath and a hospice at Nemesos, and two more churches in Paphos and Nicosia respectively. The existence of a baptistery (at Nemesos), the fact that there were priests among the property owners, the attestation of female landowners, and the properties acquired through marriage all suggest long-term settlement of entire families rather than single individuals; indeed, some of the women may have issued from the local population, although the few for whom there are clear indications are indeed Venetian.¹⁹⁸ All this leads to the conclusion that the community was constituted and flourished by the second half of the twelfth century. Around forty-five family names are represented among the almost one hundred named individuals, some being among the best known *case* of Venice in this period (e.g. Bonus/Bono, Zirinus/Querini, Fuscarinus/Foscarini, Venerius/Venier, Simiteculus/Semiteculo, Gradonicus/Gradenigo). These same families are known to have been involved in mercantile activities throughout the Eastern Mediterranean at that time. Besides their economic interests at Nemesos and, to a much lesser extent, at Paphos and Nicosia, they also owned a number of estates in the countryside, in particular in the hinterland of Nemesos and north into the foothills of the

¹⁹⁶ Papacostas (1999a: 488-9).

¹⁹⁷ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.11, 186.5, 186.7, 186.21, 186.23 ('de iure paterno'), 184.26, 184.28, 188.22 ('patrimonio'), 188.26 ('ex parte patris'), 185.8, 186.14, 186.19, 186.29, 187.5 ('de iure maritali').

¹⁹⁸ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.11, 188.4 (priests), 186.2, 188.7, 188.9, 190.14 (Venetian women). There is no evidence of a Venetian monastic establishment, such as the one attested at Corinth in the 1140s ('monasterium Sancti Nicolay de Coranto'); see Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti*, I, 90-1, 95-6.

Troodos (fig. 10). This constitutes unique information, crucial to our understanding of Venetian involvement outside the great emporia of the Eastern Mediterranean in the pre-1204 period, and unavailable for other provinces of the Byzantine empire. Of course there is evidence that, for example, at Corinth the oil market was partly in the hands of Venetians, that Venetians traded at Halmyros where some settled, and that as early as the 1090s Latins, including Venetians, had founded churches on Rhodes where they presumably also engaged in mercantile activities.¹⁹⁹ But no other area preserves the relatively detailed data that have come down to us through Marsilio Zorzi's report.

The most acute problem regarding the interpretation of this information has to do with the circumstances that led to the properties changing hands; the document itself merely records former and current owners, without further elaboration. It is usually assumed, however, that this was a result of confiscations in the aftermath of the establishment in 1192 of the Lusignan regime, implying forced expulsions.²⁰⁰ The main problem with this claim is that it is hard to imagine that Guy of Lusignan or his immediate successors would risk alienating Venice in such a brazen way, and indeed there would appear to be no reason for such hostile behaviour. Yet David Jacoby has plausibly argued in favour of this very scenario, based on the support that Venice had provided to Conrad of Montferrat's claim to the throne of Jerusalem, which of course he succeeded in grasping out of Guy's hands in 1192; the latter's dislike of the Venetians would thus be understandable.²⁰¹ Another possible explanation may have to do with a less radical cause: the troubled years 1191-1192, which witnessed the conquest by Richard the Lionheart and the subsequent revolts first against Richard's representatives and then against the brief Templar rule (June 1191 – April 1192), may have forced these Venetian landowners out of the island, in the same way that the anonymous spiritual son of Neophytos the Recluse, to whom he addressed his well-known tract on the reign of Isaac Komnenos and Richard's conquest, fled to Constantinople.²⁰² Thus the numerous estates, abandoned by their rightful owners, would have been eventually redistributed by the new regime to the proprietors listed in the report, within the larger

¹⁹⁹ *EHB*, II, 650; Jacoby (2002c: 360-1). The information on Rhodes is reported by Nicholas of Andida; see Darrouzès (1974: 208).

²⁰⁰ Papacostas (1999a: 487-8); note that Heyd (1923: I, 364) had already suggested a long time ago that the properties may have changed hands as a result of illegal occupation, sale, or inheritance.

²⁰¹ Jacoby (2009b: 63).

²⁰² Neophytos the Recluse, *De calamitatibus Cypri*.

allocation of fiefs that took place from 1192 onwards. It has to be stressed, however, that this is only an unverifiable and somewhat controversial scenario, for the sources do not give the impression that there was either disruption or widespread destruction in this period. Indeed, a local landowner was able to hire a high quality artist to decorate his chapel at Lagoudera in the Troodos Mountains in the second half of 1192 (the fresco cycle was completed in December of that year), barely a few months after the establishment of Guy of Lusignan at Nicosia.²⁰³ Certainly there must have been a sense of insecurity until the island's status was settled, but whether this could explain the departure of the Venetians remains debatable.

Having established the wider context, let us now turn to the information concerning Nemesos itself. Fifty-seven Venetians are listed as having owned around sixty properties in the coastal town; a few more were owned collectively by the community. As the report lists only properties that were no longer in Venetian hands, the possibility that there was more Venetian-held real estate whose ownership status remained unaltered, and therefore omitted from our document, cannot be discounted. Many of these properties may have constituted a separate quarter within the town, as the reference to a distinct (enclosed?) precinct implies ('in cepto [*read saepto*] domorum Venetorum civitatis Nimis').²⁰⁴ The recorded Venetian assets included more than one hundred houses (their number in individual properties is often not given) and forty-six (work)shops ('stationes'), many situated within larger compounds ('curie') of which more than a dozen are listed, in addition to an 'insula' with twelve dwellings.²⁰⁵ There were also several gardens, including one yielding an annual income of one hundred bezants, and a palm grove.²⁰⁶ Very often, however, the nature of the properties is not stated, being simply recorded as 'possessiones'. In addition there are a few properties whose nature remains uncertain for a different reason, namely because of palaeographic problems (faded ink, uncertain abbreviations). It is thus not entirely clear whether there was for example a tower ('turre?') and a prison ('prisone?').²⁰⁷

The largest single estate was that consisting of the properties of the main Venetian church at Nemesos, 'San Marco', which was founded by Leonardus Fuscarinus (Foscarini) and the three Bertram brothers (Vitalis,

²⁰³ Winfield and Winfield (2003).

²⁰⁴ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.5. See also the following chapter.

²⁰⁵ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.12.

²⁰⁶ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.2, 188.21.

²⁰⁷ Marsilio Zorzi, 186.9, 187.15.

Aurius and Dominicus) and, not surprisingly, was dedicated to their city's patron saint (the Venetian churches of Nicosia and Paphos were dedicated to St Nicholas);²⁰⁸ next to it stood the baptismal chapel of St John, and further away there was another Venetian church dedicated to St George. The latter stood on land that used to belong to Vivianus Bonus. It may conceivably be identical with the church in which Richard the Lionheart married Berengaria of Navarre on 12 May 1191. Most relevant texts yield no information on either the latter's dedication or its location within Nemesos.²⁰⁹ According to one recension of the *Continuations of William of Tyre*, however, the wedding took place in a 'chapele qui est de St Jorge' (Lyon manuscript). Yet another source describing the same events states that the church in question was in fact a monastery outside the town ('moustier dehors le cité').²¹⁰ The two pieces of information need not be mutually exclusive, of course. But if a Venetian rather than a Greek church was preferred for the royal wedding, why not St Mark, presumably larger and better suited to the needs of such an important event? The Venetians are thought to have been among the Latins who welcomed the crusaders to town, after all.²¹¹ Could the disregard of the obvious choice, St Mark, be used as an argument against the identification? It is likely that various factors would have played a role in the selection of the church, not least its proximity to the crusader encampment, and if the (unknown) location of the Venetian St George was suitable then perhaps one could contemplate such an identification.

It is clear that the construction of St Mark, and perhaps of the other shrines, was a result of private initiative. Today there is no trace of these buildings, and one may only speculate about their architecture and decoration. Although, as the report reveals, St Mark became the town's Latin cathedral after 1196, very little is known about the latter too, and until conclusive evidence comes forth it is probably not to be linked with the site of the Cami Kebir discussed above.²¹² A possible indication of the

²⁰⁸ For Venetian churches dedicated to St Mark elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean see Pozza (1996), where only one recorded pre-thirteenth-century example on Byzantine territory is cited at Constantinople (in the Levant they are attested at Tyre, Acre, and Beirut in the second half of the twelfth century).

²⁰⁹ A Latin church of St George is recorded in the fourteenth century; see *Documents chypriotes*, 73, 94, 98.

²¹⁰ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 118, 121; 'Ernoul', 272. See also discussions by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel and by Michalis Olympios in this volume.

²¹¹ Papacostas (1999a: 487).

²¹² See the discussion of the evidence by Michalis Olympios in this volume.

type of architecture that these Venetian churches may have adopted is provided by yet another church recorded in Zorzi's list: in the hills to the north of Limassol, between the villages of Arakapas and Kalokhorio, the surviving shell of a cruciform and originally domed church known in the nineteenth century as 'Stavros Mesokyprou' is probably to be identified with the chapel built by Aurio Cavatorta and dedicated to the Holy Cross 'de Mesochipa' (the same individual also founded another church nearby, dedicated to St Constantine).²¹³ If the ruinous structure standing there today (fig. 11) represents the original twelfth-century phase and not some subsequent rebuilding, then we may assume that the architecture of Cavatorta's church, and presumably that of the other Venetian foundations, conformed to the norms prevailing at the time on the island, that is to say the local expression of the Byzantine tradition. What this means of course is that there probably was little external input, at least in terms of architectural style, form and practice; the decoration and furnishings of these churches, on the other hand, may have exhibited specifically Venetian traits in the guise of objects that can be easily transported (statuary, altarpieces, etc.). It is worth remembering that, during this early period in the evolution of Venetian architecture, the Byzantine tradition, inherited from the lagoon's links with the empire in the early Middle Ages, was still very strong: the prime church of Venice itself, San Marco, was rebuilt in the late eleventh century on a Constantinopolitan prototype, namely the Justinianic church of the Holy Apostles, while smaller churches such as San Giacomo di Rialto (and perhaps San Giovanni Crisostomo and Santa Maria Formosa, both rebuilt in the Renaissance) were erected according to the standard Byzantine domed cross-in-square scheme.²¹⁴ At Constantinople the earliest Venetian church, first recorded in the late eleventh century, appears to have operated in the building of a Greek shrine, as its original dedication to St Akindynos strongly suggests (it was later rededicated to St Mark); the same pattern may be observed elsewhere in the empire.²¹⁵ The churches of Venice, the Constantinopolitan St Akindynos, and possibly the Cypriot Holy Cross indicate that not only were the Venetians familiar with the Byzantine architectural tradition, but that it was part of their own building practice both in the metropolis and in the Byzantine ports where they maintained a presence.

²¹³ Papacostas (1999a: 495-6; 2006: 226); Marsilio Zorzi, 189.13-14.

²¹⁴ Concina (1995: 33-48); Howard (2002: 7-41, 138). For more recent bibliography, see Papacostas (2010: 386-9).

²¹⁵ Buenger Robbert (1985: 385-7).

St Mark with its baptistery had been endowed with a garden yielding an annual revenue of fifty bezants, several shops, land, and a number of houses. The latter included a twelve-house compound whose income was reserved for the maintenance of a hospice. Although the report gives some indication of the location of these properties ('in platea, iusta mare, in campo ecclesie'), it is impossible to identify their position on the ground today as we lack any secure point of reference, not least for St Mark itself. The Venetian cemetery, however, appears to have been situated in a different part of town, perhaps to the east.²¹⁶ Although the entries on many properties give indications concerning the location 'in parte occidente' or 'in parte oriente' of the town, these are hardly helpful, as their point of reference is again unknown.²¹⁷ Having secured its spiritual needs from cradle to grave, the community did not neglect to cater for its members' hygiene, as it owned and ran a bath building ('balneum'), which enjoyed the substantial annual income of 1,000 bezants. It is not clear whether this bath has anything to do with a bath house mentioned in a document of 1210 granting properties in Limassol to the Hospitallers, with a bath mentioned in the accounts of the Latin see of Limassol in 1367, or even with the site of today's Turkish bath near the Cami Kebir.²¹⁸ Nor is it known how an adequate water supply would have been secured, as there is no archaeological evidence for an aqueduct or related structures, although wells are attested in the wider area later on.²¹⁹

The three Bertram brothers, co-founders of St Mark, owned several properties in and around town (shops, gardens), where Vitalis inherited two gardens ('extra civitatem in parte oriente') and also had a stake in the Venetian cemetery; Aurio also owned a rural estate with a mill and vineyards.²²⁰ The extent of this particular family's holdings is typical of

²¹⁶ If the earlier indication 'in parte oriente', Marsilio Zorzi, 186.22, applies to all the subsequent entries, as Papadopoulou (1983: 306) suggests.

²¹⁷ Compare the evidence for the Venetian quarter of Constantinople that allows a partial reconstruction of its topography in Berger (1995).

²¹⁸ Marsilio Zorzi, 188.18; *Cartulaire*, no. 1354; *Documents chypriotes*, 78. See also the discussion in the following chapter.

²¹⁹ Leonardo Donà's account of his peregrinations around Cyprus includes a description of the castle as he saw it in September 1557, noting its 'pozzo di aqua perfettissima', Donà, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, Fondo Donà dalle Rose, no. 45, fol. 149r.

²²⁰ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.24-6, 185.1-2, 186.17-19, 187.6, 188.15-16, 191.18-19; the transcriptions by Berggötz and Papadopoulou of the rubric referring to the rural property differ considerably, one suggesting 'Magaza' as the name of the (otherwise unattested) location and the other 'Liminata' (Limnatis?); I read the text as follows (Querini Stampalia, Codex IV 3 [1064], fol. 45v): 'It(em) magaça

Venetian ownership patterns at Nemesos, and is paralleled by those belonging to the Michaelis/Michiel, the Venerii/Venier and others. The case of the Zirini/Querini, however, is exceptional: no fewer than eight members of the family are recorded (Georgius and his un-named sister, Stefanus and his son-in-law Stefenisus, Dominicus and his also un-named sister, Petrus, and Nicolaus), owning eleven properties; these consisted of land and numerous houses at Nemesos (some acquired through inheritance or marriage), an estate and two mills in Nicosia, and in the hinterland of Nemesos mills at Yermasoyia, another estate at Trakhoni, and further away vineyards at Mallia.²²¹ Another case that stands out is that of Petrus da Canale: he was the owner of two large properties in Nemesos, one containing five and another no fewer than twenty-four dwellings, the latter perhaps among the largest estates in town. There is of course no way to tell what these structures may have looked like; but even if the ‘domos’ that they contained were small apartments rather than larger residential units,²²² Petrus must have still been a man of considerable assets. His large domestic compound, more than any other urban property, illustrates most eloquently one of the Venetians’ main economic activities in town, namely their investment in real estate for profit.²²³ Petrus’ father Gervasius was presumably no less wealthy, as he owned estates in three different places outside Nemesos: at ‘Agronda’ (Akrounta), ‘Palothia’ (Palodia), and ‘sanctus Cornuta’ (?).²²⁴ There were other individual landowners who, their urban properties aside, also owned extensive rural properties: Vivianus Bonus is recorded as the owner of land in Nemesos on which the church of St George was built, of another piece of land of ‘sancti Nicolai’ (Limassol suburb of Ayios Nikolaos?), a house, and an entire village recorded as ‘cassale Monachroli’ (Monagroulli), which he purchased from his wife.²²⁵ This may suggest that Vivianus married a local woman, whose family would have acquired the village in the past through purchase, inheritance, imperial grant, or some other means.

casale pathreta una(m) cu(m) mole(n)dino uno. vineas i(n) çardinu(m) q(ue) om(n)ia su(n)t aliminata et fuer(unt) aurii betrani’.

²²¹ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.14-15, 186.20-1, 186.28-9, 187.10, 187.16, 188.7, 188.9, 189.6, 190.10, 190.27, 191.16-17.

²²² As suggested for example in the case of a property at Acre; see Jacoby (2007b: 275, note 42).

²²³ As suggested by Jacoby (2009b: 62).

²²⁴ Marsilio Zorzi, 188.12-14, 188.29-30, 189.27-8, 190.1-2.

²²⁵ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.21-2, 185.3-4, 185.18, 188.23-4; according to Schabel (2005: 185), the reference to the ‘terra sancti Nicolai’ may imply the existence of a Venetian church with this dedication.

Like Monagroulli, many Venetian properties were situated on the periphery of Nemesos (fig. 10). ‘Geremiso’ (Yermasoyia) to the east, where Petrus Cirini (Querini) co-owned together with Marcus Status the mills mentioned above, also hosted properties belonging to Zitulus (acquired through his wife), Bartholomeus Signolus, and Vitalis Gradonicus (Gradenigo). The brothers Aurio and Michael Venerio (Venier) owned two properties at ‘Peremilia’ (presumably Polemidia). ‘Trachonio’ (Trakhoni) in the fertile plain to the west hosted several estates belonging to Dominicus Cirino mentioned above, to Manuele Roso, to the co-founder of St Mark Leonardus Fuscarius (Foscarini), to Dominicus Pascalis, and to the Venetian money changers (cambiatores). Nearby ‘Feresore’ (Phasouri) was also home to one property.²²⁶ Further away in the hills there were Venetian properties at Palodia and Akrounta mentioned above, but also at ‘Trimichino’ (Trimiklini), ‘Pellendria’ (Pelendri), ‘sanctus Iohannes’ (Ayios Ioannis of Agros), ‘sanctus Constantinus’ (Ayios Konstantinos), ‘Loga’ (Louvaras?), ‘sanctus Ieorgius’ (Ayios Georgios near Lefkara), perhaps Kellaki (‘Achilai’) and possibly Sylikou (‘Solito’). If the wording of the report is to be trusted, ‘Pirigo’ (Pyrgos) and ‘sancti Anthidini’ (Ayioi Akindynoi near Kivides?) were villages (‘casali’) entirely owned, like Monagroulli, by a Venetian, in these cases Iohannes Michaelis (through his father) and Dominicus Pascalis respectively.²²⁷

The two churches of the Holy Cross and of St Constantine founded by Aurio Cavatorta in the upper valley of the Yermasoyia River illustrate the character of Venetian infiltration of rural areas, not only in economic but in this particular case also in spiritual matters. What is far less clear is the function of these churches. The wording of the document offers no clues, stating simply that their construction was due to Cavatorta. Were they founded in order to cater for the needs of Venetians living or perhaps passing through the area while inspecting their estates – in this case Aurio, his family, and associates? Or were they destined for the use of the local population, perhaps even for those individuals working on their estates (although no other properties are explicitly mentioned around the two churches)? Both options are of particular interest and raise different

²²⁶ Marsilio Zorzi, 189.1-9, 189.29-30, 190.3-13.

²²⁷ Marsilio Zorzi, 188.25-30, 189.10-14, 189.25-8, 189.31-2, 190.16-17, 191.14-15, 191.21-4. For the identification of these place-names and bibliography, see the relevant gazetteer in Papacostas (1999b: II, 137-58); Berggözt suggests Ayia Phyla as a possible identification of Achilai; all other hagionymic place-names in the report, however, are correctly understood and translated as such (‘sanctus Ieorgius, sanctus Constantinus, sancta Cruce, sanctus Iohannes, sancti Anthidini’); ‘sancta Rachite’ and ‘sanctus Cornuta (?)’ remain difficult to identify.

questions. The evidence for the foundation of rural churches on Cyprus by Latins is minimal, even in the Lusignan period, and such an early occurrence would certainly be noteworthy.²²⁸ On the other hand it is hard to imagine permanent Venetian settlement outside the urban centres where, with the exception of Nemesos, only two Venetian churches are recorded after all, one at Nicosia and another at Paphos.²²⁹ The alternative suggestion finds parallels from elsewhere in the Byzantine world. In July 1136 on the island of Lemnos the Venetians undertook to build a new church for the local community in exchange for an already existing oratory of St Vlasios that the island's archbishop Michael had granted them.²³⁰ For unknown reasons Cavatorta may have had to do the same, and the dedication of 'sanctus Constantinus' perhaps adds credibility to this scenario. The dedication of the two Cavatorta churches also testifies to the popularity of the cult of the Cross on twelfth-century Cyprus, and especially in this part of the island on which, as noted above, the traditions concerning the veneration of relics of the Passion converged. The construction of these shrines may have contributed to the further promotion of the cult, conferring to the Venetian initiative a significant role in local religious affairs.

5. Rural Hinterland and Overseas Markets

The relative profusion and wide geographical spread of the Venetian rural estates is undeniable (fig. 10). I have argued elsewhere that they must surely represent a sustained investment on behalf of members of the Venetian community in the exploitation of agricultural resources in the hinterland of Nemesos.²³¹ Most are described merely as 'pastreo' (*proasteion*: a rural estate) without the slightest indication of size or income, but for a small number further details are given: they consisted of gardens, mills, vineyards, and wine-presses.²³² Although unfortunate, it is not surprising that none of the agricultural installations, nor any other such

²²⁸ Richard (1979: 162). A significant piece of evidence in this respect is provided by a document of 1472 which mentions Philip Podocataro's complaint that there were no Latin shrines in rural areas, asking for permission to found new or convert already existing churches; see Mercati (1954: 123-5).

²²⁹ Marsilio Zorzi, 190.19, 191.6.

²³⁰ Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 98-101; Lanfranchi, *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, 380-2. See also Buenger Robbert (1985: 387).

²³¹ Papacostas (1999a: 499-500).

²³² Marsilio Zorzi, 189.6, 190.27, 191.18, 191.23 (mills), 189.8, 191.10, 191.14, 191.16, 191.18 (vineyards), 191.10, 191.14 (wine-presses [?]).

structures from middle Byzantine times on the island for that matter, is known archaeologically. Nevertheless, the source attestation of these holdings is adequate proof of their primary function as agricultural enterprises and certainly not as mere country retreats for a mercantile urban community. What is more, there is no doubt that the Venetians settled on Cyprus in this period were not functioning in a vacuum. They were part of an extensive network of merchants from the lagoon who operated from ports all around the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Although it is virtually impossible to identify individuals mentioned in the Marsilio Zorzi report with homonymous Venetians elsewhere based on their name alone, a survey of the published Venetian documents of the period allows us at least to draw a map of the ports where members or branches of the same family are attested or conducted business. Thus, as many as half of the families recorded as owners of properties on Cyprus are also reported to have been active first and foremost at Constantinople and Alexandria, but also in the Kingdom of Jerusalem at Acre and Tyre, and elsewhere in both the Byzantine Empire (Halmyros, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta) and in Fatimid/Ayyūbid Egypt (Damietta).²³³ Of course this does not in itself constitute evidence of direct links between these ports and Nemesos, nor does it imply that the Venetian landowners of Cyprus were necessarily cooperating with their blood relations across the sea. But, as the notarial documents mentioned earlier indicate, they must have maintained business links with the most important among these places, their presence on Cyprus making sense only in the context of such contacts with the mainland. From Nemesos they organised the purchase and export of raw or processed agricultural produce (presumably fruit, cereals, cheese, olive-oil, wine), some of it from their own estates, and probably of locally manufactured goods to the markets of the Levantine coast and perhaps even further afield. David Jacoby, noting the vineyards owned by Venetians on Cyprus, has suggested that wine may have been one of the main commodities that they exported from the island to Egypt, in the same way that they exported olive-oil (significantly, a commodity that required considerable capital investment) from Sparta to Constantinople and Alexandria in the same period.²³⁴ Their transactions were facilitated by money changers ('cambiatores' or 'catallacti'), who are also recorded

²³³ Papacostas (1999b: I, 62-3).

²³⁴ Armstrong (2009); Jacoby (2000: 53-4). Venetian-owned vineyards are attested at 'Solito' (Sylikou?), Mallia, Yermasoyia, and perhaps Limnatis, while at Paramytha there was a vineyard owned by the monastery of Krinia and at Kissousa one by St Theodosios of Judea. For the reputation of Cypriot wine abroad in this period, see Papacostas (1999b: I, 70-1) with further bibliography.

among the landowners.²³⁵ It is therefore rather odd that no facilities related to the export of commodities are mentioned in the report of Marsilio Zorzi: we do not hear of any warehouses (although some of the *stationes* may have functioned as such), wharfs, or other port-related installations. The possibility of unaltered ownership status, evoked above, may of course account for this lack of information. When the troops of Richard the Lionheart captured the town in May 1191 they found it full of grain, wine, oil, and meat, while a few days earlier Isaac Komnenos had sent local wine, bread, and meat to Berengaria of Navarre and Richard's sister Joanna, still on board their ship anchored off the coast. Ambroise mentions in his account olive and fig groves outside Nemesos, while Richard is reported to have sent timber to Palestine.²³⁶ These were presumably the main commodities traded in the town at the time. There is no evidence yet for the cultivation or processing of sugar cane in this period, an industry that in later centuries would become central to the economy of the wider region, especially in the well-watered valley of the Kouris around Episkopi. The textile industry, although attested for the island as a whole, is not specifically linked with Nemesos.²³⁷

The occurrence of Venetian properties as high up in the Troodos valleys as the villages of Trimiklini, Pelendri, and Ayios Ioannis may be indicative of several important developments. First, it suggests a shift from a subsistence to a market economy, driven by the urban growth taking place during this period across the lowlands and along the coast, and by the demand from beyond the island's shores, in particular from the Crusader States and perhaps also from Fatimid Egypt. Exploitation of the timber resources, although undocumented outside small-scale use in the building industry, may have been part of this trend. Second, it is crucial to point out that the attestation of most rural place-names in the report of Marsilio Zorzi is the earliest available. This is perhaps not a mere accident of source survival; these previously insignificant and probably isolated mountain settlements may have acquired some importance in the course of this period, their growth fuelled by the economic shift just mentioned. This interpretation is partly corroborated by the archaeological evidence, or

²³⁵ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.18, 188.11, 190.8.

²³⁶ Roger of Howden, III, 107; *Itinerarium*, 187; Ambroise, I, 26, 29 (ed. M. Ailes and M. Barber); Ibn Shaddād, 147. A meat market or butcher's ('*becaria*') is also mentioned in the Venetian report; see Marsilio Zorzi, 187.16.

²³⁷ See, for example, Jacoby (1991-1992: 496-7) for the Constantinople-bound cargo of a Genoese merchant that included silk from Cyprus (shortly before 1201); for further references, Papacostas (1999b: II, 72-7). For the sugar industry, see the next chapter.

rather the lack thereof: it is more likely than not that the Troodos highlands were settled permanently only from this period onward. Although there is evidence for some form of occupation (mostly through burials) much earlier and up to Roman times, in particular on the southern flank of the massif (Moniatis, Kato Platres, Agros, Khandria, Ayios Theodoros), it then virtually dries out and does not occur again on either the southern slopes or throughout the mountainous region until the middle Byzantine period, in the form of surviving ecclesiastical monuments and recorded monastic foundations. In the area that concerns us here, these are known from places such as Pelendri, Kouka, Kilani, Monagri, and Agros.²³⁸

Pelendri, at an altitude of *ca.* 880m asl, is mentioned in Marsilio Zorzi's report as a *casale* where Nicheta Michaelis owned a property ('una pastreta'). The family was well established on Cyprus, as three other members (Iohannes, Petrus, and Ruberta) are recorded as owners of seven properties, including houses, vineyards and rural estates elsewhere in the wider region, at Pyrgos near the coast, Sylikou (?), and Kellaki (?), but also as far away as the outskirts of Nicosia.²³⁹ In the same period during which the Michaelis were establishing their presence at Pelendri, a church dedicated to the Holy Cross was founded in the village, perhaps for its cemetery. The small three-aisled building standing today at the southern edge of the settlement was originally erected as a single-aisle (vaulted?) structure whose apse and parts of the lateral walls are preserved within the fabric of the later reconstruction (figs. 12-13). A painted inscription in this apse furnishes a secure *terminus ante quem* for its foundation in 1171/2 and crucial information about the patrons of the decoration, namely the priest George and other (un-named) local priests.²⁴⁰ Two useful conclusions may be drawn from this: first, the village community was large enough to require more than two resident priests; second, the

²³⁸ Papacostas (1999b: I, 50-6; 2013). A small number of seventh to tenth-century coin finds are associated with localities in the massif (Omodos, Kilani, Statos, Moutoullas, Askas, Alona); see Metcalf (2009: 193-206). The presence of these coins, however, may not be the result of occupation through these centuries, as some could have been transported from elsewhere (as ornaments?) at a later period.

²³⁹ Marsilio Zorzi, 186.22, 187.23, 188.25, 189.10, 190.14, 191.3, 191.14, 191.21; see also Papacostas (1999a: 493-4).

²⁴⁰ Philotheou (2006: 143-4), Myrianthefs (2005), and Hadjichristodoulou (2005: 58-61) with earlier bibliography. Note that the inscription is usually dated to 1177/8, although my reading of the *annus mundi* suggests 1171/2; see Papacostas (1999b: II, 43-4).

resources of these men were presumably limited, or at least the sums that they were prepared to invest in this particular endeavour were, as they had to act collectively in order to secure the necessary funds to employ a painter of no great talent to decorate with rather crude frescoes only part of the church (it appears that the *bema* area alone was decorated).

No other material evidence provides as valuable (albeit infinitesimal) a glimpse of the state of rural settlements in this region and period as the Pelendri inscription. Other roughly contemporary churches from the same area, such as those of the Holy Cross (at Kouka) and the Panayia Amasgou (near Monagri) in the valley of the Kouris and St Maura (near Kilani) on the west bank of the Kryos, have not preserved any dedicatory inscriptions. Their function and date can therefore only be inferred on the basis of their location, architecture, and decoration. The first, a much altered middle Byzantine cruciform structure (twelfth century?) with a rib-vault over the crossing that must have been originally covered by a dome, is said to have housed a relic of the True Cross and perhaps functioned as a pilgrimage shrine of only local importance, for the valley's communities. Whether it was built as a congregational or a monastic church remains unclear: the village of Kouka is first recorded in the fourteenth century, whereas a monastery on the site is not attested until the late Ottoman period.²⁴¹ The second church, best known for its fresco fragments dating from the early twelfth to the sixteenth century, was rebuilt several times over the centuries; in its earliest phase (early twelfth century) it was a single-aisle structure covered by either a barrel vault or a timber-roof. Its location on the terraced slopes above the Kouris and away from any recorded settlement would perhaps suggest a monastic function that is in fact attested only much later, in the seventeenth century.²⁴² The third church, a dome-hall structure built against the rock face over a spring, is roughly contemporary with the Holy Cross and is similarly known to have served a monastic community by the eighteenth century. As in the previous case, this may indeed have also been its original function, for there is no evidence of a settlement in the immediate vicinity (the village of Kilani, recorded for the first time in the late twelfth century, stands higher up in the valley).²⁴³ The monastery of Agros (*ca.* 1000m asl), further up from Pelendri closer to the Troodos watershed, on the other hand, is well attested quite early on: although no remains of its buildings survive today (its late medieval timber-roofed church having been

²⁴¹ Papacostas (1999b: II, 42-3).

²⁴² Papacostas (1999b: II, 3); Myrianthefs *et al.* (2012: 25-31).

²⁴³ Papacostas (1999b: II, 59, 154); Procopiou (2007: 236-8) with a mid-eleventh-century dating.

demolished in 1894), it is recorded in manuscript notes and colophons from the twelfth century onwards, and two surviving icons of exquisite craftsmanship from the same period, said to originate at the monastery, testify to the high quality of art sometimes available even to remote monastic establishments.²⁴⁴ The foundation of these shrines in middle Byzantine times corroborates the evidence presented above, suggesting that the settlement of the Troodos highlands by both monastic and agrarian communities had started in earnest. What remains unclear is the role that monastic properties may have played in this trend, as there is virtually no information for the mountainous region considered here.²⁴⁵

Leaving aside Marsilio Zorzi's report, a small number of other sources reinforce the impression of a productive countryside whose importance as a source of agricultural produce extended beyond the narrow confines of Nemesos. We saw earlier that in the eleventh century the monastery of Krinia in the western Kyrenia mountains possessed among its seventeen properties an olive grove in the local *enoria*.²⁴⁶ Although the size of the property is not given, we are told that it had a fiscal charge of three *argyria* (equivalent to one *nomisma* in the twelfth century). This was one of the smallest charges on Krinia's possessions, suggesting a rather modest property. Its *proasteion* with vineyards and its fields in the *enoria* of Kourion at Paramytha, on the other hand, were much more important, as they were imposed with a combined fiscal charge of twenty-three *argyria* (eleven and twelve for the vineyards and fields respectively, almost eight *nomismata*). The Paramytha estate was clearly Krinia's most profitable property, those next in line at Myrtou and Margi in the region of the monastery itself having a charge of twelve *argyria* each. The rate of land tax varied greatly in medieval Byzantium according to several factors including of course the quality of the land; nevertheless, an approximate average of one *nomisma* per 200 *modioi* of land has been proposed for the second half of the eleventh century, although again, to complicate matters even further, the *modios* itself varied greatly with an approximate area of *ca.* 1000 square metres (the margin of fluctuation being *ca.* 20% in both

²⁴⁴ Other nearby monasteries recorded in later centuries but for which there is no secure evidence concerning the pre-1191 period include St Mamas Kouremenon at Amiantos (thirteenth-century icons, 1602 attestation), St John Prodromos at Mesapotamos (fifteenth/sixteenth-century attestations), and the Holy Apostles at Sylikou (1405 attestation); see Papacostas (1999b: II, 81, 98, 111, 112-13).

²⁴⁵ For monastic estates on Cyprus in this period, see Papacostas (1999b: I, 131-42).

²⁴⁶ See note 124 above and Papacostas (1999b: I, 135-6, II, 163-8).

directions).²⁴⁷ These rates and figures would give *ca.* 1,500 *modioi* or very approximately 150 hectares (*ca.* 370 acres) for Krinia's Paramytha estate, that is as much as one fourth of the combined area of all its properties. It has to be stressed that this is only an indicative figure and nothing more; the multiple set of variants precludes a more accurate estimate. It is, however, a useful index for comparison with monastic estates elsewhere in Byzantium. Thus, and to put this in context, suffice it to note that the wealthiest Athonite monasteries managed impressive real estate portfolios consisting of numerous holdings on the holy mountain itself but also at Thessalonike, in the wider region of Macedonia, and often even beyond: in the late eleventh century the Great Lavra owned some 47,000 *modioi*, while Iveron's domains amounted to more than 100,000 *modioi*.²⁴⁸ The properties of Krinia in Nemesos and its hinterland obviously fade in comparison to these, but within the local context and notwithstanding the lack of comparative local material beyond this inventory, the Paramytha property may represent a fairly large domain, towards the upper end of the scale.

The inventory also lists the documents proving Krinia's ownership for each estate. For the Nemesos grove there were two purchase deeds, while the Paramytha domain was clearly acquired as a result of both purchase and donation(s) to the monastery (which, as the document specifies, possessed 'χάρτας ἀγορασίας καὶ χαριστικᾶς'). Considering the distance between the latter and Krinia and the location of the majority of the other holdings near the monastery, it is very likely that the impetus for its formation would have been an initial land grant that was subsequently augmented by the purchase of adjoining territory with the aim of rendering it more profitable; the previous owner and subsequent donor of the original property remains unknown and so is his (or her) relationship to the region and to the monastery: a local landowner, perhaps based at Nemesos, with a particular attachment to Krinia, or possibly a local man who joined the monastic community. As in the case of other entries, the inventory does not fail to register the all-important water-rights of the estate ('μετὰ καὶ ὕδατος τὸ [*sic*] ἐπιλαχάνοντι'). The agricultural produce of the property thus formed at Paramytha and of the Nemesos olive grove would have been sent across the island to the monastery to cover the community's needs, while any surplus may have been sold locally in the coastal town's market, and the income sent to Krinia to be administered by its *oikonomos*.

²⁴⁷ Svoronos (1959: 130-3); *ODB*, II, 1388.

²⁴⁸ Smyrlis (2006: 47-8, 52-3).

A much more important landowner on middle Byzantine Cyprus with a footing in Nemesos and its region was the monastery of St Theodosios of Judea. Its twenty-three properties on the island are recorded in a papal privilege of 1216 (together with holdings in Syria-Palestine, Constantinople, and even Hungary) and were presumably acquired before 1191. They were mostly situated in the region of the Ha-potami Valley between Paphos and Nemesos, and included a *metochion*, several church buildings, villages, mills, vineyards, olive groves, fields, and various agricultural installations. At Nicosia there was a church, a hospice, an orchard and land, while in the region of Nemesos St Theodosios owned a dependency with more land and olive groves at Polemidia and an orchard in town with land, a house, and a complex of buildings ('vicus').²⁴⁹ The rubric pertaining to the urban properties provides a rare micro-toponym in medieval Nemesos: the 'pomerium de Ambuti'. As Jean Richard pointed out, this may be the name of an earlier owner, perhaps of Syro-Palestinian origin ('Abbūd'). The name is not unknown on Cyprus later on, when we hear for example of a certain 'papa Nicola Abutis', a Greek priest of Nicosia in the late thirteenth century.²⁵⁰ Its Arabic origin and transposition into Greek are paralleled on multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Norman Sicily, where a formerly Greek and later Latin monastery of St Mary of 'Ambuto' is known to have been active in the twelfth century, and where a locality and river of the same name ('τοῦ ἀμβούτου') are also recorded in this period.²⁵¹ This snippet of toponymic information may indicate an otherwise undocumented presence of individuals of a Semitic linguistic background in Byzantine Nemesos, although the details of such a presence cannot be reconstructed at present.

Just like the property of Krinia at Paramytha, the estates of St Theodosios in the Ha-potami Valley and in the region of Nemesos must have served one primary function: the supply of agricultural produce to the mother house which, in this case, was not a mere local monastery but an ancient and revered foundation of the Holy Land and a major pilgrimage goal not far from Jerusalem; its needs, especially in view of the flow of pilgrims in the twelfth century, were of course not comparable to those of isolated Krinia. What is more, the provisioning of the Judean monastery would have required a collection centre where the produce to be exported would be gathered before shipping across the sea. Both Nemesos and Paphos could have fulfilled this role, as the Ha-potami properties were

²⁴⁹ Richard (1986); *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. c-1.

²⁵⁰ *Cartulary*, no. 52, p. 152.

²⁵¹ White (1938: 42-5, 155-6); Cusa, *Diplomi greci*, 631.

situated halfway between the two. But no Paphos base is recorded among the monastery's estates, whereas, as we saw above, a substantial presence was maintained at Nemesos. One should nevertheless note that St Theodosios also owned a long stretch of the seaboard between Pissouri and Petra tou Romiou where it managed a fishery ('piscatione'), and where there were of course anchorages that could have been used for this purpose. That the monasteries of the Judean desert maintained links with Cyprus in this period is confirmed by a tenth/eleventh-century (?) lead seal belonging to the *laura* of St Sabas (Mar Saba) found in the region of Limassol.²⁵² The Holy Sepulchre must have also owned estates in the wider area, as the appropriation by the bishop of Amathus in the second half of the twelfth century mentioned above indicates.

The evidence concerning the agricultural estates belonging to Venetian merchants, overseas ecclesiastical institutions, and local monasteries demonstrates that the hinterland of twelfth-century Nemesos was no longer the economic backwater it had been in the early Middle Ages. Now it was integrated within both local and nearby overseas networks of demand and supply, and it used the region's main urban settlement as an outlet for its produce; the latter in turn profited from this state of affairs and grew as a trade and exchange centre. The close relationship between town and countryside is obvious, despite the lack of information on local institutions and the indigenous landowning class, and on small-scale local trade between the two. Unlike Nicosia in the same period, where the written record has preserved evidence for half a dozen monasteries whose location, moreover, is at least approximately known, no monastic foundations are attested within Nemesos either in colophons and marginal notes in surviving Greek manuscripts or among the relatively abundant documentation of the early Lusignan period. It is thus impossible to tell to what extent landowning establishments of a strictly local character contributed to the growth of the local economy.

6. Monastic Foundations and Churches

In the vicinity of Nemesos only one or two monasteries are recorded (unless one also includes the 'moustier' mentioned in relation to the royal wedding of May 1191), which of course does not mean that others did not operate in the area, as dozens of communities are known to have been active all over Cyprus in middle Byzantine times. The monastery of Stylos appears for the first time in a marginal note from the MS Jerusalem, St

²⁵² Metcalf (2004: 389).

Saba 259 (copied on Cyprus in 1089/90), probably dating to the twelfth century, when it was joined to that of Agros in the Troodos. Its dedication to the Virgin is first recorded in the thirteenth century and later sources make clear that it was situated in the Akrotiri peninsula. The principal medieval compound attested archaeologically in that area is the monastery of St Nicholas of the Cats, and Stylos is usually identified with it, although the change of dedication has never been explained. The identification is thought to be at least partly corroborated by the colophon of the manuscript just mentioned, in which the name of the shrine for which it was originally copied was later erased and replaced by St Nicholas of Akrotiri. It is also suggested by the mid-thirteenth century mention of the monastery of ‘Sancte Marie de Stilo in capite de Cavata [i.e., Cape Gata]’ and by the sixteenth-century mention of ‘La abbadia di Acrotiri et Acro [i.e., Agros]’ that clearly point towards the edge of the peninsula for the location of the monastery, probably in the area between the salt lake and the rocky south coast where St Nicholas is located.²⁵³ Yet a hitherto neglected piece of evidence casts serious doubts over the proposed identification.

Étienne de Lusignan reported in the sixteenth century that St Nicholas was a late antique foundation, linking it with Kalokairos, a historical figure attested in early sources but, significantly, not in relation with any monastery. The surviving church dates from the Lusignan period and there are few visible earlier remains.²⁵⁴ Whatever the early history of the foundation, however, an eleventh-century attestation is crucial to the present discussion. The Benedictine chronicler Orderic Vitalis (1075-*ca.* 1142) in his *Historia ecclesiastica* describes how during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, having sailed from the Syrian port of St Symeon (near Antioch), the former abbot Thierry of St-Évroul in Normandy died on Cyprus in August 1058, before the altar of the church at a seaside monastery dedicated to St Nicholas of Myra (‘in littore maris abbatiam in honore Sancti Nicholai confessoris Mirreorum archipraesulis conditam’); his body having become too heavy to be carried for burial in the grave dug by his fellow-pilgrims outside the church, he was buried on the very spot where he passed away.²⁵⁵ As no other coastal establishment with this

²⁵³ Papacostas (1999b: II, 121) with full source references and bibliography; see also Triantaphyllopoulos (2006: 118) and the next chapter.

²⁵⁴ Papacostas (1999b: I, 98-9).

²⁵⁵ Orderic Vitalis, II, 70-2, III, 336. The burial of visiting western pilgrims in local churches was not uncommon in this period, as the better known example of King Erik Ejegod of Denmark, who requested to be buried in the main church (presumably the cathedral) of Paphos shortly before passing away in July 1103,

dedication is known on medieval Cyprus, the conclusion that the abbot died at St Nicholas of the Cats seems highly plausible; the monastery was after all extremely popular with sailors and pilgrims in later medieval and early modern times, as numerous travellers' accounts amply demonstrate. It is thus likely that St Nicholas was in operation during the same period as Stylos (eleventh/twelfth century), demonstrating that the two Akrotiri establishments must be distinct.

Recently a different location has been proposed for Stylos: it has been suggested that it may have operated from the site of the recently restored church of Panayia Galaktotrophousa at Phasouri, north of the salt lake and 6 km inland from St Nicholas, in an area where, as we saw above, Venetians owned estates in the twelfth century (Michaele Catalato had a property near 'Feresore'). The Phasouri church was originally a dome-hall structure that was subsequently altered with the substitution of the dome by a barrel vault; it has been tentatively ascribed an eleventh-century date.²⁵⁶ The identification of this church with the monastery of Stylos was made largely on the basis of the (extremely common) dedication to the Virgin and the middle Byzantine date of both the Galaktotrophousa and the manuscript attestation of Stylos. The evidence presented above, however (Stylos described as being near Cape Gata or Akrotiri), lends little support to a site north of the salt lake. Of course it has to be stressed that the history of medieval occupation in the Akrotiri peninsula is not well served by archaeology. Granted that both the older St Nicholas and the more recent Galaktotrophousa identifications must be rejected, there appears to be no other readily available candidate for Stylos, and the question has to remain open until further evidence comes forth.

The only other indication for monastic establishments in the surrounding region may come from surviving church buildings whose early life has gone undocumented. The problem, as in the case of the Troodos monuments mentioned above, is that the function of a shrine can rarely be established on account of the physical evidence alone, especially in the absence of excavation. Almost a dozen middle Byzantine churches in the vicinity of Nemesos (within a radius of *ca.* 12 km) are known archaeologically: the originally cruciform St Eustathios at Kolossi next to the late medieval Hospitaller tower, the aforementioned Galaktotrophousa at nearby Phasouri, the ruinous St Athanasios near Kourion, the dome-hall St Napa in the lower Kouris Valley north of Kandou (fig. 14), the much

testifies; see Riant (1865: 161-2). A less likely burial for the king on Stavrovouni is suggested by Riis (2000).

²⁵⁶ *ARDA* 2002, 35-6; *ARDA* 2003, 32; Procopiou (2006a: 123-4; 2007: 191-8).

altered St Anastasia at Polemidia (probably a cruciform structure initially, subsequently augmented by the eastward addition of a cross-in-square unit), the ruinous St Tykhikos in the hills above Ayia Phyla towards Palodia, and a few other structures now in ruins (at Ayios Athanasios and near Kandou, Akrotiri, and Souni).²⁵⁷ As most of these stand today well outside both the nearest modern settlements and any villages attested in the Middle Ages, it is likely that at least some may have been erected for monastic communities. Their unsurprising distribution around Nemesos merely confirms the trend for increased occupation in the fertile plain and its fringes. Their architecture conforms to the overall pattern observed throughout the island, with few deviations from the prevailing norms in either building practice or style and decoration.

Only St Tykhikos stands out, on account of its considerably larger scale (fig. 15). Built on a plateau overlooking the bay of Limassol, over a late antique church with a *synthronon* and an *opus sectile* floor (fifth-century?), and incorporating in its masonry column drums and other architectural elements perhaps from this early structure, the medieval cross-in-square with a dome on piers whose diameter would have exceeded 4m must have been among the largest of its type on Cyprus; it remains one of very few known middle Byzantine specimens from the southern littoral (the nearest being Sts Kyrekos and Ioulitta at Letymbou in the hinterland of Paphos and the Angeloktiste at Kiti).²⁵⁸ Its original function eludes us; few remains are visible around the ruinous church today and therefore the question has to remain open until the site is properly excavated.²⁵⁹ Whatever the purpose of the reconstructed St Tykhikos, the little that is left of its architecture reflects the considerable resources of its founders and patrons. Indirectly, it may also reflect the conditions prevailing within the milieu from which they issued, which was

²⁵⁷ Papacostas (1999b: II, 4, 17-18, 29, 60-1, 78); Procopiou (2006a: 120-4; 2007: 219-21, 336-7); Myrianthes *et al.* (2012: 33-41).

²⁵⁸ See note 112 above and Papacostas (1999b: I, 147-51; 2002: 59-61) on the cross-in-square type. The description of the recently excavated Archangel Michael at Ayios Athanasios-*Panthea* as a cross-in-square structure in *ARDA 2004*, 43-4 is not entirely accurate, as there never were a south cross arm and southern compartments; see Procopiou (2006a: 121-3).

²⁵⁹ The same applies to its chronology, for which various dates within the middle Byzantine period have been suggested; see Papacostas (1999b: II, 78), *ARDA 2004*, 39, Procopiou (2006a: 120). Clearing and some conservation work were recently carried out, *ARDA 2005*, 34.

probably none other than that of nearby Nemesos, whose first bishop Tykhikos was thought to have been, after all.²⁶⁰

7. Defences

Certain aspects of the life, material culture, and built environment of medieval urban centres in the Byzantine world are illuminated by an array of types of evidence that include archaeological finds (e.g. excavations at Pergamon, Amorion, Corinth, Athens agora), epigraphy (e.g. Parthenon and Hephaisteion/Theseion graffiti), textual sources (e.g. Athonite archives for Thessalonike, Cadaster of Thebes, later Venetian sources for Chandax/Candia), and surviving monuments (e.g. the churches of Kastoria or Athens).²⁶¹ By comparison, our knowledge of the topography, urban fabric and architecture of middle Byzantine Nemesos is dismal. The little archaeological evidence there is was surveyed above: on the site of the Cami Kebir there was a church whose dedication and layout remain unknown. On the site of the present castle nearby there was perhaps a structure (church?) erected in this period for which the evidence is minimal (traces of a tenth/eleventh-century floor).²⁶² The source evidence for various properties was discussed in the previous section: the Venetian merchants owned churches, a bath, a hospice, numerous houses and shops, gardens, and perhaps even had their own discrete quarter in town. St Theodosios of Judea and the monastery of Krinia owned land and buildings; so did perhaps the Holy Sepulchre. The sources of the Third crusade offer some additional clues about Nemesos toward the close of the twelfth century.

One of the most intriguing issues concerning the towns of Byzantine Cyprus is their defence. We know from sources and/or archaeology that Kyrenia was adequately protected by a fortress, incorporated later within the Lusignan castle and the much larger Venetian fortifications of the sixteenth century. Paphos also had a fort, known from the testimony of

²⁶⁰ Assuming of course that the dedication, not attested before modern times, was the same in the medieval period. The ruinous church of Ayios Stethikos (‘Αγις Στεθικός’), mentioned in 1910 at the locality *Ἀρχολιά* near Ayia Phyla and identified with Tykhikos by Simos Menardos, who suggested that it may have housed the saint’s sepulchre, is presumably the same as the structure discussed here; see Menardos (1910: 121).

²⁶¹ Chapters on these sites and the relevant evidence in *EHB* and in Albani and Chalkia (2013); on Athens, see also Bouras (2010) and on Chandax, Georgopoulou (1994).

²⁶² Procopiou (2006b: 185).

Neophytos the Recluse (the *Book of Curiosities* mentions a ruined fortress), and so perhaps did Nicosia.²⁶³ The evidence for Nemesos is more ambiguous. There is no testimony of a military contingent stationed in the town, as there is for example for Paphos where the Icelandic abbot Nikulás Bergsson of Pverá reported a Varangian detachment during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the mid-twelfth century.²⁶⁴ Nor is it certain that the Armenian element in town, mentioned earlier, had a military character. If, however, Nemesos served even occasionally as a base for the Byzantine fleet, as suggested above, one would indeed expect a military presence with the relevant infrastructure. But even two decades after the end of Byzantine rule Wilbrand of Oldenburg described it as a ‘*civitas non multum munita, iacens in littore maris*’.²⁶⁵

What is almost certain is that Nemesos, unlike most medieval Byzantine towns, was not walled. The reference in the report of Marsilio Zorzi to the house of Marcus Lazarus in the eastern part of town that was situated ‘*iusta mare*’ would suggest that the waterfront, at least, was not fortified.²⁶⁶ But the same report does not contain any reference whatsoever to a walled circuit either in its descriptions of the location of the various properties, providing a strong albeit *ex silentio* argument against the existence of such a defensive feature. The same conclusion emerges from a reading of the sources for 1191. The protection of the town appears to have been a rather messy affair, with little evidence from the accounts of Richard’s conquest of an organised and adequate defence. Isaac Komnenos had to take improvised measures to prevent the crusaders from disembarking, erecting barricades along the shore and blocking the entrance to the harbour with old vessels and whatever material was available in town that could be used for that purpose. A reference by Roger of Howden to these barricades has been interpreted as evidence for a fortified rampart. The text reads ‘*stabant in littore, cum gladiis et lanceis et fustibus, habentes asseres et ligna, et sedilia, et arcas, ante illos pro muro*’ (italics mine).²⁶⁷ This may mean two things: that the defenders stood on the shore with swords, lances and clubs, having wooden beams, planks, benches and chests before them *in front of the wall* or *instead of a wall*. The second interpretation is more likely for the following reasons:

²⁶³ Galatariotou (1991: 48-51); Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 50-1); Papacostas (2012: 83-4); Petre (2012: 231-3, 313-20).

²⁶⁴ Kedar (1978-1979: 203).

²⁶⁵ Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 181; Pringle (2012: 130).

²⁶⁶ Marsilio Zorzi, 187.1-2. On the fortifications of Byzantine towns, see Bouras (2002: 505-7).

²⁶⁷ *Itinerarium*, 189; Roger of Howden, III, 107.

first, it would make little sense to erect barricades before an already existing wall, unless this was so low and weak that a few pieces of furniture made it more defensible; and second, none of the other contemporary sources makes any allusion whatsoever to a town wall.

The evidence concerning a fort or castle is somewhat more secure, although not without its problems. A 'castellum' is mentioned as the place of incarceration of the crusaders captured by the men of Isaac in two of our sources; all others contain no specific reference to such a structure and indeed no allusion to any type of fortification. What is more, one of the two, the narrative of Richard of Devizes, is clearly inaccurate in its description of Nemesos: although the name of the town is not given, it is said to be a strong city defended by a fortified castle standing high above the harbour on a rock.²⁶⁸ However fanciful the description, the reference to a castle (regardless of the incorrect details) is perhaps not to be dismissed outright as unreliable despite its second-hand character, as it may reflect good information. The location of this fort remains, again, unknown. As mentioned above, the common assumption that the site of the present castle in the old town was also that of the Byzantine fort is no longer tenable.²⁶⁹ In all likelihood this stood somewhere near the medieval harbour, perhaps in the wider area of the present Old Harbour. The current works related to the conversion of the latter into a fishing harbour with recreation facilities may reveal valuable and much needed archaeological evidence for the town's medieval past.

Unwalled Nemesos was not exceptional: Nicosia, the island's provincial capital in this period, was not properly fortified either. Only Paphos may have been walled, the medieval settlement by the harbour having inherited the fortifications of the late antique city. At the time of the island's reintegration within the empire in 965 the southern coast of Asia Minor and northern Syria also came under firm Byzantine control, moving Cyprus away from the frontier zone. It was only in the later eleventh century that conditions in the wider region changed once more, with the arrival of the Seljuks in Anatolia and northern Syria and shortly thereafter of the crusader armies in Syria-Palestine. That was probably the time when the northern defences were organised (construction of the castles at St Hilarion, Buffavento, Kantara). Yet those urban centres that did not occupy the site of a late antique city (such as Paphos) were once more left largely unprotected, equipped only with forts of presumably

²⁶⁸ *Itinerarium*, 184, 185; Richard of Devizes, 36.

²⁶⁹ Petre (2012: 281). See also Michalis Olympios' chapter in this volume.

modest size, with the exception of Kyrenia and its larger fortress.²⁷⁰ Not until the Lusignan period was a sustained programme of fortification finally put in place, although Limassol, replaced by Famagusta as the island's major port by the end of the thirteenth century, was left out.

The Verdict

The scarcity of textual and archaeological evidence precludes a comprehensive assessment of the history of the settlement on the site of modern Limassol during the centuries discussed above. The following elements, however, marked its evolution and will have to be tested against future research, especially in terms of archaeological investigations but also interpretations and reconstructions of the Eastern Mediterranean socio-economic landscape.

The late antique settlement was of secondary importance within the island's network of thriving cities. Virtually nothing is known about its emergence and life beyond the paltry and therefore patchy archaeological record and the fact that it was an episcopal see since at least the fifth century. By the seventh century it appears to have been elevated to city status, but it nevertheless remained in the shadow of its larger neighbour, the ancient city of Amathus. The latter declined irrevocably after the archaeologically attested destruction wrought at the time of the seventh-century Arab raids. The changing economic climate of the early medieval period did not favour the recovery of the island's urban centres and the site of Amathus was subsequently abandoned. Its own episcopal administration appears to have eventually relocated at Lefkara, well before the end of the Byzantine period, and thus remained distinct from that of Nemesos/Limassol until the thirteenth century.

Unlike Amathus and for reasons that remain obscure, after the reintegration of Cyprus within the empire in 965 all activity converged on the site of Limassol, which grew into the most important settlement of the south coast. By the twelfth century and perhaps even earlier it functioned as a stopover for pilgrimage traffic to and from the Holy Land, possibly as a base for the Byzantine fleet, and certainly as an outlet for its rich agricultural hinterland's produce. In the last decades of Byzantine rule the town hosted a small but dynamic community of Venetian merchants and landowners who turned it into their base of operations on the island, exploiting the region's agricultural resources, engaging in overseas trade and fuelling the town's growth through their investment in urban,

²⁷⁰ Papacostas (1999b: I, 44-9; 2007: 75-6); Megaw (1988: 148-9); note 263 above.

suburban, and rural properties. Local and overseas monastic foundations may have heralded this development, as their establishment in the town and its region appears to precede that of the Venetians; like the latter, the overseas ecclesiastical foundations must have used Limassol as their collection centre for export across the sea to the Syro-Palestinian mainland.

The spectacular change in the fortunes of Limassol and its region outlined above must be related to the wider Mediterranean context: the establishment of the Crusader States on the neighbouring mainland and the expansion of western commercial activity in Byzantine and Levantine waters had a tangible and long-lasting effect. The events of 1191 in which the town played such a pivotal role would usher in a new age. Limassol stood to gain a lot, and initially did, but ultimately lost to Famagusta.

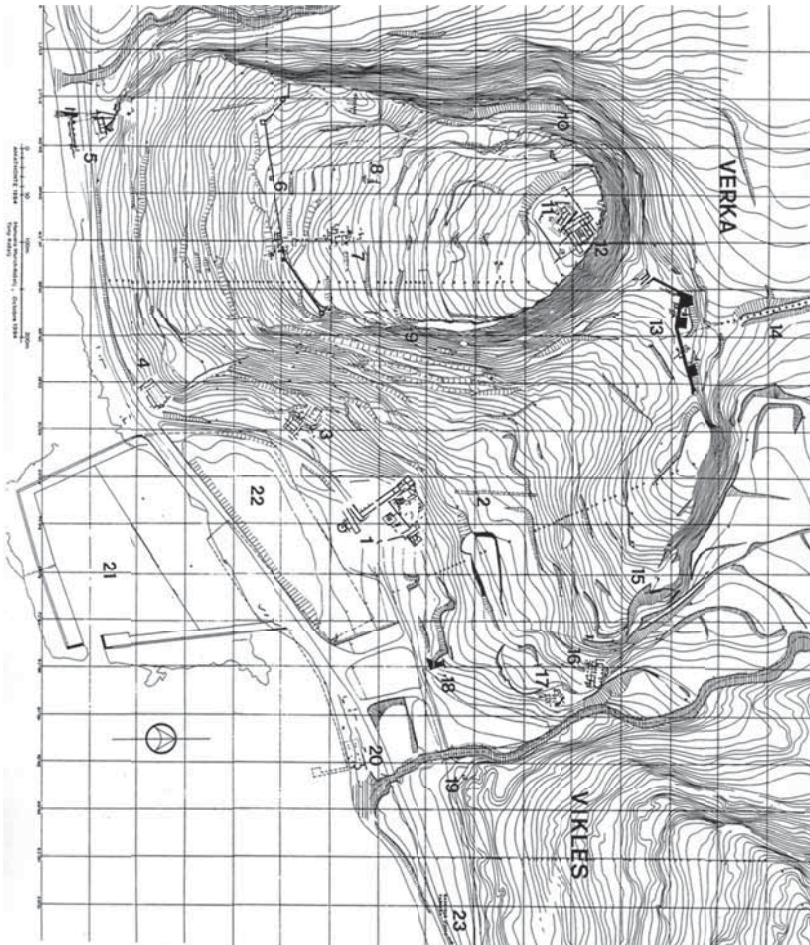


Fig. 1: Amathus, plan of the late antique city [Aupert (1996)].

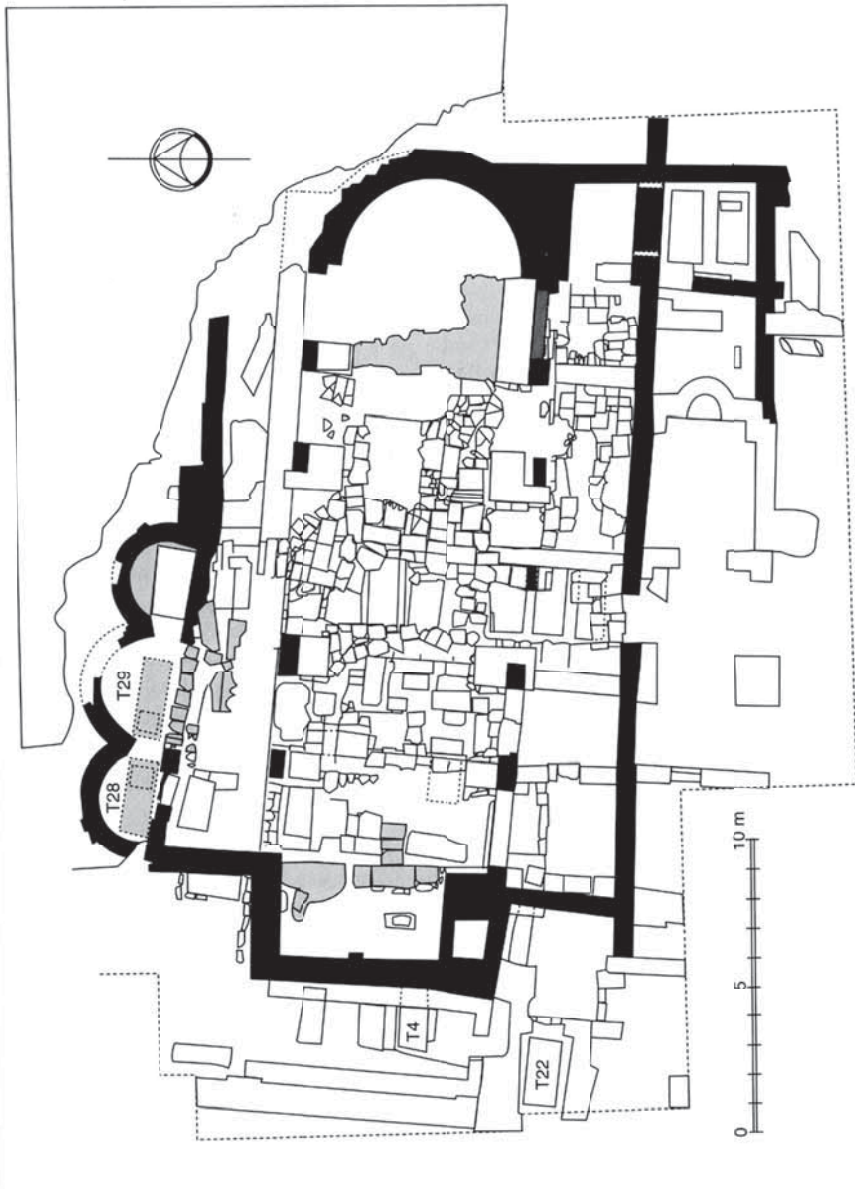


Fig. 2: Amathus, St Tykhon [Plan after Aupert (1996)].



Fig. 3: Lagoudera, Panayia of Arakas, the apse looking north [Nicolaidès (1996)].



Fig. 4: Lagoudera, Panayia of Arakas, the apse looking south [Nicolaidès (1996)].

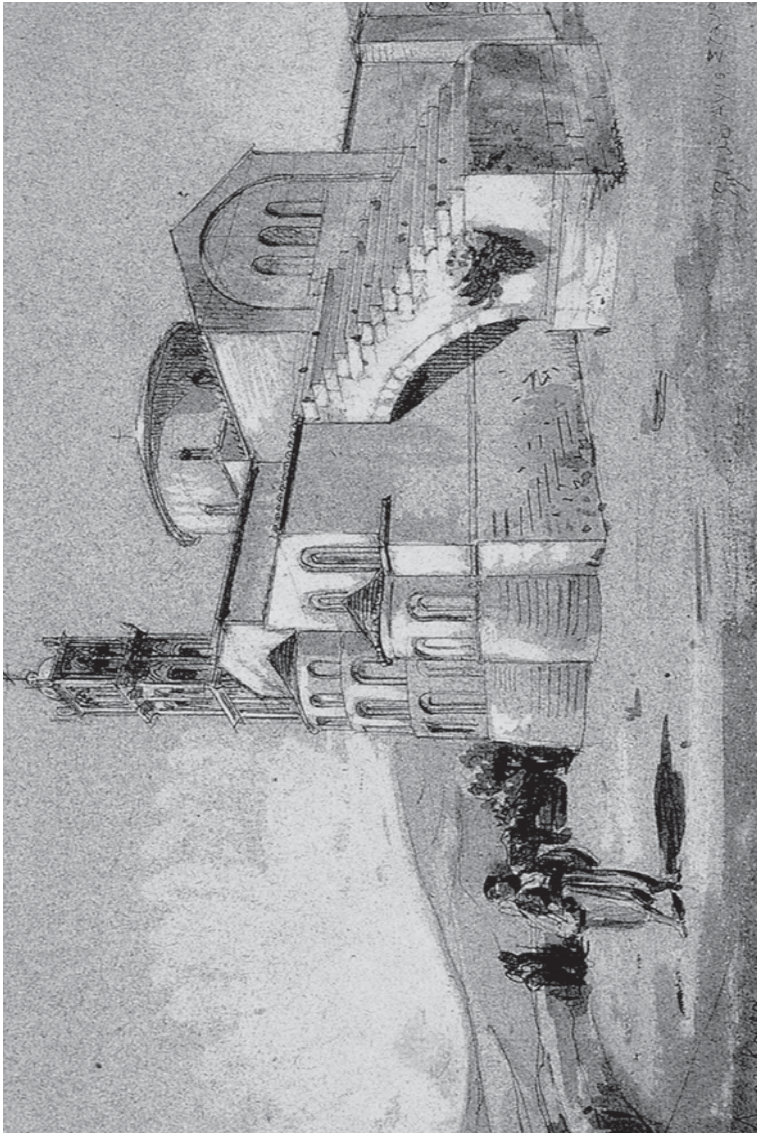


Fig. 5: Lefkara, Holy Cross by Edmond Duthoit [Severis and Bonato (1999)].



Fig. 6: Lefkara, Holy Cross [T. Papacostas].



Fig. 7: Limassol Castle, late antique column base [T. Papacostas].

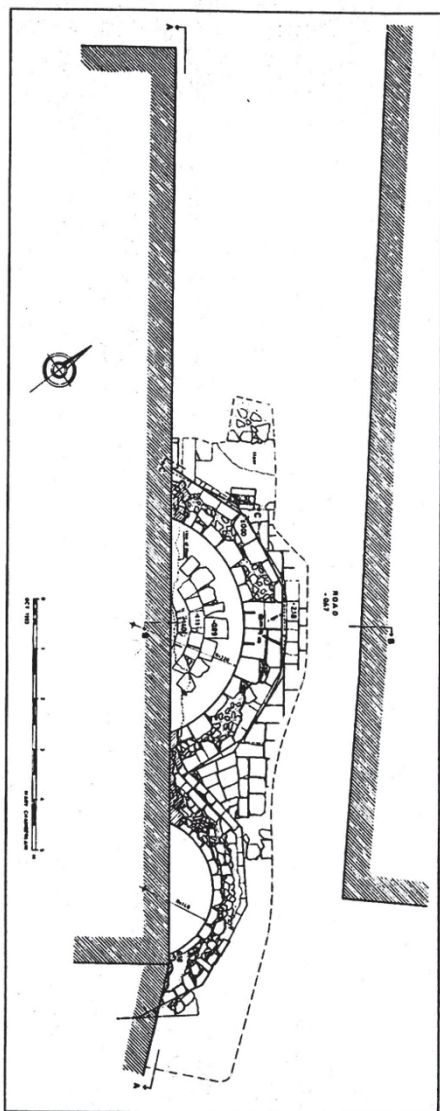


Fig. 8: Limassol, plan of excavated remains beneath Cami Kebir on Zig-zag Street [Procopiou (1999a)].

S.t.bun (?)	Nahr al-Malik (Basilopotamos)		Lablanas (Larnaca?)		Kition?		al-Gh.r.s (Cape Greco?)	Dades
Famagusta	[text on geographical position of Cyprus]							Bulah (Palaia?)
Constantia	al-T.b.s (?)	Akamas	Soloi	Lapethos	Makaria?	Aphrodision	al-Hadi (Achaion Akte?)	Akrubunah (?)
Jurjis (?)	[text on Arab raids of mid-seventh century]							Akraia (Apostolos Andreas)
Kas al-Abbas (Cape Akrotiri?)		Kourion		Tretoi		Palaipaphos	Paphos	[text on Akraia]

Fig. 9: Diagram of the anchorages of Cyprus according to the schematic map in the *Book of Curiosities* [T. Papacostas].

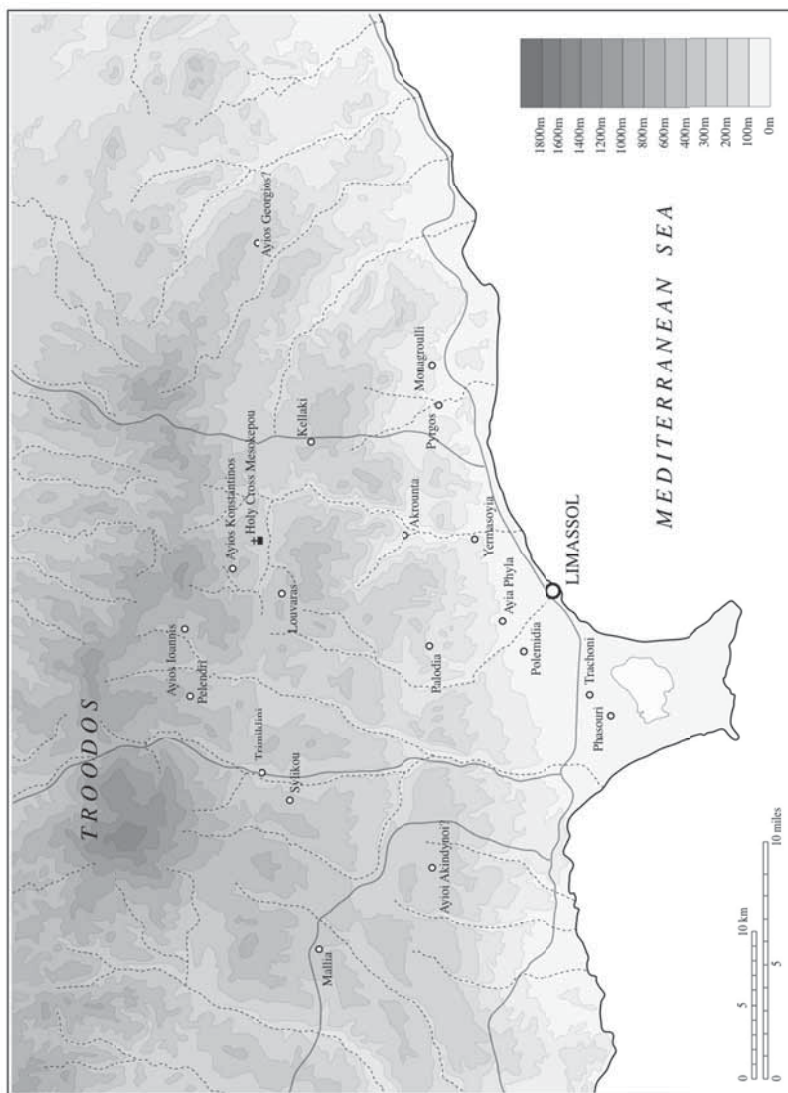


Fig. 10: Map of Venetian properties in Limassol region [T. Papacostas].



Fig. 11: Holy Cross Mesokipou, near Arakapas [by T. Papacostas].

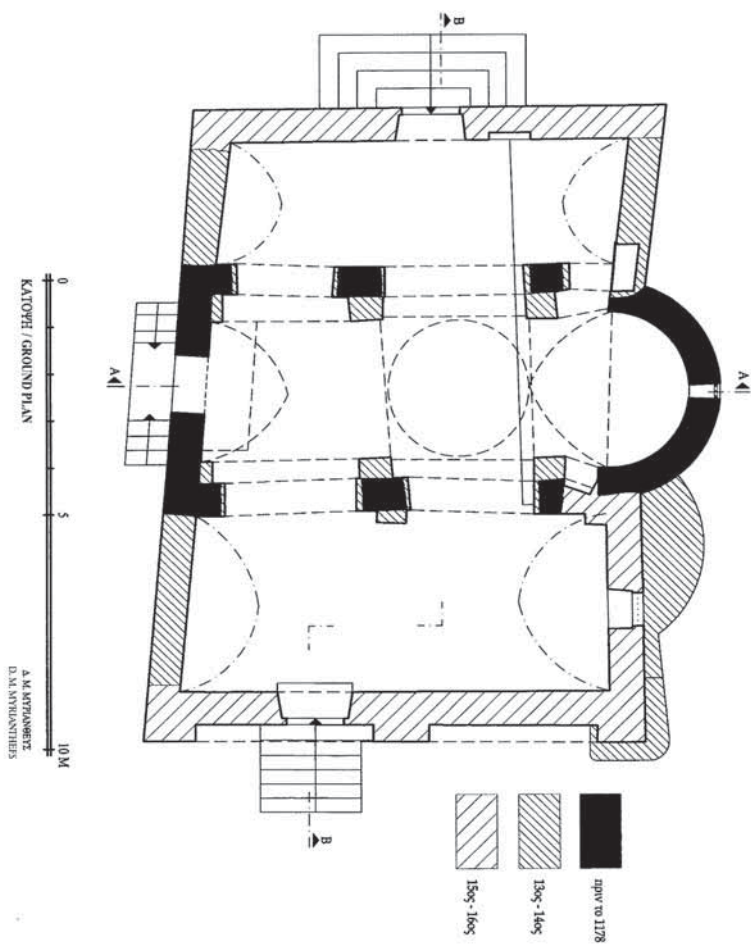


Fig. 12: Plan of Pelendri, Holy Cross [Myriantsefs (2005)].



Fig. 13: Pelendri, Holy Cross [T. Papacostas].



Fig. 14: Kandou, St Napa [T. Papacostas].



Fig. 15: St Tykhikos, near Ayia Phyla [T. Papacostas].

FROM NEMESOS TO LEMESOS/LIMASSOL: NOTE ON A TOPONYMIC PUZZLE

ANGEL NICOLAOU-KONNARI

The previous chapter discussed the origins of the toponym ‘Nemesos’, but when Richard the Lionheart invaded and conquered Cyprus in 1191, as related in the following chapter, the town’s name had already begun to shift in both Greek and Western languages. An account of this evolution is offered here, beginning with the town’s foundation legend as told in the sixteenth century by Étienne de Lusignan. Although Étienne’s version is historically unreliable, it attributes the town’s development under the Lusignans to events related with Richard’s invasion and to its location vis-à-vis the Crusader States, thus linking the Byzantine to the Frankish period.

In his *Chorografia*, published in Italian in 1573, Étienne de Lusignan fancifully claims that ‘Neapoleos’, which in Greek means ‘Città Nova’ (*Νεάπολις* or *New Town*), was built by the first Lusignan kings after King Richard’s destruction of Amathus. The story did not originate with Étienne, for already in Pietro Ranzano’s (1426/7-1492/3) voluminous unpublished work *Annales omnium temporum*, begun around 1460, it is said that, when Amathus was destroyed, it was replaced by another city called ‘Limiso’.¹ Étienne, however, adds that the Lusignans also gave the city the name of ‘Nemosia’, because there was a wood (‘bosco’) nearby (Ancient Greek *νέμος*, Latin *nemus*), and ‘Limissò’, since there were places thus named in their native Poitou; he probably refers to the area of Limousin (*Limosin* in Ancient French and *Lemosin* in Occitan), a name deriving from that of the Gaulish tribe Lemovices (= winners/*vices* with lances made of elm/*lemo*). The names are rendered as ‘Νεαπόλεως’, ‘Νεμοσία/Νεμεσός’, ‘Λεμεσός’, and ‘Ἀμαθοῦντα’ in the seventeenth-century Greek translation of the *Chorografia*. In his *Description*, the improved French version of the *Chorografia*, published in 1580, Étienne corrects himself saying that ‘Neapole’ was built or rather renovated by the

¹ Dalché (2014: 62).

Lusignans ('[...] a esté bastie, ou plustost renouvellee'), who endowed it with beautiful edifices, churches (including one Greek and one Latin cathedral), and monasteries, because its coast was convenient for the anchorage of ships and because of its proximity to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Greeks called it 'Lemise la neuve' ('Νέα Λεμεσός' or 'New Limassol'), as opposed to 'Amathe/Amathuse', which they called 'Lemise la vieille' ('παλαιά Λεμεσός' or 'Old Limassol'), and the Latins 'Limonce, ou Nemosie'. In another French work, published in 1579, Étienne repeats that Guy of Lusignan built 'Lemisso' and gave it the name of 'Nemosie'.² The name 'Viel Limeson' for the area of Amathus was recorded as early as 1367 and it is still used today (*Παλιά Λεμεσός/Old Limassol*).³ The historiographer, administrator and translator Florio Bustron, whose reliable history of Cyprus was composed around 1560, also describes Limassol as 'the new city' ('Limisso, città nuova'), as opposed to Amathus, called 'Old Limassol' ('Amathonda, hora chiamata Limisso vecchia'), but he does not attempt to give any fanciful interpretations of the name.⁴

Étienne de Lusignan's ingenious etymologies and erratic spelling, however, do demonstrate that the semantic origin of *Lemesos* had been forgotten by the sixteenth century and that several forms of the name were used simultaneously. The crucial question to which we can offer no answer is whether the initial *N* of the Greek toponym *Nemesos* was replaced by an *L*, yielding *Lemesos*, the form that has persisted to the present day, before or after this happened in Latin and French. A similar phenomenon is attested in the case of Nafpaktos, yielding Lepante, but a reverse one in that of Lefkosia, resulting in Nicosia! What is certain is that the Latin or French form *Limeson* predated 1191, because it is first attested in writing, under numerous transcriptions, in all the Western and Latin Eastern sources contemporary to Richard's invasion.⁵ One may

² Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 6r, 8v, 9r, *Description*, fols. 19v, 20v, 35r, and *Histoire*, fols. 14r, 23r ('Lemoson'); Loyizos Skevophylax, 13-15, 64-5; Mariti, 82 repeats Lusignan's story in 1769 and a little later Kyprianos (1788: 33). See also the discussion by Tassos Papacostas in chapter 3.

³ *Documents chypriotes*, 88-90, 99.

⁴ Bustron, 16.

⁵ Ambroise, col. 40.1485 ('Limeçon') (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 186 ('Limazun'); 'Benedict of Peterborough', II, 162-3 ('Limezun/Limeszun'); Roger of Howden, III, 105 ('Limeszun'); 'Estoire d'Eracles', 163 ('Limecon'); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (with slightly different spellings in the Florence manuscript), 116-7, 178-9 ('Limeson/Lymesson'); *Latin Continuation*, 137 ('Limezim'); 'Ernoult', 270-1 ('Limeçon/Limechon/Lime(c)zon'); *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, 14

safely assume that this was the linguistic product either of a corruption of the Greek *Nemesos*, due to the incorrect rendering of the name by Latin traders established on the island in the twelfth century and crusaders not familiar with Greek phonology, or of the adoption by the Westerners of a variant form of *Nemesos* in Greek oral/vernacular language. As far as we can tell, however, the form *Lemosos* is first attested in a Greek written source in a manuscript note dated 9-10 November 1330 ('λαμιεζ(όν)').⁶ Despite the uneven availability of source material for the thirteenth century (Latin sources being significantly more abundant than Greek ones), the extant evidence does imply that the N-L change occurred amongst Latin speakers first, as early as the second half of the twelfth century, the mutation taking place amongst Greek speakers later, sometime during the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This is corroborated by the evidence of medieval Arabic sources, which use the name 'al-Noumaysoun' for the town in the twelfth century and 'al-Namsoun' throughout the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and only in the fifteenth century do we find 'al-Lamsoun', with the variant 'Limsoun' in the sixteenth.⁷

No matter when the change from Lemosos to Nemesos occurred in Greek, the testimony of a great variety of sources (documentary, narrative, cartographic, and travellers' accounts) suggests that both names *Nimocium*⁸ and *Limesson*⁹ remain in use in Latin and French sources under

('Limesson'). From later sources, see Peter of Langtoft, II, 58, 60 ('Lymesçoun'). Nevertheless, the manuscript tradition of these sources has to be investigated before reaching any conclusive answers.

⁶ BnF, MS Paris. Gr. 1590, fol. 65v, see Darrouzès (1953: 86, 93) and Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 51; on the events told by the note, see the following chapter.

⁷ *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 39, 56-7, 81, 83, 96-7, 103, 106, 108, 113, 121-2, 128-9.

⁸ See indicatively: *Cartulary*, Index, 338 (various references in documents dated between 1220 and 1496); Marsilio Zorzi, 184-5 ('civitatis Nimis' in 1242-1244); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 39 ('Nimociam'), 54 ('Nimotiensi'), 64, note 1 ('Nimeto'), 93-4 ('Nimotii'), 434 ('Nimociensis') (in 1218, 1232, 1249, 1296, and 1396 respectively); Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1296-1299, 1299-1300, 1299-1301, 1300-1301, 1301, 1302, 1304-1305, 1307 passim; Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandre*, 192, 202, 210, 218 ('Nimesson' in ca. 1371/2); *Documents from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives*, nos. 38-9, 221 ('Nymociensis' in 1413, 1446), 265 ('Nimosii' in 1450); *Sindicamentum*, 119, 141, 235 ('Episcopus Nimos(x)iensis' in 1459); Mas Latrie, 'Documents nouveaux', 454 ('Nemosiensi' in 1475), 506 ('Nimosiensem' in 1481); *Excerpta Cypria*, 16 ('Nicomosa' in 1333), 19 ('Nymocinum' in 1340), 36 ('Nimonia' in 1483), 54 ('old Nymosia' in 1508), 65

a variety of spellings throughout the Lusignan and Venetian periods, the former in a more formal context and less frequently as time advances. In the sources of the Venetian period, in particular, the form ‘Limis(s)o’ (and ‘Lemisso’) predominates, especially in portolans and maps, written in Romance, Germanic, and other languages.¹⁰ The duplicity of the form is also attested in the Greek sources, which follow the same pattern with *Nemesos*¹¹ and *Lemesos*¹² coexisting as toponyms until the seventeenth

(‘Nimesson’ in 1532); *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, Index, 190 (‘Nymesson’ in the fifteenth century); *Spanish Documents*, 75-6 (‘Nemesò/Nemesón/Nemesú/Nimisón’ in 1610).

⁹ See indicatively: *Cartulary*, no. 8, p. 86 (‘Limichoniensem’ in 1196), no. 1, p. 75 (‘Limiconiensi’ in 1197), no. 9, p. 90 (‘Limichociensem’ in 1202), no. 50, p. 150 (‘Limison’ in French in 1236); *Annales de Terre Sainte*, 455 (‘Limechon’), 456, 457 (‘Lymeson’); *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, 14 (‘Limeson’); Philip of Novara, *Guerra*, Index, 337 (‘Lymesson’); *Il compasso da navigare*, 126-7 (‘Limesso’ in the middle of the thirteenth century); Mas Latrie, II, 89-90 (‘Limeson’ in 1292 and 1294), 104 (‘Limesso’ in 1306); Mas Latrie, ‘Nouvelles preuves (1873), 46-7 (‘Limixo’ in 1302); The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, Index, 456 (‘Li/ymes(s)on’); Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1296-1299, 1299-1300, 1299-1301, 1300-1301, 1301, 1302, 1304-1305, 1307* passim; Nicola de Boateriis, nos. 91, 98-9, 101, 114 (‘Limisso’ in 1361); *Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican*, 76 and passim (‘Limesson’ in 1368); *Documents from the Hospital’s Rhodian Archives*, 196, 248, 255 (‘Limisso’ in 1445, 1449), 263 (‘Limosiense’ in 1449); *Sindicamentum*, 247, 255 (‘Limis(s)o’ in 1459); *Livre des Remembrances*, nos. 52, 101, 230, 232-3 (‘Limes(s)on(n)’ in 1468-1469); *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, Index, 190 for a great variety of forms in the fifteenth century. For the sixteenth century, see note 10 below.

¹⁰ See indicatively: Documents: *Capitula Universitatis Regni Cypri*, 11, 18, 30, 54 (‘Limis(s)o’ in 1507); Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents II*, no. 2, p. 26 (‘Lymisso’ in 1509), no. 12, pp. 47, 48 (‘Limiso’ in 1509); *Venetian Documents III*, no. 119, p. 239 (‘Limisò in 1528), no. 130, p. 261 (‘Limissò’ in 1529); *Venetian Documents IV*, no. 151, p. 295 (‘Limisso’ in 1540); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 494, 502, 504, 508 (‘Limisso’ three times and ‘Lemesso’ once in ca. 1521); Zorzi (2009: 258) (‘Lemisso’ in Sagredo’s report in ca. 1565). Narratives: ‘Amadi’, 80 (‘Limisso’, mid-sixteenth century); Kitromilides, *Sources*, 102, 142 (‘Limissò’ in 1563 and 1571); Calepio, fol. 248r (‘Lemisse’ in 1572); *Avvisi*, 138, 141, 146 (‘Limiso’ in 1572); Valderio, 36, 38, 43, 45, 69, 76 (‘Limissò/Lemisso’ in ca. 1573); Graziani (1624: 2, 150, 198, 366, 368, 370) (‘Imisson/Imissum’ in 1624). Maps: Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006) (‘Limis(s)o’ in Attar’s 1542 map); Makrides (2012: 52-7) (inventory of maps). Travellers: *Excerpta Cypria*, 48, 53, 68 (‘Limisso’ in 1484, 1488, 1553), 51-2 (‘Limeson’ in 1487), 54 (‘Lymosin’ in 1508), 56 (‘Limechon’ in 1518); Flourentzos, 3 (‘Misso’ in 1493), 9 (‘Limisso’ in 1546).

¹¹ See indicatively: *Diataxis Kypria*, Sathas, 506 (‘Νημεσόv’), Ioannides (2000: 360) (‘Νεμεσόv’); Darrouzès (1951b: 50) and Constantinides and Browning, *Dated*

century, although the former perhaps only in formal speech and in writing. Significantly, in his *Historia rerum ubique gestarum*, published in 1477, Pope Pius II (1405-1464, 1458) speaks of ‘ubi Nimosiensis [...] vulgo Limissum vocant’.¹³

Moreover, the form ‘Λεμισός’ appears in ecclesiastical texts written by Joseph Vryennios and dated 1406 and 1412.¹⁴ It is interesting to compare this form, used by a highly educated theologian in Constantinople (a *kalamaras* or a *pen-pusher*), with the novel form *Λεμησός/Λιμησός*, introduced in the middle of the nineteenth century by Greek scholars as a ‘purified’ version of the name.¹⁵ The great variety of forms and spellings used for the town of Limassol until the end of the sixteenth century and even later, the same text sometimes providing two or more variants, points to a non-standardised oral usage and does not help much in understanding the etymology of either Nemesos or Lemesos.¹⁶ Interestingly, Antonio da

Greek Manuscripts, 76 (‘Νεμεσσών’ on 15 June 1271); Darrouzès (1979: 87, 89) (‘ἐπίσκοπος Ἀμαθούντων ἔστω καὶ Νεμεσοῦ καὶ Κουρέων πρόεδρος’ in 1295); (Darrouzès (1959: 42) (‘Νεμεσοῦ’); *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, nos. 88, 92), 94, 98, 103-4 (‘ἐπίσκοπος Ἀμαθούντων, πρόεδρος Νεμεσοῦ καὶ Κουραίων’, beginning of the fourteenth century); Makhairas, *Chronicle*, §§54-5, pp. 52-3, §323, pp. 308-9 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 96, 246 (in the *ca.* mid-sixteenth century Venice manuscript and the *ca.* 1600 Ravenna manuscript, not in the 1555 Oxford one); Georgiades (1934: 230) (‘Νεμεσός’ in 1478); Hadjipsaltes (1950: 66) (a description of the monastery of Kykkos in an early seventeenth-century manuscript from an earlier source); *Spanish Documents*, 55-6 (‘Νεμεσοῦ’ in 1609).¹² See indicatively: Darrouzès (1953: 93) and Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 51 (‘λαυμεζ(όν)’ in 1330); Darrouzès (1958: 241, 245) and *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 209, 212 (‘Λεμεσόν’ in 1426, 1491); Darrouzès (1959: 43, 45, 46) (‘Λεμεσο’, ‘Λεμεσός’, ‘Λεμεσός’ in 1449-1452); Makhairas, *Chronicle*, Index, 315 (‘Λεμησός’ in all three sixteenth-century manuscripts); Boustronios, 118, 166, 282 (‘Λεμέσος/Λεμεσός’); Georgiades (1934: 230) (‘Λεμεσός’ in 1478); Darrouzès (1958: 245) (‘Λεμεσοῦ’ in 1491); Darrouzès (1950: 189) (a mention of Gerasimos, metropolitan of ‘Νέας πόλεως Λεμεσοῦ καὶ Κουρέως’ (*fl.* 1660s), in an eleventh-century manuscript).

¹³ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, 377.

¹⁴ Katsaros (2000: 34); *Syntagma*, 186.

¹⁵ See discussion in Makrides (2012: 80-9). Cf. Menardos (1903: 107; 1906: 9) and Hadjioannou (1996: 260). For *kalamaras*, see Magdalino (1991: 7).

¹⁶ See, for example, the inventory of the travellers’ accounts in Makrides (2012: 58-73). For the ‘toponymic puzzle’ that the names of Limassol represent and for later references, see Menardos (1903; 1906: 8-9), Hill (1938-1939; 1940: 438-43), Indianos (1940), Pavlides (1988: 340, 345, 352-3), Hadjioannou, *Ancient Cyprus*, V, 197, *idem* (1996: 260-1), Makrides (2012), and Tassos Papacostas’ discussion in chapter 3.

Crema from Mantua, who visited Cyprus in 1486, in his *Itinerario al Santo Sepolcro* identifies Limassol with ‘Limenia’, while Felix Faber in 1480-1483 names the city ‘Limona’, ‘Limonnia’, and even ‘Limovicus’ (a form oddly resonant of the Gaulish *Lemovices* discussed above), but most probably these represent corrupt forms rather than derivations from *λίμνη* (lake) or *λιμῆν* (port).¹⁷ In 1934, K.I. Myrianthopoulos claimed unconvincingly that the addition of the article ‘el-’ to the city’s name ‘Nimason’ in Arabic caused *Nemesos* to yield *Lemesos* in Greek through a long series of complex linguistic phenomena; he further claimed that the rare form ‘Ναλμασσός’ existed as well. Based on the geology and the geomorphology of the area of Limassol (presence of a lake, marshes, and a forest), Andreas Makrides has recently suggested ‘Λιμνησσός’ as the etymological origin of Lemesos and ‘Νεμησσός/Τελμησσός’ of Nemesos. His thesis is interesting, but it is not corroborated by the testimony of the sources.¹⁸

¹⁷ Antonio da Crema, 84, see Calvelli (2009: 80-1); *Excerpta Cypria*, 36-7.

¹⁸ Myrianthopoulos (1934: 217); Makrides (2012).

LIMASSOL UNDER LATIN RULE 1191-1571

ANGEL NICOLAOU-KONNARI
AND CHRIS SCHABEL

The Conquest of Cyprus in 1191

The conquest of Cyprus in 1191 by King Richard I of England, the legendary Lionheart, provides a convenient chronological divide between the Byzantine and the Frankish periods of the history of the island in general and of Limassol in particular, and it marks the beginning of important social and demographic changes for the city. Richard invaded Cyprus on his way to liberate Jerusalem during the Third Crusade, and a number of sources of varied origin, context, and ideological background recount the events surrounding the Cypriot expedition. Most of these sources are contemporary to the events they describe, while some represent the testimony of eyewitnesses, thus providing us with first-hand information about Cyprus at the time.¹ Limassol occupies a significant part of Richard's expedition, especially during the first phase of the conquest, as the landing place of the army and the site of battles and negotiations. The town was probably the place where Richard spent most of his time while on the island and where his fiancée, Berengaria of Navarre, and his sister Joanna, the dowager queen of Sicily, stayed while he was conquering Cyprus.

¹ The main contemporary sources for the events are: Richard I, 'Epistola' and 'Carta'; Ambroise, cols. 35-57 (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 177-205; 'Benedict of Peterborough', II, 162-8; Roger of Howden, III, 105-12; 'Estoire d'Eracles', 159-69; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 110-21; 'Ernouf', 270-3; Neophytos, *De calamitatibus Cypri*, 11-12 and *Enkomion for the Holy Cross*, 178-9; Choniates, I, 417-18. For a full list of sources delivering similar or slightly different accounts and a detailed comparative reconstruction of the events, see Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 26-32, 39-40, notes 44-5, 41-7, and *passim*) with all the older bibliography.

On 6 May 1191 Richard's fleet put in the harbour of Limassol, and a month later, on 5 June, it sailed for Acre from the same harbour. The galleys carrying Guy of Lusignan and other Outremer barons, who arrived in Cyprus on 11 May, also used the Limassol harbour. It seems, then, that the main coastal city and port at the end of the twelfth century was Limassol. One chronicler describes Limassol at the time of Richard's conquest as a 'large and wealthy city'; although his testimony is only second hand, it does point to a certain importance.² If one were to assume that the invasion of Cyprus was a planned expedition, Richard's choice of Limassol for the landing of his army would further enhance the significance of the city at the time. Nevertheless, the intentional or accidental character of the conquest is a controversial issue, and Richard may have just followed the missing ship carrying Berengaria and Joanna.³

On 17 April 1191 a storm had caused Richard's fleet to disperse near Crete. Strong winds drove three of the missing ships to Cyprus, where they were wrecked off Limassol. Some of the men drowned, while the Greek soldiers who were guarding the coast fearing a crusader attack took others prisoner and stripped them of their belongings. On 1 May the ship carrying Berengaria and Joanna under the command of Stephen of Thornham reached Limassol. Next day the self-styled 'Emperor' of Cyprus, Isaac Doukas Komnenos, who had seized control of the island in 1184,⁴ also arrived in Limassol and tried to convince the two women to come ashore. The ladies, probably alerted by some of the English prisoners who had escaped to their ship, declined his deceitful invitation and gifts. Isaac did not allow their ship to enter the port and refused to give them provisions and fresh water. Fearing reprisals, he also assembled his troops in Limassol and prepared the defence of the town.

The prompt arrival of Richard's fleet on 6 May saved Berengaria and Joanna from a difficult situation and initiated a series of events that affected the entire island, particularly Limassol. Following Isaac's refusal to return the belongings of the shipwrecked pilgrims and liberate the prisoners, the crusaders landed immediately and confronted the Greek troops. Before the battle of Limassol Richard delivered a speech, an excellent example of crusading rhetoric. The English sources claim that Richard's men laughed at the rich parade that Isaac's army displayed on the Limassol shore, no doubt a poor imitation of Byzantine pomp. The capture of Limassol and of the five galleys defending its harbour was

² Peter of Langtoft, II, 58-9 ('cyté riche et grande').

³ See discussion in Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 36-9). Gertwagen (1995: 511) explains how strong westerly winds drove the English vessels into Limassol Bay.

⁴ On Isaac, see Collenberg (1968) and Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 33-8 and passim).

completed on the same day. The Greeks, who were not good fighters, fled in fear before the prowess of the mightier crusader forces and Isaac escaped to the nearby hills with his army. The defenceless population of Limassol had no choice but to submit.⁵ Although one of the main English sources reports that Isaac did imprison the shipwrecked crusaders in a 'nearby *castellum*', probably near the harbour of Limassol, all the sources indicate that Limassol must have been only slightly fortified at the time, making things easier for Richard's army.⁶

The attitude of the population of Limassol towards the English deserves further discussion. It must be viewed within the context of the overall submissive attitude of the Cypriot population, determined by the dissatisfaction of the Greek ruling class towards Isaac; when the *archontes* deserted him, the rest of the population followed passively. A contemporary Cypriot witness, St Neophytos the Recluse, clearly says that 'forthwith all [the Cypriots] ran unto him [Richard]' and Isaac's people abandoned him.⁷ A contemporary English source asserts that a little before Richard's arrival the Greek magnates of the district gathered in Limassol to decide what to do with the imprisoned pilgrims. Significantly, this meeting took place before Isaac's arrival in Limassol, so they must have had the opportunity to confer on what their attitude would be in case Richard attacked.⁸ On 8 May, when Richard's victory in Limassol was complete, the 'barons', 'counts', and burgesses submitted to the king, swore fealty to him, and gave him hostages.⁹ A Latin Eastern chronicle adds that the resident Latin merchants of Limassol (who surely included Venetians) welcomed the king and informed him that the town, where only harmless citizens and Latin merchants remained, was at his mercy, the simple folk being ready to accept him as their lord.¹⁰ The episode of a

⁵ For the speech, see 'Benedict of Peterborough', II, 163 and Roger of Howden, III, 106-7; for the parade, Ambroise, col. 41.1495-1501 (ed. G. Paris) and *Itinerarium*, 189-90; for the valiance of the crusaders and the cowardice of the Greeks, Ambroise, cols. 40-2, 44.1635 (ed. G. Paris) and *Itinerarium*, 190-1, 193.

⁶ *Itinerarium*, 184-6. This was not the present castle; see chapters in this volume by Tassos Papacostas and Michalis Olympios. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who visited the island in 1211, claims that Limassol was not greatly fortified: Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 29, p. 14 (Cobham), p. 83 (Pringle).

⁷ Neophytos the Recluse, *De calamitatibus Cyprī*, 12: 'ἠάπτον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔδραμον πάντες', 'ἔρημος ἐναπομείνας λαοῦ'.

⁸ *Itinerarium*, 185.

⁹ Benedict of Peterborough', II, 164-5; Roger of Howden, III, 110; in *The Romance of Richard the Lionheart*, 200.2229-32, the 'burgeyes' of 'Lymasour' gave Richard their riches in homage.

¹⁰ 'Estoire d'Eracles', 164 ('menue gent de pueple et marchaanz').

Cypriot ‘commoner’s’ recovery and restoration of Richard’s great seal (lost in the waters of Limassol with the drowned seal-bearer Roger Malchiel), albeit an isolated incident, could be interpreted in terms of the population’s generally positive attitude towards the king of England.¹¹

Although it is difficult to identify all the sites,¹² Richard’s and Isaac’s itineraries in the district of Limassol, as far as we can reconstruct them from the information that the sources provide, are consistent with the region’s geomorphology. According to the Western sources, after the surrender of Limassol Richard camped in the orchards near the town, forbidding his men to enter, promising the population his protection, and granting peace to all those who would not oppose him. He then engaged in yet another victorious fight against Isaac: at the head of a small group of men, he destroyed Isaac’s camp, situated in an olive grove near Limassol, or, according to some sources, on the banks of a river about five miles from Limassol. According to the Latin Eastern sources, Isaac retreated to the mountains and camped at Kilani, where he received Richard’s envoys. Negotiations were arranged between the two leaders and Isaac came down to the plain of Limassol again, camping at Kolossi. This is probably where the meeting between the two men took place, with one source describing the site as a wide plain between the sea and the royal highway. The negotiations came to nothing, however, and Isaac’s army was defeated at Kolossi. Then Richard, with the help of Guy of Lusignan, embarked on the conquest of the entire island, and the rest of the expedition was conducted outside the area of Limassol. Richard returned to the town after the island’s surrender, and thence his fleet sailed for Acre on 5 June 1191.¹³

Given the extent of Richard’s expedition, both the urban and the rural populations must have suffered the negative effects of the presence of an enemy army on the island. Nevertheless, Neophytos the Recluse’s statement that ‘the Englishman [...] grievously wasted the land’ probably refers to the great booty Richard amassed, rather than to human losses.¹⁴ Limassol in particular seems to have been deserted by its Greek and

¹¹ *Itinerarium*, 184; ‘Benedict of Peterborough’, II, 162; Roger of Howden, III, 105-6.

¹² A false etymology has linked the sites of the battles to the toponym Polemidia, one of the northern suburbs of modern Limassol; see Papadopoulos (1964: 95).

¹³ Ambroise, cols. 43-6, 56 (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 192, 195, 197, 204-5; ‘Benedict of Peterborough’, II, 164, 168; Roger of Howden, III, 107-8, 112; ‘Estoire d’Eracles’, 164-7; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 116-19. On the different itineraries, see Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 48-50).

¹⁴ Neophytos, *De calamitatibus Cypri*, 10, 12: ‘Ἰγγλίτερο [...] τὴν χώραν σκυλεύσας δεινῶς’.

Armenian inhabitants and, when Isaac's men barricaded it against the English, the defenders stripped the town of doors and windows and every portable item of wood or stone.¹⁵ Although Richard is supposed to have captured 'many Greeks' among Isaac's men, there is no evidence to suggest that Richard's men were involved in violent acts other than the battles with Isaac's army.¹⁶ In fact, as already mentioned, both the Western and the Latin Eastern chroniclers are at pains to assure their readers that Richard tried to protect the local population and had his army camp in the orchards around Limassol and not in the town itself.¹⁷

The extraordinary circumstances of Richard's wedding with Berengaria of Navarre in Limassol on Sunday 12 May point to the diplomatic significance of the marriage alliance in connection with the relations between Gascony, Navarre, and Castile and the cancellation of Richard's twenty-five-year betrothal to Alice, the sister of King Philip II of France. Plantagenet kings did not ordinarily marry in Limassol of Cyprus, nor were English queens usually crowned there. The marriage had been negotiated in advance, probably early in 1190. Richard's mother, the formidable Eleanor of Aquitaine, hastily brought Berengaria to the king of England at Messina in Sicily in February 1191, and then Richard's sister, Joanna of Sicily, acted as chaperon, escorting Berengaria on her journey to the East. Initially, Richard had intended to marry Berengaria in the Holy Land, Lent being a serious obstacle to the celebration of the marriage in Sicily; this explains the presence of an important number of prelates at the ceremony in Cyprus.¹⁸ His anxiousness to marry in Palestine before his return to Europe may be attributed to political necessity, although a romantic attachment should not be excluded. Marrying Berengaria in

¹⁵ 'Benedict of Peterborough', II, 164; Roger of Howden, III, 107; Peter of Langtoft, II, 58-9; Ambroise, col. 40.1485-94 (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 189.

¹⁶ Ambroise, col. 52.1939-40 ('Des Grifons [...] a plenté') (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 201.

¹⁷ Ambroise, col. 46.1695-700 (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 194; 'Estoire d'Eracles', 164.

¹⁸ The wedding ceremony was performed by the king's chaplain Nicholas in the presence of Archbishop [Elias] of Bordeaux, Bishop [Bernard] of Bayonne, and Bishop John of Evreux. The latter crowned Berengaria, assisted by the archbishop of Apamea, Archbishop [Gerald] of Auch, and Bishop [Bernard] of Bayonne; Bishop Philip of Poitiers was also present. See *Itinerarium*, 196; 'Benedict of Peterborough', II, 167; Roger of Howden, III, 110, IV, 164. Mas Latrie (1861: 9), Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 5, note 5, and Hackett - Papaioannou (1923-1932: III, 3) wrongly report that the archbishop of York was also present (a confusion of *Ebroicum* = Evreux with *Eboracum* = York), while Cartellieri (1899-1922: II, 191) adds a certain Bishop John of Lisieux, not cited in the sources.

Cyprus in the midst of a military expedition, however, was ‘an ingenious diplomatic device deliberately adopted by Richard in order to cut his way through a thicket of political problems’; most importantly, he avoided the awkward situation of inviting Philip.¹⁹ The settlement of dower on Berengaria, signed in Limassol on the wedding day, indicates planning in advance. Both the master of the Hospitallers, Garnier of Nablus, and the future master of the Temple, Robert of Sablé, were witnesses. The fact that no rights to or title concerning Cyprus were assigned to Berengaria, crowned ‘queen of England, duchess of Normandy, countess of Anjou’, suggests that Richard did not intend to keep the island for himself, but wanted to use it for the cause of the crusade.²⁰ We can only speculate about the church where the wedding ceremony took place. According to a recension of the *Continuations of William of Tyre*, the wedding was celebrated in the chapel of ‘Saint Jorge’, which could be identified with a church dedicated to St George and belonging to the Venetian community of Limassol at the time. Another contemporary source, however, the so-called ‘Chronicle of Ernoul’, which is more reliable for this period, states that the wedding took place at a monastery outside Limassol.²¹ The sources are not very eloquent, but we may assume that festivities took place in the town after the wedding.²²

Limassol is not specifically mentioned in the sources with relation to the two abortive revolts of the Cypriots, the first one against the English soon after Richard’s departure in the early summer of 1191 and the second one against the Templars, who had purchased the island from Richard not long after the first revolt. The failure of the latter revolt, which took place in Nicosia on Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday the following year (4-5 April 1192), was followed by reprisals by the Templars, who rode through the island indiscriminately killing innocent people and causing the urban populations to seek refuge in the mountains; this massacre may have

¹⁹ Gillingham (1978: 138-41, 151, 158-63; 1994: chapter 4, esp. 120).

²⁰ Richard I, ‘Carta’.

²¹ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 118, 121 (‘Saint Jorge’); ‘Ernoul’, 272 (‘à 1. moustier dehors la cité’); Marsilio Zorzi, 184.21 (‘sanctus Georgius’). See Papacostas (1999a: 489) and Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 51, 71-2). On the reliability of the Latin Eastern sources, see Edbury (2010a). For a Latin church of St George recorded in the fourteenth century in Limassol, see below. See also discussion by Tassos Papacostas and Michalis Olympios in this volume.

²² The main sources for the wedding are Richard I, ‘Carta’; Ambroise, col. 47 (ed. G. Paris); *Itinerarium*, 195-6; ‘Benedict of Peterborough’, II, 166-7; Roger of Howden, III, 110; ‘Estoire d’Eracles’, 167; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 118, 121; ‘Ernoul’, 272. Neophytos the Recluse declines to mention the wedding.

affected the Limassol population too. The town would reemerge in the sources within the context of the Lusignan rule of Cyprus, which began on 5 May 1192 with the sale of the island to Guy of Lusignan.²³

Lusignan Limassol: 1192-1489

1. The First Century: 1192-1291

Frankish Limassol and the Crusades

Following Richard's conquest and the 1191-1192 events that led to the uneventful Lusignan establishment on the island, the thirteenth century was relatively peaceful for Limassol and its population. The fact that communications were far less frequent and depended more on weather conditions than nowadays, together with the island's natural defence line provided by the sea, protected the city's population from large-scale attacks or invasions despite the absence of fortifications. According to the extant evidence, the only serious Muslim attack before those in the fifteenth century occurred on 15 June 1271, when, taking advantage of King Hugh III's absence in Acre, Sultan Baybars sent a Mamluk fleet of seventeen (or, according to some sources, eleven or sixteen) galleys to take the island and to distract Hugh's attention from the defence of Syria at the same time. Strong winds drove the fleet against the rocks off the coast near the harbour of Limassol, however, and before it could do any damage to the city and its inhabitants, it was wrecked through the pilots' poor manoeuvring in the darkness. According to the Arabic sources, eleven or all of the ships were destroyed in 'al-Namsoun', many men were drowned, and about 1,800 officers, soldiers, and sailors were taken prisoner.²⁴

Aside from this failed invasion, the coast was exposed to the ravages of raids. In the summer of 1220, during the Fifth Crusade, Egyptian ships raided the port of Limassol, destroyed Christian shipping, and killed or took prisoner more than 13,000 Christians in retaliation for the attitude of the crusade's leader, the papal legate Pelagius, although our Latin Eastern

²³ On the revolts, see Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 61-7, 98-101; 2005a: 18-19).

²⁴ A Greek note in BnF, Paris. Gr. 1588, fol. 238v, see Darrouzès (1951b: 50) and Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 76; Latin Eastern sources in *Annales de Terre Sainte*, 455, 'Estoire de Eracles', 460, and The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §141, pp. 138-9; Arabic sources in *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 56-7, 81, 83, 113 ('al-Namsoun') and *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, 319-22; more sources in Hill (1940-1952: II, 167), Runciman (1951-1954: III, 334), and Edbury (1991: 15-16, 92).

sources for the story probably exaggerate in their effort to denigrate the unpopular Pelagius.²⁵ Limassol was also caught in the middle of the rivalry between Venice and Genoa. In 1258, during the conflict known as the War of Saint Sabas in Acre, 48 Genoese galleys and four naves stopped in Limassol on their way to the Holy Land to assist their nationals in Acre.²⁶

The only serious fighting that must have had a negative impact on the everyday life of the city's population took place during the Civil War of 1229-1233, when Limassol became the theatre of a major political and military confrontation. In his capacity as suzerain of Cyprus, a right deriving from the fact that his father, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, had established Cyprus as a kingdom in 1196, Emperor Frederick II claimed that the regency during the minority of the Cypriot King Henry I (1218-1253) should be his, that the king and his vassals owed him homage, and that the profits from the royal revenues during the minority belonged to him. On his way to the Holy Land on crusade, the emperor arrived in Limassol on 21 July 1228²⁷ with 70 ships and was received by the lord of Beirut John of Ibelin, relative of the king and effective ruler of the kingdom, his kinsmen, and supporters, as well as by the five leaders of the faction that opposed the Ibelins and sided with the emperor. Frederick was lodged in the fine manor that John's brother Philip of Ibelin had built in Limassol, which apparently was available to host guests after its owner's death in 1227/8;²⁸ the lord of Beirut and his friends camped outside Limassol in tents.

Shortly after his arrival, Frederick summoned John of Ibelin to join him at a banquet in Limassol and to bring with him his sons, his supporters, and the young king. The highly dramatic circumstances of the banquet, as described by the Ibelin apologist Philip of Novara, who participated in the events, have immortalised the town as the setting for this spectacular incident: the emperor sent robes of scarlet to those who wore black for the death of Philip of Ibelin, because 'the joy of his coming should be greater to them than the sorrow' for their loss; he made arrangements for the way the Cypriots would be seated so that they could see and hear him when he spoke during the meal, while the two sons of the lord of Beirut and another two young Cypriot lords served before him;

²⁵ 'Ernouf', 429-30 (only variant G mentions 'à un port devant Limeçon'); Oliver Scholasticus, 253; more sources in Hill (1940-1952: II, 87).

²⁶ The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §43, pp. 68-9.

²⁷ 'Amadi', 124, and Bustron, 63, erroneously give 1 June 1228 as the day of the emperor's arrival in Limassol.

²⁸ On the manor, see Grivaud (2008: 360-1) and below.

soon the emperor's soldiers surrounded the Cypriots; Frederick made his demands, but John refused to comply, delivering a fierce speech; the emperor was enraged and made several threats; John had to surrender two of his sons and promise to appear before the High Court of Jerusalem before leaving for Nicosia; and the two sons of the lord of Beirut were put in prison in the tower of the Hospitallers, who supported the emperor and whose tower was apparently the most fortified place in Limassol at the time. Later on Philip presents the lord of Beirut describing the two protagonists of this confrontation as the lion (the emperor) and the stag (himself) from the fable of Renard.

The emperor then sent to Syria for reinforcements who soon joined him in Limassol. The rest of the action and most of the fighting did not take place in Limassol, although the town and especially its harbour served both parties many a time during the Civil War; notably, Genoese galleys hired by the Ibelins against the imperialists arrived in Limassol in 1232. In May 1229 Frederick would return to Limassol on his way back to Europe from Palestine. He stayed about ten days in Cyprus (perhaps in Limassol), where he married King Henry I to Alice of Montferrat and handed over the kingdom's administration to his group of supporters, before embarking again from Limassol for the West. The fleet carrying Frederick's marshal to the East, Richard Filangieri, with an impressive number of soldiers stopped off the coast of Limassol (probably at Cape Gata, 'Gavata' in Philip's memoirs) on its way to Palestine in 1231, but after learning that the anti-imperialist Ibelin party (under the leadership of John's son Balian) held Limassol, it sailed straight for Beirut.²⁹

It would seem that the events surrounding the Civil War affected the fief ownership in the district of Limassol, as indeed was the case in the entire kingdom. The Cistercians finally managed to secure Pyrgos from the family of one of Frederick's supporters, William of Rivet. The otherwise unknown Lord Manassier's surrender of the fief of Limnati ('Limniate') to the king, who had granted it to him, and the same lord's subsequent petition for the fief's return, a demand that the Cypriot High Court rejected, is used as a case study by Philip of Novara in his legal treatise. Although the name of the king is not specified, since Manassier had left for the West and then asked the king for the fief back, and John I of Beirut gave his opinion when the case was discussed at the High Court, the petition for Limnati's return dates to the period between Henry I's coming

²⁹ For these events, see Philip of Novara, *Guerra*, §§30-4, 43, 56, 62, 90, 103, 112, 132, pp. 82-97, 104-5, 132-3, 146-7, 180-1, 196-7, 206-9, 236-7; cf. 'Amadi', 124ff., Bustron, 63ff., Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 52r-v and *Description*, fols. 20r, 35r, 127v-129r. Generally, Edbury (1991: 48-70).

of age (1232) and John's death (1236). There is no way of knowing how long Manassier had held it nor how long he had been absent, but it is quite possible that it was Henry I himself who made the grant, in which case the time-span between the grant, the surrender, and the petition for return could be a matter of months rather than years. The events strongly suggest that Manassier decided to leave Cyprus to avoid involvement in the Civil War and then tried to recover his land when it ended – that at least would explain the negative attitude he encountered amongst the Cypriot nobility.³⁰

During the thirteenth century and until the fall of the last crusader strongholds in Latin Syria to the Muslims in 1291, Limassol is often mentioned within the context of crusading expeditions intended to defend the remaining Christian possessions on the mainland and to recover lost territory by attacking the main Muslim power, Egypt. Cyprus in general, and particularly Limassol, was soon recognised as a convenient port-of-call for crusaders to take on supplies, regroup, and hold deliberations with the leaders of the Latin East. In 1220, during the Fifth Crusade, a crusader fleet was lying off Limassol when it was attacked by the Muslims. In 1227 the leading barons in the East assembled in Limassol to meet Emperor Frederick II, whose trip to the East, however, was delayed until the following year. In 1237, in a letter to Thibaut of Navarre, a group of prominent people in the East suggested that they meet in Limassol in order to discuss plans for the crusade that he was leading, but their proposal did not materialise. In 1239 Thibaut sailed straight from Aigues-Mortes to Acre, despite the advice of the prelates and nobles in the Latin East to gather and confer in Limassol first. Aside from King Louis IX's crusade, Limassol is not explicitly mentioned during later expeditions, but it most probably served as a stop on other occasions too, such as the crusade of the future King Edward I of England and his followers in 1271.³¹

Louis IX of France's eight-month sojourn in Cyprus (from 17 September 1248 to 30 May 1249), escorted by an impressive armada of ships carrying a great number of soldiers (2,800 knights alone), his wife, and the most important French barons, probably constituted Limassol's most significant contribution to the crusading movement. The souvenir of the French king's presence survived in the people's memory. An

³⁰ John of Ibelin, 621; Philip of Novara, *Livre*, 143-4; Schabel (2000); personal communication with Peter W. Edbury.

³¹ 'Ernoul', 429-30 and Oliver Scholasticus, 253 (for 1220); 'Estoire d'Eracles', 364 (for 1227); Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, I, cols. 1012-13 and 'Estoire d'Eracles', 413-14 (for 1237 and 1239); Thomas Wykes, 244-5 (for 1271); generally Edbury (1991: 74-5) and Forey (1995: 70).

anonymous Greek chronicler recorded it in a manuscript note, which mentions the king's departure from the harbour of Limassol on 30 May 1249.³² Louis probably stayed in Nicosia as the king of Cyprus' guest, although he must have spent time in Limassol too. Jean de Joinville, the royal chronicler who accompanied the French king on his crusade, reports that it was in Limassol that the king, queen, and all the barons received the Empress of Constantinople Maria de Brienne. Louis IX's army, dispersed in various places, suffered many losses due to the climate, change of food and wine, and an epidemic that killed numerous troops and threatened the native population.³³ A portion of the army camped in Limassol 'at a village called Kamevoriak near Limassol', which could be identified with 'Camenoriaqui' (Burnt Stream), an unknown location, perhaps on the Akrotiri Peninsula. In 1865 some tombstones were found in Frangoklissia, a ruined Latin church between Limassol and Polemidia, the French inscriptions of which mentioned a Franciscan and someone connected to the king of France; Camille Enlart identified the site of this church with Louis' camp.³⁴ In the late sixteenth century Étienne de Lusignan says that the Cypriot royal family and barons received the French royal family in Limassol and thence proceeded to Nicosia, where they spent the winter whilst the army stayed in Limassol.³⁵ Although the gathering of heaps of grain and huge barrels of wine began two years before the king's arrival, and provisions were not collected solely from Cyprus, it is hard to imagine how the population of the island managed to provide for the needs of such a huge army: by the time of their departure, estimates raise the number of

³² BnF, Paris. Gr. 1504, fol. 78r, see Darrouzès (1950: 188-9); see also Jean de Joinville, 86-99 and *The Templar of Tyre*, *Cronaca*, §§25-7, pp. 58-61, who dates the king's departure to 20 May; see generally Hill (1940-1952: II, 140-6) and Hambis (1970: 28-9).

³³ For the empress, see Jean de Joinville, 92-3; for human losses, Forey (1995: 72-3).

³⁴ For the camp of the French army, 'apud casale quod dicitur Kamevoriak prope Nicocium' (read 'Nimocium'), see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 64, note 1 (from a charter drawn up there, the text of which is also online: <<http://deeds.library.utoronto.ca/charters/02360528>> (accessed June 2014); for 'Camenoriaqui' in 1367, see *Documents chypriotes*, 79 and note 10, and in the late 1430s-early 1440s, Arbel (1988: 135, note 14) and below; for Polemidia, Enlart (1899: II, 453), followed by the editors of *Lacrimae Cypriae*, nos. 554-5. Despite the phonetic resemblance, the toponym 'Polemidia' derives from the name of a plant rather than from 'πόλεμος' (war); see Menardos (1970: 42).

³⁵ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fols. 52v-53r, *Histoire*, fol. 16v, and *Description*, fols. 129v-130r.

the force drawn together in Limassol to 50,000 people, while Jean de Joinville speaks of some 1,800 vessels.³⁶

As we shall see, the final fall of the Crusader States on the mainland in 1291 affected Limassol more than the thirteenth-century crusades themselves, and for a short time the city became the focus of western crusading activities with the transfer of the headquarters of both the Templars and the Hospitallers to Limassol.

Population and Society

We have very little information concerning the population distribution in the town after the Frankish conquest. Although we know that there had been a significant redistribution of property that affected mostly the Greek upper class, we lack evidence concerning the size of the population of the various ethnic groups or the organisation of space in ethnically segregated or mixed quarters. By analogy to what we know for other cities on the island, we may safely assume that the Greeks constituted the largest population component, followed by the Franks, the Latin traders, and Christian Arabs of a variety of denominations from Syria and Palestine usually collectively known as *Syrians*.³⁷

Most probably the biggest Frankish community after the one in Nicosia settled in Limassol, where the largest Latin community of traders also resided. Unfortunately, the available information is sparse and we possess no concrete evidence that Frankish fiefholders in the district of Limassol lived in the city or on their estates rather than in (or in addition to) the capital. We do know, however, that Philip of Ibelin built a fine manor ('beau maner') in Limassol, which apparently was the finest house in town, since Emperor Frederick II was lodged there in 1228.³⁸ The same Venetian report compiled between 1242 and 1244 that was used in the previous chapter to describe the Venetian community in twelfth-century Limassol also constitutes our main source for the reconstruction of life in the town in the first half of the thirteenth century. As state representative of Venice in the Levant, Marsilio Zorzi not only listed the properties taken away from their rightful owners, the commune of Venice or Venetian individuals, but he also described who was occupying the property in his

³⁶ Jean de Joinville, 86-9 (provisions), 98-9 (number of sail); see generally Hill (1940-1952: II, 142, 144-5) and Forey (1995: 71).

³⁷ Nicolaou-Konnari (2005a: 14-17).

³⁸ On the manor, see Grivaud (2008: 360-1) and above. The *Lignages d'Outremer*, 75, refer to an unidentified lord of Kivides, grandson of Eustache de Neuville, but do not specify where he lived.

day. As Tassos Papacostas explained above, it is probable that the expropriation was the result of the 1192 Frankish settlement and the ensuing confiscations and redistribution of land that Guy of Lusignan carried out, and we have positive evidence for the new owners of some of the Venetian property a decade or two after that.³⁹

At the time the 1242-1244 report was drafted, Venetian properties in the Limassol area were in the hands of the king, the king's daughter,⁴⁰ other communes (Pisans, Genoese, and Provençaux), individuals of various nationalities (Latins, Greeks, and Syrians) and professions (a fisherman and a scribe are mentioned), and the Latin secular and regular clergy (Hospitaliers, Templars, and Cistercians, discussed below). In addition, since the report only involves lost property, the Venetian community may have been larger and maintained possession of a portion of their land and goods in and around Limassol after 1192.

For the city of Limassol itself, the list mentions the churches of St Mark and St George, a church of St John adjacent to St Mark, serving as a baptistry, the archdeacon's house, a large (more than one hundred) but unspecified number of houses, amongst which an 'insula' of twelve houses stands out,⁴¹ an important enough block of buildings to house the Templars, another one big enough for the king to turn it into a 'fontego' (a block of shops and storehouses), many 'curiae' (blocks of houses and shops with a central court), forty-six shops, workshops, a building that housed the treasury, a cemetery, a paupers' hospice, numerous pieces of land and wasteland, orchards, unspecified 'possessions', and baths. This vast property was spread out over both the western and the eastern parts of Limassol, mainly covering the area near the seafront, which included the commercial and the exchange quarters.⁴² The existence of a separate Venetian quarter ('cepto'), which included two 'curiae', is also mentioned,

³⁹ For the date of the report, see Jacoby (1984: 155; 1995: 394-5). For the redistribution of land under Guy, see discussion and sources in Mas Latrie (1861: 43-7), Richard (1997), and Nicolaou-Konnari (2005a: 26-9).

⁴⁰ In 1242-1244 the king was Henry I, who had only one son, Hugh II, born in 1252. So this 'filia de regi' (Marsilio Zorzi, 187.10) must have been one of Henry's sisters, Maria de Brienne or Isabella of Antioch (daughters of Hugh I), or perhaps one of his five aunts (daughters of Aimery); see Collenberg (1979-1980: 97-103) and Papacostas (1999a: 488, note 54).

⁴¹ The number of houses is not always specified, while the number of shops is always given.

⁴² Marsilio Zorzi, 184.9-188.22.

but we have no other indications about its size or the nature of the property; presumably, it consisted mainly of residential area.⁴³

In 1218, the crown granted the Genoese a plot of land in Limassol, on which they were allowed to build houses, and in 1232 they received houses that had previously belonged to a certain ‘Bugaxio de Calcinaria’, a tower situated on the one side on the seafront and on the other side on the commercial street, and an unidentified village in the district of Limassol named ‘Despoyre’ with its population of Greek serfs or *paroikoi*, its cultivated and uncultivated land, vineyards, trees, mills, and ovens. By 1294, when the tower was destroyed in a Venetian raid, they also owned a *loggia* in the town. Private Genoese property that previously belonged to Venetians is attested in Limassol in 1242-1244.⁴⁴ The Pisans – who probably received their first privileges on the island during Guy of Lusignan’s rule – and the Provençaux also owned ex-Venetian property in Limassol: the former a *curia*, a house, and orchards, and the latter houses and shops. The *loggia* of the Pisans was situated next to the royal customs house (*comerc*), that is, near the port.⁴⁵ During King Louis IX’s crusade in the mid-thirteenth century, a growing number of Marseillais merchants visited Cyprus, and the French expedition seems to have caused a sudden increase in trade activity on the island, including Limassol.⁴⁶

The sources do not mention an Armenian community in Limassol after the 1191 conquest, although this does not necessarily mean that it disappeared or declined. On the other hand, the settlement of Franks does not seem to have seriously affected the city’s Greek population. The fact that unspecified Greeks (e.g., ‘quodam Grifone’) held expropriated Venetian property suggests that, even after the Lusignans’ initial confiscations, some Greeks were allowed to hold and even obtain property. In the town of Limassol, the property included land in the area of St Nicholas, land

⁴³ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.5; also see Papadopoulou (1983: 305-6, 316, §8), who gives ‘cepro’. For the meaning of the word, spelled *s(a)eptum* in Classical Latin, see Du Cange (1840-1850: II, 285), who also gives ‘ceptrum’ for Medieval Latin.

⁴⁴ Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 39, 53-4; Philip of Novara, *Guerra*, §90, p. 180; The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §302, pp. 258-9; Marsilio Zorzi, 185.18. See Balard (1995: 259-60) and Otten-Froux (2001: 409 and note 2; 2006: 281-3, 293). Grivaud (1998a: 181) identifies Despoyre with Disporia/Δύσπυροι near Lythrodontas in the district of Nicosia, which could be explained by a confusion between ‘Nimotiensi’ and ‘Nicosiensi’ in the 1232 document, Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 54; Philip of Novara does not specify the district, but ‘Amadi’, p. 167 speaks of ‘un casale chiamato Despoire, al territorio de Limisso’.

⁴⁵ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.23, 187.14-15, 188.15-17; Otten-Froux (2006: 281, 293).

⁴⁶ Jacoby (1995: 396) and Coureas (1996: 71), with sources.

given to a 'Constantino Colocato', and houses granted to a Greek priest. The nature of the property is not specified, but it probably involved *bourgeoisies*, urban grants of property or rights.⁴⁷ Moreover, some Greek landowners in the district of Limassol seem to have paid taxes to the king for alienable property that was registered in the *secrète*, the kingdom's central financial office that administered the revenues of the royal domain and government expenditure. At some time in the late thirteenth century, a certain 'Georgios' from Lefkara, who lived in Nicosia, sold a vineyard in the village that he had inherited from his father to another Greek, Ioannis Sekretikos; the sale was registered in the *secrète*, more vineyards remained in George's possession, and the purchaser bought the land 'in perfect lordship and ownership to sell it, grant it, give it as dowry, exchange it, or do whatever he wants with it', a description that could apply to allodial land.⁴⁸

As in the rest of the island, the *paroikoi*, the Greek serfs, often also called 'vilani Greci',⁴⁹ were under the jurisdiction of their lords, and the seignorial *baillis* on the estates were assisted by Greek jurats, who represented the community but whose competence is not clear. No special body existed for the *francomati*, the Greek free peasants, and the *perpyriarioi*, the Greek burgesses, who came under the jurisdiction of the state tribunals and thus had to go to the Court of Burgesses in Nicosia, like the Frankish burgesses. Late thirteenth-century evidence suggests that royal *baillis* already functioned in Limassol, empowered with police duties in the entire district, judicial power over the serfs, and the collection of urban rents owed to the crown.⁵⁰

Evidence is lacking, but it seems that there must have been very few opportunities for education locally. The scattered information suggests that, as in the other towns of the island, education and literary production were limited within the ecclesiastical circles, Greek and Latin. The presence of Dominican bishops on the throne of the Latin see of Limassol may have occasioned some intellectual activity, since the mendicant orders stressed education. The Dominican Bartholomew of Braganza, bishop of Limassol from 1252 to 1256, an important scholar in his own right, may have been one of the Cypriot connections that induced the great

⁴⁷ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.3-4, 186.28-9, 187.20, 188.7-8, 190.26.

⁴⁸ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, no. 101.

⁴⁹ See indicatively *Cartulary*, no. 83, p. 217 (in 1222) and Marsilio Zorzi, 191.11 (ca. 1242-1244).

⁵⁰ *Procès des Templiers*, II, 223; 'Bans et ordonnances des rois de Chypre', 378. See discussion in *Documents chypriotes*, 65-6 and Edbury (1991: 193-4).

Dominican Thomas Aquinas to compose his treatise *De regno*, dedicated to the king of Cyprus, probably Hugh II (1253-1267).⁵¹

Artistic production, in contrast, albeit reduced, never ceased, and in the late thirteenth century testimonies of Greek patronage reappear and suggest a secure financial situation for part of the Greek population as well as religious and artistic continuity. This is particularly evident in the rural mountainous areas, which were less affected by earthquakes and where life had been less disrupted.⁵² Two important monasteries were founded in the wider Troodos area in the thirteenth century: Trooditissa (traditionally thought to have been founded *ca.* 1200) and the Virgin at Moutoullas (1280). Moreover, a number of churches were built, renovated, and/or decorated: the Panayia Amasgou at Monagri; St George at Chtiri at Ayios Ambrosios; St Philip at Arsos; Zoodochos Pigi in Zoopigi; Archangel Michael at Kato Lefkara (*ca.* 1200).⁵³ Icon and mural painting also point to intensive private Greek patronage. Eight thirteenth-century icons survive from the district of Limassol alone, while the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, built in 1176, was redecorated in the fourteenth century, probably under communal patronage, as the important number of donor portraits and the plural form used in the dedicatory inscription attest.⁵⁴

Economy and Trade

Limassol with its countryside was one of the main districts of the island throughout Lusignan rule. The administrative division of Cyprus included four districts until probably the late fourteenth century and twelve (or eleven, if ones counts Mesaoria together with Famagusta) later on.⁵⁵ Throughout the Frankish period, but particularly until the fall of crusader Acre to the Mamluks in 1291, Limassol participated in the new economic realities that followed the Latin conquest of Cyprus and political and economic developments in Europe and the Near East, serving mainly as a port of export for local agricultural products and as a stopover for pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land. In 1199 King Aimery accepted a proffer of 28,500 white bezants from a certain Peter Muntol in return for the right to

⁵¹ See I.T. Eschmann's introduction to Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship*, xxx, and below on Bartholomew.

⁵² Carr (1995: 241ff.).

⁵³ Papageorghiou (1972); Stylianou and Stylianou (1985: 241, 448); Philotheou (2006: 131, 138-9, 144-5); Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume.

⁵⁴ Sophocleous (1993; 2006); Stylianou and Stylianou (1985: 223-32); Christoforaki (1996: 215).

⁵⁵ Grivaud (1998a: 25-9).

levy commercial taxation in Limassol for a period of two years, an indication of the town's commercial importance.⁵⁶ Still, Limassol never acquired the role of a major emporium in the international carrying trade between Western Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean that Famagusta would assume after the loss of Acre.⁵⁷

On the basis of the extant evidence it is generally accepted that, during the first century of Lusignan rule, the international sea traffic passed mainly along the southern coast of Cyprus, with Limassol being the island's main port and a regular port of call on the way to the Holy Land. Although the island's best naturally provided harbour was in Famagusta on the east coast, there was no problem in using the harbours of Limassol, Paphos, Larnaca, or Kyrenia, given the small vessels of the time, and only after 1291 did Famagusta surpass Limassol and become the main commercial centre. In fact, Limassol possessed only a harbour (a natural anchorage for ships) and not a proper port (a harbour sheltered by man-made moles and provided with marine terminal facilities); in other words, the town was a coastal settlement and not a port city, lacking the artificial protection of breakwaters against strong winds and possessing no defence against attacks and raids. The 1255 *Compasso da navigare* describes Limassol harbour as 'a good roadstead with an adequate depth of water for anchorage of all types of ships', but a fifteenth-century portolan (nautical guide) warns against a shoal in the bay of Limassol.⁵⁸ A Latin Eastern source, however, claims that, during King Louis IX's crusade, only the harbour of Limassol remained unaffected by a great storm that was felt in almost all the seaports of the Holy Land, and the king's brother Count Alphonse of Poitiers found refuge there.⁵⁹

The portolans of the time mention Limassol, situated on the navigation routes linking the West and the Levant, even though it was not necessarily commonly included in this itinerary; an incomplete portolan, compiled *ca.* 1270, does trace an itinerary from Acre to Venice via Limassol, but alternatively it gives a direct sailing from Acre past Cape St Andreas

⁵⁶ Delaville le Roulx (1895: 73-4) (28,500 bezants); *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, I, no. 755a (28,050 bezants). See also Tassos Papacostas' comments in the previous chapter.

⁵⁷ Coureas (2005).

⁵⁸ *Il compasso da navigare*, 127 ('e bono sorgidore e fondo piano'); 'The Portolan Parma Magliabecchi', 331. See Gertwagen (1995: 513-16, 520-2), who stresses the navigation difficulties along the southern Cypriot coast.

⁵⁹ 'Rothelin' *Continuation*, 90.

across the high seas to Crete without anchoring in Cypriot ports.⁶⁰ The overall picture, however, is that of a relatively busy port, which accommodated both transit travellers on their way to the Holy Land and merchants doing business in or from Cyprus and which was also used as a port of call on the maritime routes to the Egyptian and Levantine ports.⁶¹ In view of the lack of a good road network, except for the one linking the main cities, Limassol harbour was also used for cabotage or coastline trade.⁶² In 1211, the traveller Wilbrand of Oldenburg asserted that Limassol possessed ‘a much-visited harbour’⁶³ and, indeed, there are several examples of eminent persons using the harbour of Limassol: the king of Jerusalem Henry of Champagne in 1197; Emperor Frederick II in 1228 and 1229 as well as several Latin Eastern barons during the Civil War, including Philip of Novara – leaving from Limassol for Rome with messages for the pope and the kings of England, France, and Spain – and Richard Filangieri, the emperor’s marshal, in 1231; and King Louis IX of France, his queen, and other great French lords in 1248 and 1249.⁶⁴

The duration of the journey from the West varied depending on weather conditions and could take from as little as three weeks in summer to more than two months in winter. In the summer of 1228 Frederick II took twenty-four days to sail from Brindisi to Limassol, but in 1248 Louis IX was able to come all the way from Aigues-Mortes in the same amount of time.⁶⁵ Similarly, under the best weather conditions the journey from Constantinople would last ten days, while the crossing from Cyprus to Syria could take from only twenty-four hours to one week. In 1191 Richard the Lionheart’s fleet needed five days in bad weather to cross from Rhodes to Limassol and three days in summer weather to sail from Limassol to Acre. In the mid-thirteenth century Louis IX took four days to sail from Limassol to the Egyptian port of Damietta.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *Il compasso da navigare*, 126-8; *Liber de existencia*, 181-2. See Jacoby (2009b: 64, 90).

⁶¹ See generally Gertwagen (1995: 511-15).

⁶² Grivaud (1998a: 19-20).

⁶³ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 29, p. 14 (Cobham), p. 83 (Pringle).

⁶⁴ See respectively *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 178, 179; Philip of Novara, *Guerra*, §§30, 34, 43, 56, 62, 90, 103, pp. 82-3, 96-7, 104-5, 132-3, 146-7, 180-1, 196-7, and ‘Amadi’, 124, 130; ‘*Rothelin*’ *Continuation*, 67-9. More references in *EIE*, nos. 279-328 *passim*.

⁶⁵ See Edbury (1991: 15); cf. Gertwagen (1995: 511-12) on weather conditions.

⁶⁶ For Richard, see *Itinerarium*, 180-2, 188, 205-11; for Louis, Jean de Joinville, 52-3.

The travellers most likely spent a number of days in the town in order to purchase fresh supplies and take on water and probably other necessities, such as wood for cooking on board. Whatever its nature, the accommodation provided must have been around the harbour. The 1242-1244 document discussed above mentions several large houses or blocks of houses that belonged to the Venetians who resided in Limassol before 1192. They could have served as hostels, since they were very conveniently situated near the baths, in the quarter 'next to the sea'.⁶⁷ Due to the nature of this kind of transitory stay, the travellers probably came into contact with only that part of the population of the coastal towns that they had business with, namely the harbour merchants, restaurateurs, hostellers, money-changers, and others with professions of a similar kind. Some travellers also visited ancient sites or went on pilgrimages in the district of Limassol and beyond, although quite a few often claimed to have visited what they knew to be famous sites without actually making the trip, simply repeating earlier stories. In 1211, for example, Wilbrand of Oldenburg claims to have ascended Stavrovouni and visited the small convent on its peak. The monks told him that the Cross of the Good Thief that they possessed was hanging and swinging in the air without any support, but from what he could see he was not convinced. He also reports a story according to which St Helena gave the islanders the cross to help them drive away the demons who would not allow the Cypriots to bury their dead. His confused itinerary on the island, however, suggests that he may not have visited Stavrovouni at all. He lands in Kyrenia, proceeds to Nicosia, and then goes to Limassol. He says little about the town and then returns to Stavrovouni, claiming that this is the highest mountain on the island and that he can see Paphos from the summit. Finally he goes to Famagusta.⁶⁸ Interestingly, the stories of the cross standing in the air without any support and of the earth of Cyprus not keeping down any corpses found their way into Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*, a collection of extraordinary stories from various countries that Gervase never visited (Cyprus included), written between 1209-1214 for the recreation of Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV, and thence into the late medieval encyclopedia *Les merveilles du monde*.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the commercial activities taking place in Limassol and the economic benefits for the population involved could not compare with the boom that Famagusta would experience in the fourteenth century.

⁶⁷ Marsilio Zorzi, 184-5, 188 passim.

⁶⁸ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 29, p. 14 (Cobham), pp. 83-4 (Pringle).

⁶⁹ Gervase of Tilbury, xlvii, pp. 646-9; Van Duzer (2014: 43-4); below.

Evidence suggests that, as long as the Latin states of the Levant provided the merchant cities with safe conditions for trading, interest in promoting business activities in or from Cyprus remained limited. Thus, in the thirteenth century Latin traders in Cyprus operated more in the export of local products and the regional commercial network connecting the island with the Crusader States, Egypt, and Byzantium rather than in long-distance trade. Accordingly, Limassol was mainly involved in short and medium-range commercial exchanges in the framework of this regional trade.⁷⁰ A pre-1291 section of a Venetian manual records similar weight and measure units in use in Limassol and Acre. As David Jacoby observes, this suggests the existence of close trade relations between the two ports and Venetian involvement in this traffic. Acre was probably Limassol's main supplier of both Oriental commodities, such as '*speçarie* or "spices", a medieval generic term for spices proper, aromatics, and dyes, brought from Alexandria', and Western goods, such as oil, grain, and Italian saffron. The same manual mentions grain shipments from Barletta in Apulia to Limassol. After the expulsion of the Genoese from Acre in 1258, the Venetian share in the traffic between this city and Limassol must have increased, and later evidence suggests the continuous presence of Venetian merchants in Limassol.⁷¹

As a result of the international trade conducted from Limassol, money-lending is attested in the surviving sources as a thriving activity in the town in the late thirteenth century, although it must have existed earlier. Naturally, it involved Pisan and Genoese merchants as well as locals, and transactions took place in the business area of the city, presumably near the port, where the royal customs house and the Pisan *loggia* were situated.⁷² Saracen bezants (i.e., bezants of Acre) and gros tournois of France were used in Limassol, probably as a money of account by merchants.⁷³

⁷⁰ Jacoby (1984: 146-7); Gertwagen (1995: 520, 522); Richard (1973: 658). In the second half of the fifteenth century Chalkokondyles, I, 133-4, says that, at the time of the arrival of the Franks, the Venetians had settled in Amathus (= Limassol), whence they conducted their trade with Egypt. See generally Papacostas (1999a: 498).

⁷¹ Equivalent for grain, oil, and spices between the ports in *Zibaldone da Canal*, fol. 33v, line 25 to fol. 34r, line 5, fol. 40v, lines 19-20, and fol. 38v, lines 1-7; grain from Apulia in *ibid.*, fol. 34r, lines 10-14. See Jacoby (2009b: 64-5, whence the quotation, and 89-90) and the previous section of this chapter.

⁷² Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 93-4; Coureas (2002: 31-2).

⁷³ *Zibaldone da Canal*, fol. 34r, lines 25-30; Metcalf (1995: 183-4).

The two most profitable and best-known agricultural products of the Limassol district during the Lusignan and the Venetian periods were wine and sugar. Wine produced in the area of Limassol was considered to be the best on the island. Some travellers associate the quality of Limassol wine with the fact that the wondrous vineyards of Engaddi were located near the city, thus carrying into the Frankish period a myth already attested in Christian exegetical texts of the fifth century or perhaps repeating legends heard from locals. A number of medieval authors and travellers interpret the relevant reference to Engaddi in the *Song of Solomon*, ‘A cluster of cypress (*cypri*) my love is to me, in the vineyards of Engaddi’,⁷⁴ as meaning that Cyprus is the vineyard or the vineyard is in Cyprus. Although the biblical vineyard is near the Dead Sea in Palestine, and ‘cyprus’ most probably refers to an aromatic tree, used perhaps as a support for the vines,⁷⁵ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, Wilhelm of Boldensele, and Ludolf of Sudheim, on the island in 1211, 1334, and 1340 respectively, place it near or in Limassol, the last describing it as ‘the little Engadi’ and mentioning another vineyard with the same name in the district of Paphos, which belonged to the Hospitallers.⁷⁶ The Hospitaller Commandery of Limassol produced wine, the wine of Kilani in particular being excluded from the market, probably thanks to its excellent quality.⁷⁷ The Templar estate of Kellaki was also reputed for producing excellent wine.⁷⁸

Sugar, a luxury product and a lucrative commodity, was mainly produced in the area between Limassol (Kolossi and Episkopi) and Paphos (Kouklia), where the crown, the Hospital, and later the Venetian Corner (or Cornaro) family held large plantations of sugarcane and refineries. Sugar production demanded a warm climate free of frosts, a regular supply of water, wood for the refinement of the agricultural product, and a labour force. The fertile Kolossi plain, watered by the Kouris River and populated with a number of large villages, was ideal. Sugar production on the Hospitaller estate of Kolossi was essential for the order’s finances. The culture of sugar most probably began or was systematised in Kolossi after

⁷⁴ *Canticum Canticorum*, Latin text of the Vulgate, I, 13, *Song of Solomon*, English text according to the Douay Bible, I, 13.

⁷⁵ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 35, note 1 and 212, note 8; Makhairas, *Chronicle*, II, 137; Calvelli (2009: 6-7); Nicolaou-Konnari (2012: 373-4).

⁷⁶ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 29, p. 14 (Cobham), p. 83 (Pringle); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 35, 212-13; *Excerpta Cypria*, 15-16, 19. See Claverie (2005b: I, 326-7).

⁷⁷ Luttrell (1972: 169).

⁷⁸ Claverie (2005b: I, 327).

the Hospitallers lost their plantations in Syria by the end of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹ They recruited their manpower from the estate's *paroikoi*, who owed two to three days' labour a week on their lord's land (the *corvée*), and from slaves. But after 1310 the local population did not profit much from the rich sugar commerce, since most of the revenues from the Kolossi sugar plantations were sent to the order's headquarters on Rhodes.

Other commodities produced in the fertile valleys and plains to the south of the Troodos Massif in the district of Limassol included cereals (mainly wheat and barley), carobs, pulses, olives, and other vegetables. The Hospitaller estates in Limassol were later a source of grain and other products for Rhodes.⁸⁰ The important salt deposits in the salt lake of Akrotiri were a royal monopoly and constituted a resource of major importance, but the salt from the Limassol lake was inferior to that of the Larnaca saltpans and was thus sold at a lower price.⁸¹ In addition, the lake contained fish farms also under royal control. After 1291, the forests of the Troodos Mountains would provide ample timber for the shipyards in Famagusta, especially pine trees, the trunks of which were ideal as masts.⁸²

The Church

When Lord Aimery of Lusignan wrote to Pope Celestine III, probably late in 1195, asking him to arrange the ecclesiastical affairs of Cyprus in accordance with what the pope called its return to unity with the 'Orthodox Mother Church' of Rome, early in 1196 Celestine replied by assigning to Aimery's chancellor, Alan, and nuncio, 'Master B.', archdeacon of Latakia, the task of dealing with the particulars.⁸³ Later that year, disregarding the fourteen or so existing sees occupied by Greek bishops, although probably taking note of their boundaries, the two clerics established Nicosia as the Latin archiepiscopal see, with suffragan bishoprics in 'Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta'. This order, repeated in other early letters, was surely the hierarchy of importance as well, for Alan became archbishop of Nicosia and Master B. received the see of Paphos.⁸⁴ True, an early traveller, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, asserted that Limassol was Nicosia's 'first suffragan see', followed by Paphos and Famagusta,

⁷⁹ See Luttrell (2011: lxxi-xci) with sources and bibliography.

⁸⁰ Luttrell (2011: lxxxv).

⁸¹ Richard (1952: 113); Aristeidou (1979: 26).

⁸² Coureas (2005: 105-15) with mainly later sources.

⁸³ *Cartulary*, no. 2; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.1.

⁸⁴ *Cartulary*, nos. 1, 3-4, 8-9; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.2-3.

but Wilbrand's report is confused and as we have seen one may even doubt his claim that he visited Limassol at all in 1211.⁸⁵ Accordingly, Pope Alexander IV's arrangement for the ecclesiastical affairs of Cyprus, dating from 1260 and known as the *Bulla Cypria*, specified that, to cover the cost of supervisory visitations, the archbishop of Nicosia could exact annually from the Greek clergy of his diocese five payments of up to thirty livres tournois each, while the bishop of Paphos was allowed four payments and the bishops of Limassol and Famagusta three each.⁸⁶

An agreement of 1222 between the local Latin hierarchy and the Frankish regime, later confirmed by the *Bulla Cypria*, reduced the number of Greek bishops to four, to match the number of Latins, and established that each Greek bishop would be subordinate to his Latin counterpart and have his see within the Latin's diocese, but not in the city where the Latin cathedral was situated. Thus the Greek bishop of Lefkara was subordinate to the Latin bishop of Limassol, in whose diocese Lefkara lay.⁸⁷ In the other dioceses, contrary to what many have written, there is no reason to think that any bishop was forced to move from a city to a village, since there were already bishops residing in Solea (Latin diocese of Nicosia), Arsinoe (Paphos), and Karpasia (Famagusta) before the Frankish conquest. Probably the Greek bishops of sees that were not to continue to exist were allowed to stay until their deaths, when their bishoprics would have been suppressed. If any outlived the bishops of Solea, Arsinoe, or Karpasia, they may then have been transferred to the sees that were to continue. In the end they took their titles from their official sees and called themselves 'presidents' of the suppressed Greek sees within the Latin dioceses, so that, for example, we read of 'Gregory, by God's mercy bishop of Arsinoe and president of the city and diocese of Paphos', or 'Sir John, bishop of Karpasia, president of Constantia and Famagusta'.⁸⁸

The Greek see of Lefkara, and probably the Latin diocese of Limassol, combined the old bishoprics of Amathus, Limassol, and Kourion. Unlike Solea, Arsinoe, and Karpasia, we have no evidence that Lefkara had been a separate bishopric before 1222, but it is likely that the bishop of Amathus had made his residence there by that date, if not by 1191, as was suggested in the previous chapter. Again unlike the bishops of Solea, Arsinoe, and Karpasia, who sooner or later chose to make their main residences and churches in Nicosia, Paphos, and Famagusta respectively, the bishop of Lefkara never seems to have bothered to reside permanently

⁸⁵ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 29, p. 14 (Cobham), p. 83 (Pringle).

⁸⁶ *Cartulary*, no. 78; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.25.22.

⁸⁷ *Cartulary*, nos. 83, 95; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. X11.10b, X.25.11.

⁸⁸ For example, Simon, 13, 19; Darrouzès (1956: 58, 60).

in Limassol, preferring the mountain village.⁸⁹ More importantly, after 1260 the bishop of Lefkara continued to style himself, in Greek, ‘the bishop of Amathus and president of Limassol and Kourion’, and the see itself was called the ‘bishopric of Amathus’. In contrast to Arsinoe, Solea, and Karpasia, then, Lefkara was merely the name of a village where the bishop lived.⁹⁰ Accordingly, trying to rationalise the situation in the sixteenth century, Étienne de Lusignan declared that the *Bulla Cypria* transferred the Greek bishop of Limassol to Amathus, but since it was deserted, he went to Lefkara.⁹¹ There were already Greek bishops of both Limassol and Amathus, but there might be truth to the statement that the Greek bishop of Amathus had gone to Lefkara because Amathus was uninhabited.

Thus the agreement of 1222 probably took into consideration the convenient existing practice of the bishop of Amathus living in Lefkara, a safe distance from Limassol. If this hypothesis is correct, then after 1222, if the bishop of Amathus died before the bishop of Kourion or Limassol or both, one of them would have been transferred to Amathus/Lefkara and his old see would have been suppressed. If he died last, his subordinates would have simply elected his successor, which we know to have happened after 1260. The Latin superior was called the ‘bishop of Limassol’ in Greek, and those responsible for the election of the bishop of Amathus gathered in Limassol to do so, choosing a cleric from within the diocese, applying to the Latin superior immediately for confirmation, and having the Greek candidate take the oath of fealty to him, as specified by the *Bulla Cypria*.⁹²

The choice of Limassol as the second suffragan see was no doubt partly geographical, but clearly the town was the most important on the southern coast, already hosting a community of western merchants at the conquest. As in the case of Paphos and Famagusta, however, the charters of the bishop and chapter of Limassol do not survive as they do in the cartulary of Nicosia Cathedral, so we know little of its original endowment. The document from 1242-1244 discussed above at least tells us which former Venetian properties were then in the possession of the

⁸⁹ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 31v. Our information is late, however, and it is possible that the bishop of Lefkara sometimes or even usually resided in Limassol before the Genoese invasion accelerated Limassol’s decay, after which the choice of Lefkara would have been quite understandable.

⁹⁰ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, nos. 88, 92, 94, 97-8, 104.

⁹¹ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 31v.

⁹² *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, nos. 94, 103-4; *Cartulary*, no. 78; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.25.12-13.

Church of Limassol. The grammar of the document is indescribably bad, but it seems to say that the bishopric had received the church of St Mark, the church of St John, which was adjacent to St Mark and served as a baptismal chapel, and the church of St George. The bishopric had a garden with an annual income of fifty bezants, at least ten shops near the sea, on the main street, or elsewhere, more than a dozen houses, some of which were for the archdeacon's use, probably others for the cathedral canons, and finally a paupers' hospice and an empty plot of land. The treasurer of the cathedral also seems to have had a house in town, as did 'George Lobalio *episcopatus*', perhaps the *bailli* of the bishopric. Outside the town the bishopric owned the hamlet of Akrounta just north of Yermasoyia.⁹³ In addition to whatever other property the Church of Limassol was able to obtain by donation or purchase, it also collected the tithes from the residents of the diocese. A document from around 1370 allows us to trace the limits of the Latin diocese of Limassol in the west from Vouni and Kilani in the north to Episkopi and the coast in the south, in the north from Kilani in the west to Sykopetra in the east via Pelendri and Ayios Ioannis, and in the east from Lefkara and Stavrovouni to Mazotos in the south coast; the regions of Anoyira, Avdimou, and Omodos were not included.⁹⁴ This ecclesiastical income tax was notoriously hard to enforce, however, as the long struggle between the Latin bishops and Frankish nobles on Cyprus attests.⁹⁵

The document only deals with former Venetian properties, but the Church of Limassol may also have received via donations of kings or nobles some of the confiscated lands of the Byzantine State, of the patriarchate of Constantinople, or of aristocrats who had some of their property seized by King Richard or who abandoned Cyprus for Constantinople during Isaac Komnenos' reign or in the early years of the Frankish period before 1204. By 1367, at least, it held in addition to Akrounta the nearby hamlet of Phinikaria, Moni to the east of Amathus, and Amathus itself, 'Old Limassol', perhaps after the suppression of the Greek see.⁹⁶ But even if the Church of Limassol initially received only the old Venetian property outlined above, along with the tithes, it may have been sufficient for its meagre needs, with a relatively small flock to care for. There is no reason to think that the local Latin church obtained Greek ecclesiastical property indirectly, certainly not directly, and indeed we have positive evidence that the many properties in the neighbourhood of

⁹³ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.9-22, 187.25-6, 188.1, 188.29-30.

⁹⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 63-4 and the map on p. 71, reproduced below (fig. 1).

⁹⁵ Coureas (1997a: 11-31).

⁹⁶ *Documents chypriotes*, 88.

Limassol owned by the Greek monastery of St Theodosios of Judea were protected by the papacy.⁹⁷ The church of St Mark became the cathedral, since the Venetian document describes the baptismal chapel of St John as ‘next to said Great Church’, which is how cathedrals were usually termed.⁹⁸ The bishops of Limassol probably changed the dedication to the cathedral of Our Lady or the Blessed Virgin Mary, as it is called in much later documents, unless it was replaced for some reason.⁹⁹ So the Church of Limassol already had its cathedral and baptistry, in addition to the church of St George, considerable income in kind from its gardens and in rents from shops and houses, and enough houses to accommodate the cathedral staff.

The bishop of Limassol was assisted by a committee called a chapter, consisting of officers and a number of canons. A document of the mid-fifteenth century relates that ‘the lord bishop said that the Church of Limassol has six canons, a treasurer, an archdeacon, and a cantor’, a description in agreement with an audit of the cathedral staff from 1367.¹⁰⁰ This appears to have been the make-up of the cathedral staff from beginning to end. The visitation exactions mentioned above from the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260 probably reflect the wealth and cathedral staff of each diocese, for papal letters of 1221 inform us that Paphos had eight canons and Famagusta six, both being considered small numbers due to the relative poverty of the churches. Thus Limassol no doubt had six canons at this stage as well, and the agreement of 1222, concluded in far away Famagusta, was signed by no less than five canons of Limassol – Bertrand, Stephen, Adam, Raymond, and Durand – but by only four from Famagusta itself and two each from Nicosia and Paphos. It was also signed by René the archdeacon, Ramuold the cantor, and Robert the treasurer of the cathedral of Limassol.¹⁰¹

The sixth canon may have been Master William, a cleric of King Hugh I. William had obtained a benefice (a living, or post with an income) called an ‘assize’ in the Church of Limassol, but he was not a canon. King Hugh wanted William made a canon, thus increasing his income somewhat but also giving him a stall in the choir and a place in the chapter. In 1217 Pope

⁹⁷ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. c-1, 12; Richard (1986) and the map on p. 75, reproduced below (fig. 2). See also Tassos Papacostas’ chapter in this volume.

⁹⁸ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.15-16.

⁹⁹ Dalla Santa (1898: no. 1 and p. 155, note 1). See also Michalis Olympios’ chapter in this volume.

¹⁰⁰ Dalla Santa (1898: 155, note 1); *Documents chypriotes*, section II (see below).

¹⁰¹ *Cartulary*, no. 95; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.11.11; *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. c-30.

Honorius III wrote to the bishop and chapter of Limassol ordering them to accept William, saying that the extra cost would be little. But the bishop and chapter dragged their feet, asserting that they were waiting for an opening, and Honorius had to repeat his command in 1218. William was probably ultimately successful, for we hear no more about it and soon afterwards another cleric who was ‘assized’ in the Church of Limassol, Roger, complained to Pope Honorius that he had served the cathedral faithfully for fifteen years without obtaining a suitable position, which Roger considered unfair. Honorius agreed and in early 1224 he ordered the bishop and chapter to accommodate Roger.¹⁰² A number of such ‘assized’ – master chaplain, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and acolytes – ran the cathedral as the main Latin parish church of Limassol. As we shall see, including assistants to the canons, in 1367 the cathedral employed five clerics at each of five levels below the chapter and bishop, so if these numbers also remained constant, then the complete clerical staff probably numbered about thirty-five to forty in the early thirteenth century as well.¹⁰³ In addition to various servants and other laymen who performed assorted tasks, the cathedral had scribes for record-keeping and letter-writing in the bishop’s *secrète*, and two are still mentioned in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴

If William was the sixth canon of Limassol in 1222, then we are in the fortunate position of having the names of the entire higher cathedral staff of ten in 1222, except for the bishop, whom we know only by the initial ‘R.’ We have seen that the archdeacon and treasurer are specified as holding former Venetian properties by the early 1240s, and the others probably lived in older Venetian houses as well. The archdeacon was the most important person in the chapter. Archdeacon René, who may be identical to the new Treasurer René mentioned in a letter of 1205, was perhaps still archdeacon in 1239 when Archdeacon ‘R.’ of Limassol was involved in a dispute over various incomes with the bishop. Pope Gregory IX had assigned judges to hear the case, who decided in favor of the archdeacon and then excommunicated the bishop. The bishop claimed that he had appealed the decision to the pope beforehand, so Gregory relaxed the sentence, although the bishop had to pay a security deposit in case he lost his appeal.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. c-7, 16, 53.

¹⁰³ *Documents chypriotes*, 92-94, and below.

¹⁰⁴ Dalla Santa (1898: no. 1).

¹⁰⁵ *Cartulary*, nos. 82, 84; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.6.2; *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. b-25, d-33.

The cantor of Limassol, the leader of singing in choir, was significant enough for the pope to assign him tasks on regional Church business, such as a 1217 dispute between Count Bohemond of Tripoli and two canons of Antioch, 'J.' and 'P.' Pope Honorius told the cantor, probably Ramuold, along with the archbishop and a canon of Nicosia, to protect the Antioch canons from harm. The following day, Honorius gave them another assignment: Canon 'J.' of Antioch had informed the pope that Canon 'A.' of Antioch had secretly stolen the precious stones from a codex of the Gospels belonging to the Church of Antioch, replacing them with useless counterfeit ones. The cantor and his associates were to investigate this and other alleged crimes.¹⁰⁶

As for the treasurer, the bishop of Limassol journeyed to the papal curia in 1234 and complained to Gregory IX that having treasurers in the cathedrals of Cyprus was practically useless and cost too much money. The bishop asked that, upon the death or resignation of a treasurer, two canons be installed in his place, since each treasurer earned one and half times a simple canon's income. Gregory consented, telling Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia to allow the bishop of Limassol to carry out the plan, provided that what he claimed was true and given the agreement of the chapter of Limassol.¹⁰⁷ Either the new arrangement was temporary, or Eustorge contradicted the bishop's claim, or perhaps some other solution was reached, because we still hear of treasurers of Limassol down to the fifteenth century, but in 1304 we are specifically told that Bartholinus had a canonry and the treasury, which were both conferred on Hugh of Carmagnino after Bartholinus gave them up.¹⁰⁸

As one might imagine, the bishop and chapter did not always see eye to eye. At one point after the death or resignation of a bishop, the chapter did not proceed very quickly to elect his replacement. The see was vacant for so long that, in accordance with canon law, the appointment devolved on the pope. In 1252 Pope Innocent IV named the Dominican Bartholomew of Braganza, papal chaplain and penitentiary, as bishop of Limassol. Bartholomew was a master of theology actually teaching in the faculty of theology attached to the papal curia, so he was a man to be reckoned with. Innocent told the chapter and clergy of Limassol to receive, obey, and revere their new bishop. Perhaps because he was a Dominican, not a secular priest, and he clearly favored other Dominicans, Bartholomew was not impressed with the Latin clergy of Limassol. Soon after arriving in his new see, he complained to Pope Innocent that, because the clerics in his

¹⁰⁶ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. c-8, 9.

¹⁰⁷ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. d-18.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, no. p-6; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. L.14; Dalla Santa (1898: 155, note 1).

city and diocese had thus far lived without correction, they had become so insolent that their life and manners were completely unsuitable for members of the clergy. In 1253 the pope gave him the authority to deprive them of their posts in order to force them to live right, asking the help of the government authorities if necessary.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, the canons were living in houses far away from Limassol Cathedral, a fact that made it easy for them to wander about and get into trouble. Innocent gave Bartholomew permission to dispose of cathedral property and income in order to build a cloister and common houses next to the church itself, selling the canons' present houses to help pay for the construction and forcing the canons to comply.¹¹⁰ So in 1253, it appears, some of the formerly Venetian houses that had been given to the Church of Limassol and were spread out in town were exchanged for a more tight arrangement beside the cathedral itself, no doubt with a cloister modelled in part on those to which the Dominican bishop had grown accustomed. The canons themselves continued to live in separate dwellings, even if closer to the cathedral, as suggested by a document drawn up in late 1309 in the Limassol house of Canon Andrew Tartaro, who is mentioned in several notarial documents of the first decade of the fourteenth century.¹¹¹

The bishop was perhaps the most important person in the city (see Appendix for a list of Latin bishops of Limassol). We know little about the early bishops personally, sometimes just an initial, or not even that. 'T.' held the post in 1200, perhaps the same person as in 1196. Fulk, the brother of Eustorge of Montaigu, archbishop of Nicosia (by 1215-1250), from Auvergne, was bishop in 1211, 1215, and 1219. We have seen that 'R.' was bishop in 1220-1222, while it was another 'T.' in 1231 and in 1236, when he was with Eustorge in Acre. We do not know to whom Innocent IV addressed letters in 1246 and 1247, perhaps the 'G.' who was bishop in early 1249.¹¹² It is with Bartholomew that we begin to have a clearer picture.

Just as there were disputes between bishop and chapter, there were also struggles between the bishop of Limassol and his immediate superior, the archbishop of Nicosia. Innocent IV asked Bartholomew to investigate various complaints of the Nicosia chapter against Archbishop Hugh of

¹⁰⁹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. e-59, 69, 77.

¹¹⁰ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. e-78.

¹¹¹ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1304-1305*, nos. 25-7, cf. *idem*, *1296-1299*, nos. 138, 147 and *idem*, *1302*, no. 158.

¹¹² *Papiers du comte L. de Mas-Latrie, V, Chypre, Evêques de Chypre [...]*, BnF, MS NAF 6797, fol. 83; Claverie (2005a: 42, 54-5, 71); *Cartulary*, nos. 50, 100-4; *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. e-12, 19.

Fagiano in 1252, so things were little better in the capital. Perhaps this angered Hugh, because the following year Innocent granted Bartholomew's request to be exempt from Hugh's sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict for three years. By the summer of 1254, however, before the three years were up, Hugh had had his vicars promulgate various sentences of excommunication against his – the archbishop's – subjects, and Innocent had to absolve Bartholomew of any directed at him, confirming the bishop of Limassol's actions while he had been excommunicate.¹¹³

The fact that the next bishop of Limassol was Latin patriarch of Antioch links us to the situation on the mainland. Refugees from Syria and Palestine formed the major portion of the settlers after 1192, but with every important Muslim advance in the Holy Land another wave of refugees arrived in Cyprus, culminating in the flood accompanying the fall of Acre in 1291. At the same time, Cyprus was an important base for the Crusades to Egypt in the first half of the thirteenth century. Contrary to what one might expect, Limassol played an important role both ways, and this affected the ecclesiastical history of the city. It was probably because of the Fifth Crusade that the first major agreement between the clergy and laity was enacted in Limassol in October 1220. Queen Alice, the ten leading nobles, and the chancellor of Cyprus were certainly present, but it was the result of negotiations with the archbishop and bishops, and so it may have been a huge gathering. In 1247 we learn that Archbishop Eustorge and the bishop of Limassol had complained to Pope Innocent IV that various prelates, clerics, and laypeople from the Kingdom of Jerusalem had taken refuge with them because of the Muslim victories. This was proving to be a heavy burden.¹¹⁴

As a result of the advance of the Muslims in Latin Syria, many Latin religious organisations sought refuge in Cyprus, mostly in Nicosia and, after 1291, in Famagusta, but, as Cyprus' main port, Limassol received its share too. King Aimery granted most of 'Pendache' – most probably Pentakomon or Pendas on the lower course of the River Pentaskinos, near Lefkara – to Patriarch Monachus of Jerusalem and the chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem as early as 1201. Religious houses based in Syria founded monasteries and convents in Cyprus, first as daughter houses and then as their main centres. At some time after the Frankish conquest the Cistercian abbey of Belmont in Syria acquired the

¹¹³ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. e-62, 63, 79, 94.

¹¹⁴ *Cartulary*, nos. 82, 84; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.6; *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. e-19.

village of Pyrgos – formerly Venetian property – a few kilometres northeast of Limassol. By 1222, however, a dispute over the village arose between Belmont and one of Queen Alice’s most important vassals, William of Rivet. It was not until 1233 that the matter was settled, and in 1237-1238 the Cistercian Order set about founding an abbey at Pyrgos. Almost immediately the site proved unsuitable, and in 1243-1244 the Cistercians were searching for another location. Around 1251 they purchased from the Franciscans the site of Beaulieu just outside Nicosia and, after a struggle with the archbishop of Nicosia, by 1253 the Cistercians were firmly settled at Beaulieu, where they remained for the next two centuries. Cistercian Beaulieu, which retained the valuable property of Pyrgos, became one of the three most powerful Latin monasteries in Cyprus, along with Premonstratensian Bellapais and Benedictine Stavrovouni.¹¹⁵

According to tradition, Stavrovouni, in the diocese of Limassol, had been a Greek monastery for almost a millenium. When Wilbrand of Oldenburg visited in 1211, he contrasted the life of the monks with that of monks back home, which suggests that Stavrovouni had been Latinised soon after the conquest. Alternatively, the abbot and monks could have gone into exile in Armenia with much of the higher Greek clergy of Cyprus around 1240, as a result of a dispute with Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia. In any case, the monastery was taken over by Benedictines at some point before 1254. In particular, it became a priory of the monastery of St Paul of Antioch. Possibly because of the return of the Greeks after 1250, Bishop Bartholomew asked Pope Innocent IV to secure the position of Prior Henry of the monastery of the Cross in 1254. As the situation worsened in the Principality of Antioch, more monks no doubt fled to Stavrovouni, and they eventually adopted the name of the mother house: the abbey of St Paul of Antioch. In the fourteenth century, as memories faded, the monastery was variously called the abbey ‘of St Paul of Antioch and of the Cross of Cyprus’, ‘the monastery of the Holy Cross of Cyprus’, or even simply ‘the abbey of the Cross’. At that time the abbot was an important figure in Cypriot affairs, often called upon to do papal business. In 1323 Stavrovouni owned the church of St Spiridion in Nicosia,

¹¹⁵ Hubatsch (1955: no. 2); *Cartulary*, no. 68; *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. c-57, d-10, f-22; *Statuta Capitulorum*, II, nos. 173, 189, 263, 284; Marsilio Zorzi, 188.25-8, who also refers ungrammatically to another Cistercian property, ‘sanctus Ieorgius’, and a village with the unintelligible name ‘Auuo Lopistrico de Polipani’; *Documents chypriotes*, 79 gives the tax records for 1367; Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 19r, *Description*, fol. 37r, and *Raccolta*, 158. For Pentakomon, see Grivaud (1998a: 6, 37, 231, 451), who, however, does not cite the different spellings.

probably a possession stemming from its period as a Greek monastery. It also had gardens, a field, and two houses called ‘shops’, all in the capital and with an income of forty gold florins, about 250 bezants at the time.¹¹⁶

We have little information about Greek monasteries between the agreements of 1220-1222 and the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* after 1260. We do not know to what extent they were given a choice between closure (or exile) or obedience to the Latins, and whether all surviving Greek monasteries capitulated. We do know that some did. Rather than go into exile, the monks of St Margaret of Agros sought and received papal protection by 1243. Agros was in the Nicosia diocese, but it possessed the ‘grange’ (*metochion*) of St Mary of Stylos on the Akrotiri Peninsula, a property which was confirmed and protected as well. St Mary of Stylos appears to have prospered, becoming itself a separate monastery by 1360, when it reached an agreement over tithes with Bishop Guy of Limassol, which explains why ‘l’abaye de Lestille’ appears as paying twenty-five bezants in 1367. Greek monasteries in the Limassol diocese were usually exempt from tithes, since they had not paid them before the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which then granted them an exemption on property they had owned before the council that they worked directly.¹¹⁷

We have seen that Bishop Bartholomew was not on the best of terms with the Latin clergy of Limassol or with the archbishop of Nicosia. He also seems to have had money problems, for in 1254 he had to persuade Innocent IV to change his mind and allow him to repay a loan of 400 sterling marks with the income from his bishopric – as long as Bartholomew promised to do a full inventory of the goods of his church and render an account of his expenses. At some point Bartholomew went to Rome on diocesan business, and in 1255 Pope Alexander IV allowed him to borrow another one hundred livres tournois and to repay it with church income and goods. Bartholomew was also given the right to exercise his office and to discipline subordinates *in absentia*, but by the end of the year, probably at his request, Bartholomew was transferred to Vicenza and never had to return to face the troubles of Limassol.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile things continued to deteriorate in Syria. Despite the fact that in late January 1255 Pope Alexander had promised the cathedral

¹¹⁶ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 29, pp. 83-4 (Pringle, with an important correction to previous editions); *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. e-95, III, index s.v. ‘Croix’ for more than 85 references; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. X.38, 40-3, 47-8.

¹¹⁷ *Cartulary*, nos. 107-8; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. X.14-15; *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. e-1, 4; *Acta Innocentii VI*, no. 131; *Documents chypriotes*, 84. See also Tassos Papacostas’ chapter.

¹¹⁸ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. e-89, f-9, 10, 17.

chapters of Cyprus that they would be able to elect their superiors without papal intervention, a year later he did just that, taking advantage of Bartholomew's transfer – which probably delighted the chapter – by giving the administration of the Church of Limassol to Patriarch Opizo dei Fieschi of Antioch. The bellicose incursions of the 'Turks' had laid waste everything outside the city of Antioch and the patriarch's castle of Cursat, so that his income had dropped too low to support him. The pope had earlier promised the patriarch the first vacant diocese in the Principality of Antioch or in the Kingdom of Cyprus, and thus he now received Limassol.¹¹⁹ Over the next seventy-five years the income of the cathedral of Limassol was often assigned to patriarchs of Antioch and, after 1291, of Jerusalem.

Despite some confusion in the accounts of earlier historians, Patriarch Opizo remained in charge of Limassol until 1280, when he resigned the administration of the see. Being patriarch, he probably spent little time in Limassol and cared even less, although in 1257 he did secure exemption from the archbishop of Nicosia's jurisdiction not only for himself but also for the entire diocese of Limassol. We do not hear much about the affairs of the diocese in Opizo's time. In 1257 Canon William of Croso actually traded his place and rights in Limassol Cathedral for the canonry and perks in the cathedral of Brives in France held by Hugh, nephew of Master John of Camezano, a trade that Pope Alexander IV approved. In 1267 we learn that a former archdeacon of Limassol, the 'inconstant Constantine', had been thrown into prison in Sicily. Pope Clement IV instructed that poor Constantine should not die of hunger or cold, but kept safe so his miserable life would be preserved.¹²⁰

Since Opizo had resigned in 1280, Pope Nicholas III proceeded to appoint the papal chaplain Hubert to the post, and once again the chapter of Limassol was unable to elect the bishop. In fact, the first known election of a bishop of Limassol only occurred in the mid-1280s, when after Hubert's death the chapter elected Berard, but since the election was confirmed by an archbishop-elect of Nicosia, Henry of Gibelet, whose own position was in doubt because he had taken part in the forced removal of his predecessor, Archbishop Ranulph, Berard had to appeal to Rome for papal confirmation, which he received 1291, the year of the fall of Acre.¹²¹

Since 1291 is a watershed, we might ask now what ecclesiastical institutions there were in the actual city of Limassol during the first

¹¹⁹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. f-6, 16, 20.

¹²⁰ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, nos. f-25, 26, 30, II, nos. h-5, k-11.

¹²¹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, nos. k-11, n-23, 32.

century of Frankish rule. The cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary was apparently the former Venetian church of St Mark, which existed before 1191. The next chapter will argue that this Latin cathedral is the ancestor of the present Cami Kebir, or Great Mosque, just northeast of Limassol Castle, transformed after 1570 as were the more impressive cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta. The following chapter also describes the transformation of the present Limassol Castle from Gothic church to fortress, but exactly what church it was is not clear. The Venetian church of St George probably survived to become the Latin parish church of that name, but we cannot identify it with any extant structure or known ruins. The cathedral also possessed the adjacent baptistry of St John, also unidentified, while the Pisan community had a parish church dedicated to St Peter, not yet located. The Old Greek Katholiki church, demolished after independence, contained at least one surviving tombstone from the Frankish period, unfortunately without inscription. Also unfortunate is the uncertain provenance of several now lost tombstones that Louis de Mas Latrie saw in the church in the nineteenth century. One dated from 1209 or the 1240s, depending on whether one reads MCCIX or MCCLX..., and belonged to 'Johan le Diaque', probably 'John the Deacon', and another to 'Raouis... chantre', perhaps 'Raoul the cantor' (the Ramuold mentioned above?), surely members of the Latin cathedral staff.¹²²

The date of the arrival of the mendicant orders in Limassol is uncertain. The Franciscans and Dominicans probably established themselves in Nicosia in the 1220s, and by the end of the century the Carmelites and Augustinians followed. The four orders eventually had convents in Famagusta as well, although probably not until after 1291 in the case of the Franciscans and Dominicans, certainly not for the other two orders. The first evidence for the Dominicans in Limassol comes with the Dominican Bishop Bartholomew, who in 1253 received from Pope Innocent IV the right to absolve from sentences of excommunication or give dispensations to his Dominican associates who went astray because of 'human frailty'.¹²³ It is possible, but unlikely, that there was a Dominican convent in the town at the time, but it is not mentioned in a catalogue of Dominican convents dated 1277.¹²⁴

As for the Franciscans, St Francis himself probably passed through Limassol in 1219 or 1220, or perhaps both, in the course of the Fifth

¹²² *Lacrimae Cypriae*, nos. 289, 664-8.

¹²³ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, no. e-69.

¹²⁴ Coureas (1997a: 213).

Crusade. A medieval text records that the following incident occurred during Francis' visit:

It happened in Cyprus in Limassol, a certain city, that on one occasion in front of a noble citizen of that city a certain friar named Barbaro said to another friar something that made him upset. On account of this Friar Barbaro immediately picked up some donkey shit that he found in front of him, and he put it in his mouth and, while he chewed it vigorously, he said: 'The mouth that has said something that made my brother upset should suffer punishment and shame'. The said noble was so struck by this that from then on he offered himself and his possessions to the friars, at their pleasure and command.¹²⁵

While there is no evidence that a Franciscan convent was founded in Limassol in Francis' day, one may have been established there around mid-century. The Louvre and the Musée de Cluny in Paris contain some tombstones found in 1865 in Frangoklissia between Limassol and Polemidia and taken to France the following year. Along with French inscriptions of 1294, 1304, and 1315, one finds the tombstones of a Franciscan and of someone connected to the king of France. During his crusade King Louis IX of France established a Franciscan convent in Damiatta, Egypt, in 1249, so a similar foundation in *ca.* 1248 close to his camp near Limassol is not impossible.¹²⁶

1291 marks the beginning of the brief Golden Age of Limassol, when the town was perhaps more important internationally than ever before or after. With the fall of Acre the military orders moved their headquarters to Cyprus, not to Famagusta or Nicosia, but to Limassol. The Templars and the Hospitallers had already been present in the town practically from the time of the conquest.¹²⁷ The Templars, who possessed the entire island for some months in 1191-1192, early on held a number of former Venetian properties in town, including their convent itself, two gardens just outside of town to the east, another garden in the western part of town, some houses on the sea in the eastern part, houses situated 'a la becaria' or 'a

¹²⁵ Golubovich, III, 279.

¹²⁶ *Lacrimae Cypriae*, nos. 551-2, 554-61; Golubovich, I, 228.

¹²⁷ For the Cypriot estates of the two orders from later sources, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 108-10, III, 501-3; Mas Latrie, 'Documents nouveaux', 568-72; Bustron, 170-1, 246-7. Generally: Hill (1940-1952: II, 30-1); Riley-Smith (1967: 505); Luttrell (1972: 169-71; 1986: 156, 164; 1995b: 733-7); Coureas (1997a: 123-4, 142, 156-8, 162-3, 171-2); Edbury (1978: 175; 1991: 77-8, 95-6, 112; 1994: 191-3; 1995b: 345); Claverie (2005b: I, 319-31); Vaivre and Plagnieux (2006: 406-22).

laberaria', and additional possessions. The Templars also owned much of Yermasoyia, including houses, fields, gardens, two mills, and two vineyards. Finally, they had a farm next to Phasouri to the west of the town.¹²⁸ At some point they also obtained Khirokitia not far to the northeast of Limassol, where they built a structure of which a ruined vaulted hall still remains. The Templar properties in Limassol, Khirokitia, and Yermasoyia were at most only slightly fortified, for King Hugh III encountered no difficulty in confiscating the Templar properties and destroying their fortified house in Limassol in 1279 in retaliation for their master's supporting his rival Charles of Anjou for the throne of Jerusalem. It seems that the crown withheld their property until the reconciliation of 1285, when the Templars may have rebuilt their house.¹²⁹

The Hospitallers were not so well endowed in town, although they had a strong tower near the harbour that could be used as a prison.¹³⁰ They possessed more outside the city. They obtained these properties quite soon after the Frankish conquest, because already in early 1203 the papal legate, Patriarch Soffred of Jerusalem, had to settle a long dispute over tithes between Bishop T. and the Church of Limassol, on the one hand, and the Hospitallers, on the other. From then on the Hospitallers were to pay the Church of Limassol 120 saracen bezants in Limassol each year on the feast of St Michael, 'only on the lands that they possess at present in the episcopate of Limassol'.¹³¹ According to a still-unpublished document of 1230, however, Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem had to arbitrate again between the two sides, this time represented by another Bishop T. and his chapter and Grand Master Bertrand de Thessy, and the same arrangement of annual payments of 120 saracen bezants was decided as before.¹³²

According to the 1242-1244 document enumerating former Venetian territories, in Limassol proper the Hospitallers had a garden with palm trees that lay 'in magistro', a house in the eastern section, as well as other houses elsewhere, and outside Limassol they possessed the villages of Monagroulli to the east and Trakhoni just to the west, with four farms nearby, two farms in the village of Kellaki further out to the northwest,

¹²⁸ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.23-8, 187.1-2, 187.16-19, 189.1-9, 190.3-4.

¹²⁹ For fortified possessions, see Bustron, 24, Luttrell (1972: 169-70), and Edbury (1991: 78); for 1279, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 108, 131, *Annales de Terre Sainte*, 456, 457, The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §165, pp. 150-1, Sanudo, *Liber*, II, 228, Martène and Durand, *Veterum*, II, col. 1300; 'Amadi', 214, and Bustron, 116.

¹³⁰ Philip of Novara, *Guerra*, §34, p. 96; 'Amadi', 130; Bustron, 69.

¹³¹ *Cartulaire*, no. 1176 (Acre, 7 May 1203).

¹³² *Cartulaire*, no. 1959 (13 May 1230).

and a garden in an unspecified place.¹³³ We have confirmation that much of this property and more had been obtained decades before 1240, for in a charter of September of 1210 King Hugh I grants in alms to Grand Master Garin of Montaigu and the Hospitallers, in addition to estates in Paphos like 'Platanistias' and 'Finica', which the order would retain for centuries, and also property in Nicosia, the '*prastia* of *Monagrole*, situated in the territory of Limassol, along with all the land that Hardouin held and had there', with all the normal 'appurtenances and rights in lands, waters, serfs, *chevagiis* and *dimos*, mountains and plains, cultivated and uncultivated'. Monagroulli had once been the property of the Venetian Vivianus Bonus, and Hardouin had probably been granted the property soon after the conquest. Likewise, King Hugh granted them 'houses and squares in Limassol' and a 'garden abutting the house of Guishon Span and the house of Gerard de Maske [on one side], and on the other side the baths'. These also were probably the urban Venetian possessions mentioned above, but, again, already by 1210 they had passed through the hands of apparently Greek owners, a certain 'Lambite Sabastos and his sister' (perhaps 'Olympites Sevastos', Sevastos being either a family name or a Byzantine honorific title) and then of the king, having no doubt been taken over from the Venetians Vitale Bertram, Giovanni Michele, and Dadomo Martinazo soon after 1192.¹³⁴

In the same document the king grants the Hospitaller Order their most famous property near Limassol: Kolossi. A little earlier, King Hugh I had given Kolossi to a certain Garin of Colos, and Garin apparently willingly agreed with and consented to Hugh's donation of the village to the order with all the rights and appurtenances mentioned above. Kolossi would become very important following the Hospitallers' move to Limassol in 1291.¹³⁵ Finally, in 1269 King Hugh III granted Grand Master Hugh Revel and the Hospitallers the village of 'Notre-Dame des Combos' in the territory of Limassol, with the usual rights and appurtenances.¹³⁶

The Teutonic Knights never had that kind of presence on the island, but King Aimery did give them property in the Limassol diocese before March of 1201, namely the farm of St George near Lefkara, possibly Kato

¹³³ Marsilio Zorzi, 185.1-2, 186.22-3, 188.2-3, 188.23-4, 189.11-13, 189.15-16, 190.5-9, 190.12-13.

¹³⁴ *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, I, nos. 790, 844; *Cartulaire*, nos. 1176, 1354; Marsilio Zorzi, 185.1-2, 186.22-3, 188.2-3, 188.23-4.

¹³⁵ *Cartulaire*, no. 1354; Luttrell (1972: 170; 1995a: 125); The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §437, pp. 326-7; Bustron, 25.

¹³⁶ *Cartulaire*, no. 3371 (November 1269, Acre).

Drys.¹³⁷ A charter of Aimery's son Hugh I, dated September 1217 and recorded in Limassol itself in the presence of the leading nobles, confirmed the right of the Teutonic Order to exact a certain amount of wine, corn, and barley from the royal estate of Lefkara, the initial gift probably dating back to Aimery's time.¹³⁸

2. From the Fall of Acre to the Genoese Invasion: 1291-1374

The first century of Frankish Limassol saw its share of glory. Among the visitors to the city were some of the most illustrious leaders of the Middle Ages: King Richard I of England, the Lionheart; Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, the 'Wonder of the World'; and King Louis IX of France, St Louis. The most beloved man of the era also passed through: St Francis of Assisi. A host of other notables spent time in the southern port city in the course of the Third and Fifth Crusades and those of Frederick and Louis. Yet this was not Limassol's finest, or at least most famous, hour. Rather this came with the influx of refugees from Syria, mainly Italian merchants and the Knights Templar and Hospitaller.¹³⁹ For a short time that could be described as the town's golden age, the military orders actually established their headquarters in the city, making it a centre of world power. In the space of a few years, however, this changed radically with the relocation of the Hospitallers' central convent to Rhodes in 1310 and the persecution and dissolution of the Order of the Templars in 1307-1312. As a result, Limassol lost many of its noble residents and much of its prestige. Moreover, while its economic importance for the export of Cypriot products continued, it was like an industrial town of the twentieth century after the corporate headquarters had been moved elsewhere, in this case to Famagusta. There followed a period of relative tranquillity, marked by the outbreak of the great plague, known as the Black Death, in 1348, until the Genoese invasion of 1373.

The Golden Age of Limassol as an International Centre: 1291-*ca.* 1310

Having retreated to Cyprus after the fall of Acre, the Hospitallers under Master John de Villers determined at their General Chapter of 1292 that Limassol would be their new headquarters. Pope Celestine V approved the

¹³⁷ Hubatsch (1955: 304, no. 2).

¹³⁸ Hubatsch (1955: no. 6). See generally Houben (2008: 151-2, 153-4).

¹³⁹ On the Hospitallers and Templars in Limassol, see now Burgtorf (2008: 129-76, esp. 129-40).

decision and the order set about adding to their already extensive holdings in Limassol and the surroundings, notably Kolossi, and by 1303 they had built a new ‘palais des malades’, a hospital for the poor and infirm, in Limassol itself.¹⁴⁰ Although it has been suggested that this construction may never have taken place, or was only begun in 1297, this seems to stem from misreadings of the letter of Pope Boniface VIII, dated 31 January 1297, from which we have our information. Boniface states that the Hospitallers had told him that while they were based in Acre they were allowed to seek and receive alms to take care of the pilgrims who came to the Hospital, but that after the fall of Acre the secular and regular clergy in Europe refused them this privilege since the Hospitallers no longer had pilgrims to maintain: ‘Once the cause ceases, so does the effect’. The pope replied that the privilege should be restored:

Since they have exposed themselves [to danger] for the defence of the Kingdom of Cyprus and they have attacked the enemies of the orthodox faith [...] and in the city of Limassol, which is included within the confines of the kingdom, they have constructed anew a certain hospital for the recuperation and sustenance of the sick and the poor, a work that is not a little expensive.¹⁴¹

In Jerusalem the ancestor of this hospital held as many as 900 people at any one time, although the one at Acre was less illustrious. No doubt the Limassol pilgrims’ hospital was much smaller, but it was probably still a major undertaking and statutes of around 1300 refer to the hospital, inmates, doctors, and surgeons. This hospital was separate from the Hospitallers’ own infirmary, where the doctors had to swear before the person in charge (‘infirmarius’) and a member of each of the seven ‘tongues’ or nations that they would make sure the necessary medical supplies were always on hand.¹⁴²

We are not well informed about the convent where the Hospitallers themselves stayed, the ‘palais’ or ‘Ospital des Saiens’. Besides the infirmary just mentioned, it had many of the amenities of its Jerusalem and Acre counterparts, with some individual chambers, a dormitory, refectory,

¹⁴⁰ *Cartulaire*, nos. 4336, 4515, §6, no. 4672, §§1-4 (documents dated 1297, 1300, 1304); Coureas (2001: 42-3; 2006: 134-5); Luttrell (2003: 74, 99, 267); Mitchell (2004: 83). The Hospitaller statutes passed in Limassol are translated in *Rule, Statutes and Customs*, 92-138.

¹⁴¹ *Cartulaire*, no. 4336.

¹⁴² *Cartulaire*, no. 4515 (5-11-1300), §§5, 18, no. 4672 (23-11-1304), §§1, 4, 11; secondary literature below.

church or chapel, lavatories, treasury, arsenal, archive, kitchen, stores, granary, cellar, etc. The wheat and other grain from the order's estates was to be brought to the commander of Limassol to be deposited in the granary in October, the wine in the cellar in November – except for the wine of Kellaki ('Quillac' – not Kilani, as has been claimed), which was to be kept apparently for consumption by the members of the order. Since the order had some galleys and other ships in Cyprus by 1299 and in 1300 took part in a combined Hospitaller-Templar-crown expedition of sixteen ships to raid the Egyptian and Syrian coasts, they must have had supporting structures in the port as well.¹⁴³

We know much about the Hospitallers' daily routine, but without specific examples. The statutes often concern restrictions on clothing and footwear – so important in medieval society and legislation – food and diet, with instructions on Masses and readings in church, confessions, burials, processions, possessions, and inheritance. The Hospitallers were prohibited from seeing women, going to the baths except under certain circumstances, having their clothing made in town without the drapier's consent, carrying crosses bigger than one palm, bearing certain arms in town, and revealing 'the secrets of the council of the house to seculars or other religious persons', a reminder that all orders protected their secrets, not just the Templars.¹⁴⁴

One of our few specific windows into the topography and everyday life of the order, and indeed of Limassol in general in this period, comes from a letter of 21 May 1304 that Pope Benedict XI addressed to Bishop Peter Erlant of Limassol. The letter is in support of the master and knights Hospitaller, who made it known to the pope that their headquarters and convent in Limassol, where the brothers were living, was surrounded by public ways, except for one corner in which there was an oratory or chapel of the Greeks, such that entering the streets or their convent from that corner was very inconvenient. For that reason the corner was known to be very useful to them, but the Greeks did not wish to make another

¹⁴³ *Cartulaire*, nos. 4194 (6-10-1292, Limassol), 4462 (end May/June 1299, Limassol), 4515 (5-11-1300), §§4, 13, no. 4672 (23-11-1304), §8; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 90, who corrects 'Quillac ou Quillae' in the manuscripts to 'Quilane'; Riley-Smith (1967: 198, 248, 309, 330, 332, 337); Luttrell (1972: 163; 1994: 68); Coureas (1997a: 132); Burgtorf (2008: 131-2).

¹⁴⁴ *Cartulaire*, no. 4194 (6-10-1292), §1, no. 4234 (20-10-1293), §1, no. 4259 (30-9-1294), §6, no. 4295 (12-9-1295), §1, no. 4515 (5-11-1300), §§1, 6, 7, 17-19, 21-3, no. 4549 (22-10-1301), §§1, 4, 6, 17, 19, 21, 23-4, no. 4574 (28-10-1302), §§1, 3, 12-13, 18, no. 4612 (3-11-1303), §§1-2, no. 4672 (23-11-1304), §§1-3, 5-7, no. 4703 (3-11-1305).

arrangement concerning their oratory or chapel. The Hospitallers asked the pope to provide a solution so that they could obtain the corner. Benedict responded favourably, ordering the bishop to force the Greeks to grant the oratory or chapel to the Hospitallers in exchange for something of suitable value or with some other legitimate contract.¹⁴⁵

The number of Hospitallers in Limassol must have been substantial. In 1292 the Hospital decided to maintain, in addition to ten sergeants, forty brother knights on the island, each with two mounts, a squire, and a valet, a total of 130 military personnel. The Limassol General Chapter of 1301 stipulated that there would be seventy brother knights, making eighty soldiers, 220 people involved in war. This has been understood to be a ceiling on the number of Hospitallers, but the rubric refers to the ‘quantity of brothers that must reside’ there, and the modification to the rule made in the General Chapter of 1302 also suggests that eighty was rather the minimum, which would make more sense:

It is established that on this side of the sea [i.e., in Cyprus, specified below] eighty brothers in arms shall reside who shall be divided among the tongues and held in common, namely fifteen brothers in arms from the tongue of Provence, fifteen brothers from the tongue of France, fourteen from the tongue of Spain, thirteen from the tongue of Italy, eleven from the tongue of Auvergne, seven from the tongue of Germany, five from the tongue of England, *and as many more who might come*. And whichever does not have brother knights can have in their place brother sergeants until the aforesaid quantity is filled, of whom sixty-five shall be brother knights and fifteen sergeants at arms.¹⁴⁶

The statute, both in French and Latin, seems to indicate that at least eighty armed Hospitallers had to reside in Cyprus, at least sixty-five of them knights, but there could be more than eighty and sixty-five. If this is the minimum, it is possible that one hundred or more were present in Limassol at times. Moreover, since the above estimate of 220 people includes only sergeants, full brothers of the order, and their assistants, the actual number of people attached to the Limassol convent in some capacity was much higher. A dozen or so priests and other clerics took care of the order’s convent in Acre in 1263, and Limassol may have had about the same after 1291. In addition to the high officials of the order – the master, preceptor, marshal, *hospitalarius*, drapier, and treasurer – Jonathan Riley-Smith also

¹⁴⁵ *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, p-7.

¹⁴⁶ *Cartulaire*, no. 4549 (22-10-1301), §5 (only in French), no. 4574 (28-10-1302), §14.

lists the following: ‘scribes, public notaries, advocates, doctors, chamberlains, chamber pages, grooms, scutifers, pack drivers, cooks, kitchen boys, butlers, barbers, farriers, footmen and mercenaries’. There were even scholars, such as the great historian of the order, William of San Stefano, on Cyprus in 1296-1303, gathering materials from the archives. Simon le Rat, Hospitaller commander of Cyprus for much of this period, was something of a patron of letters.¹⁴⁷

The master of the order alone had a huge retinue, more than twenty horses and over forty people, and other officers had smaller households. Knights coming to Cyprus were to bring three horses each, or be seized and sent back, but in 1302 it was established that, unless there were extra horses available and with the exception of high-ranking knights and Ancients (those who had been brethren for more than twenty years or were over sixty years old and had held office in the Order) who could have additional mounts, each knight in Cyprus would be given two horses and two squires to care for his mounts and armour as opposed to four horses in 1206, three in 1293, and three again in 1303. The convent’s five *baillis* were to have three horses each, but at the master’s discretion the grand commander, marshal, and commander of Cyprus could have more. When travelling, however, the grand commander was not to have more than eighteen horses with him. All told, the Limassol convent must have accommodated well over 200 horses and some 300 men, counting the Hospitallers and their attendants. But this number does not include the sailors and men at arms that the admiral kept in his employ for the galleys and other armed ships, although the marshal’s lieutenant was in charge of them on land. We must also count the turcopolos (mounted archers) – under the command of the convent’s turcopolier – and other mercenaries, although we do not know if the number of paid troops approached the many hundreds formerly employed in Syria. If it is any indication, in 1310, after they had moved to Rhodes, the Hospitallers were able to send 200 footsoldiers to Cyprus accompanying eighty knights and twenty pages. Jochen Burgtorf estimates the total number of people attached in some way to the Limassol convent at over 400 and perhaps 500 or more. Since the various ‘tongues’ of the order mentioned above were obliged to send knights, the Hospitaller house in Limassol would have contributed an extraordinarily international element to the city.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ *Cartulaire*, no. 4735 (23-11-1306); Riley-Smith (1967: 273); Luttrell (1972: 162; 1995b: 739-40; 2003: 72; 2011: xlv, lxxi, lxxiii); Grivaud (2005: 228-9, 270-1); Burgtorf (2008: 139).

¹⁴⁸ *Cartulaire*, no. 4194 (6-10-1291), §3, no. 4234 (20-10-1293), §5, no. 4259 (30-9-1294), §1, no. 4515 (5-11-1300), §§10-11, 13-15, no. 4574 (28-10-1302), §§4,

The General Chapter meetings of the Hospitaller Order in Limassol were special events in themselves, since they constituted much larger gatherings than the knights and sergeants resident in Limassol. Formerly they had been held at irregular intervals, every four or five years after 1268, but they occurred more frequently after the October 1292 meeting in Limassol. General Chapters are recorded in Limassol for 1293 with Master John de Villiers presiding again, then, after his death, in 1294 and 1295 under Master Eudes de Pins. When Eudes died in March 1296, the order held a General Chapter in Limassol a few days later and elected William de Villaret. William, however, preferred to live in the West, holding the next General Chapter in 1297 in Provence. His wish to continue this practice caused a rift within the order, and in the end William was forced to come to Cyprus to preside over the 1300 General Chapter in Limassol, where the order established that the master and convent would reside on Cyprus and each General Chapter from then on would be held on the island, until they regained land in Syria. The order met again in Limassol every year from 1301 to 1306, the last two meetings being after William's death under his nephew Master Fulk de Villaret. Except for the March 1296 meeting to elect William and the one in 1295, which opened on 12 September, all Limassol General Chapters began in the autumn. The opening ceremony would include a Mass, the ringing of bells, a procession, a sermon, and a reading of the rule of the order, followed by the grand master's official inauguration. In 1300 the duration of the General Chapter, dealing with various items of the order's business, was limited to ten days, but in 1304 the grand master was given the right to extend this another eight days when necessary, for a total of a maximum eighteen.¹⁴⁹

Owing to the dissolution of the order and the loss of its archives, the Knights Templar are harder to trace in Limassol. Limassol was their military headquarters, but they may have had more men dispersed on their estates than the Hospitallers, given that King Hugh III had destroyed their convent in 1279. Moreover, Nicosia seems to have been more important to the Templars than to the Hospitallers, for the order's General Chapter met

14, no. 4612 (3-11-1303), §5; 'Amadi', 256; Bustron, 141; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 89-91; Riley-Smith (1967: 200, 235, 240, 272-3, 278, 284, 314-15, 319, 322, 324-8, 330); Burgtorf (2008: 139).

¹⁴⁹ *Cartulaire*, nos. 4194 (6-10-1292), 4234 (20-10-1293), 4259 (30-9-1294), 4295 (12-9-1295), 4461-3 (end May/June 1299), 4515 (5-11-1300), esp. §§8, 12, nos. 4549-50 (22-10-1301), 4574 (28-10-1302), 4612 (3-11-1303), 4672 (23-11-1304), esp. §16, nos. 4703 (3-11-1305), 4734 (23-11-1306); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 89-91; Delaville Le Roux (1904: 315-7 and notes); Riley-Smith (1967: 205-9, 229).

there in 1291, and 400 knights were supposedly present, including Master James de Molay.¹⁵⁰ James de Molay issued a charter from Nicosia in April 1292, and he and other high-ranking Templars are attested as being in the capital on various occasions. A number of documents were drawn up at the Templar house in Famagusta as well.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, a good part of the Nicosia charters and all of these Famagusta *instrumenta* survive by chance in Barcelona and in Genoa respectively, and they certainly present an inflated view of the importance of the Templars' establishments in those cities. In contrast, for Limassol, for which material survives more because of its importance, James de Molay issued documents from the city in the fall of 1299, the summer and fall of 1300, the spring of 1301, early 1305, and the spring of 1306, and leading Templars did the same in the fall of 1306 and the spring of 1307. James de Molay himself is mentioned as being in Limassol around the beginning of 1307.¹⁵² Indeed, a couple of charters issued in Famagusta mention Limassol anyway as a port of call for Templar trading ventures.¹⁵³ Probably, then, Limassol was almost as important to the Templars as it was to the Hospitallers.

We learn from the Templar trial records that more than 120 Templars, including James de Molay, attended the ceremony of the reception of an Italian into the order at their Limassol convent in 1304. In 1308, during the persecution of the Templars, Florio Bustron refers to 118 knights, whereas 'Amadi' reports that, in addition to the marshal, the commander of Cyprus, the drapier, one knight for every tongue, the treasurer, and two sergeants, i.e., the dozen or so who were then swearing oaths in Nicosia, the order had eighty-three knights and thirty-five sergeants in Cyprus, making a total of over ninety knights and thirty-seven sergeants. At least seventy-six Templars were arrested all over Cyprus and appeared at the hearings, of whom forty-two knights, thirty-two sergeants, and two priests, but since Master James de Molay had been arrested while visiting Paris with his retinue at the time, the number of Templar knights on Cyprus before his departure was probably around one hundred, suggesting that the number of those resident permanently in Limassol matched that of the Hospitallers. In 1293 the Templars had two galleys protecting Cyprus and outfitted four more, although they may not all have been stationed at Limassol. Besides knights, sergeants, priests to celebrate Mass in the Templar church of

¹⁵⁰ Coureas (1997a: 129, 131); Burgtorf (2008: 133-6) discusses the importance of Nicosia vs. Limassol.

¹⁵¹ Claverie (2005b: III, nos. 208, 416).

¹⁵² Claverie (2005b: III, nos. 216, 684, 692, 694, 696, 702, 705, 707, 710).

¹⁵³ Claverie (2005b: III, nos. 214, 218); Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1299-1300*, no. 74; see also *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 427.

Limassol, and many of the officers and servants that the Hospitallers also had, we know that the Templars had a turcopolier for light-armed troops. During the Templar occupation of the island of Ruad off Tortosa in Syria in 1300-1302, the order reportedly left 120 knights, 500 archers, and 400 servants to defend the place. If these numbers reflect normal proportions, then the Limassol headquarters of the Templars, like that of the Hospitallers, may have employed 500 men. Accordingly, when their Limassol headquarters were inventoried following their arrest, the Templars were found to have stored there 930 cuirasses or breast plates, 970 crossbows, 640 helmets of iron, and 'a great quantity' of other arms and equipment. As Peter W. Edbury suggests, that this quantity of arms and armour was in Limassol implies that most of the members of the order were stationed in the city and not scattered on their rural estates or in the capital.¹⁵⁴

The records of the Templar trial on Cyprus provide only a few details about their headquarters, sometimes called a 'palace', which must have contained many of the same rooms and quarters that the Hospitaller convent had. As with the Hospitallers, the Knights Templar in Limassol hailed from all over Western Christendom, including Portugal, Castile, Aragon, England, Germany, and all parts of Italy, but the bulk originated from all areas of France and Provence. Two were natives to Latin Syria, and others had at least served in the Morea and Hungary. The one significant detail we get about their Limassol convent concerns its hospitality. One witness, John Babin, a knight from a noble Cypriot family, stayed with the Templars at the convent for seven months, eating with them and attending Mass. Other witnesses attested to their church attendance and devotion, in one case going barefoot and without capes on Good Friday.¹⁵⁵ Article 93 of the charges against the Templars was that 'the charitable gifts in the said order were not made as they ought, nor was hospitality offered'.¹⁵⁶ It is in answering this charge that the Templars mention the Limassol convent specifically, saying that, although the Templars were not actually obliged to give hospitality, they did so anyway. Alms were given to the poor three days a week, a tenth of the bread baked at the Limassol convent being dispensed from their chapel. Sometimes the alms included meat, dishes of food, leftovers, wine,

¹⁵⁴ 'Amadi', 239, 285-6, 288-90; Bustron, 167; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 16, 17, 20-1, 31, 75, 89, 116, 425; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 109-10; Luttrell (1972: 167, note 6; 1995b: 740-1); Edbury (1994: 193; 2010b: 253-4, 256); Coureas (1997a: 131-3, 140)

¹⁵⁵ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 57, 60, 63, 108, 429, 434, and passim.

¹⁵⁶ Coureas (1997a: 184).

clothing, and even money, given to ‘paupers, knights, widows, young ladies, and others, and also to religious’. Moreover, the convent sheltered many guests, members of other orders or otherwise, who came for food and lodging, although they did not cater to the sick.¹⁵⁷

The dramatic backdrop of the withdrawal of the Hospitaller and Templars from Limassol was the April 1306 coup of Prince Amaury of Tyre against his brother, King Henry II of Lusignan (1285-1324). Soon afterwards, the garrison of Limassol gave an oath of obedience to the prince, while the Bishop of Limassol Peter Erlant also adhered to the prince’s group. Both main military orders were officially neutral, but the Hospitallers tended to favour Henry and the Templars were more in Amaury’s camp. Limassol was involved in the events to the extent that it was the orders’ base. In 1308 some knights from Limassol and Paphos attempted to rise against the prince in the defence of the king, but they failed and were put in prison. ‘Amadi’ claims that the noblemen of Limassol declared for the king as soon as news of Amaury’s murder in 1310 reached the town.¹⁵⁸

It was at this time that Limassol witnessed many of the events surrounding the persecution of the Templars, following Pope Clement V’s bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae* of 22 November 1307.¹⁵⁹ Hayton of Gorchigos, Amaury of Tyre’s envoy to the pope with regard to his seizure of power, brought the bull to Cyprus on 6 May 1308. In the bull, the accusation of denying Christ is specifically associated with events taking place in Limassol, at the reception into the order of a Templar knight in the presence of Master James de Molay and a great number of brothers.¹⁶⁰ Although Amaury had enjoyed the support of the Templars during his coup against Henry II, he had to comply with the pope’s orders. On 12 May 1308, he sent the Prince of Galilee Balian of Ibelin to Limassol to inform the Templars of the pope’s instructions: they had to turn over their arms, horses, and treasure, their house would be sealed, and they had to be placed under arrest at the court of the archbishop of Nicosia. The Marshal of the Temple Aymon d’Oiselay refused to obey and requested that they keep their weapons and treasure and be confined on one of their own

¹⁵⁷ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 34-5, 187, 194, 198, 299, 365, 369, 425-6, 435, 438.

¹⁵⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§47, 54, pp. 46-7, 52-3; ‘Amadi’, 250, 265-6, 343-4; Bustron, 138-9, 151. For the orders and the coup, see Riley-Smith (1967: 210) and Burgtorf (2008: 161-6).

¹⁵⁹ Luttrell (2011: lxxi) with rich bibliography; Burgtorf (2008: 166-76) for the events.

¹⁶⁰ See Edbury (2010b: 251), citing Dupuy (1654: fols. 189r-190v).

estates instead. Amaury sent Andrew Tartaro, canon of Limassol, to negotiate with the Templars, probably in an effort to delay things.

Towards the end of May 1308, Amaury sent a force of knights, footsoldiers, and ships to occupy Limassol. The Templars had already brought their valuables from the houses in Nicosia, Paphos, and Famagusta to their Limassol headquarters, where most of the brethren from all over the island had sought refuge. On 29 May, Amaury's men had to use force to convince the Templars to surrender, surrounding the Limassol Templar house. On 1 June, the Templars surrendered their arms and horses, their property was confiscated, and their treasure was removed to the royal house in Limassol. 'Amadi' gives an impressive list of the Templar movable belongings found in their headquarters in Limassol. It includes arms and armour, horses and mules and their equipment, beasts, food supplies, furniture, bed clothing, clothes, and carpets as well as a small portion of their treasure (120,000 white bezants and 1,500 silver marks); allegedly, they hid the largest part of their treasure so well that it was never discovered, despite the prince of Tyre's efforts, and it may still lie in the soil of Limassol. The retrieved portion of the treasure was taken to Nicosia and the arms to the royal armouries in Famagusta, while the order's slaves were put to work on the walls of Famagusta, a project under construction at the time; the rest of the Templar belongings were sold. The knights themselves were placed under guard, first on their estates in Khirokitia and Yermasoyia, which must have been fortified enough for the purpose, and, after a failed plot to escape, some were sent to Lefkara. They remained there until their trial began in May 1310.¹⁶¹

The withdrawal of the Hospitallers also began during the coup, but for different reasons. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Hospitallers' expansion in Cyprus seems to have been restricted by a hostile crown and nobility and lack of estates. The creation of an 'island order-state' on Rhodes provided the order with the necessary independence and with a new-found military function in resisting the Turks of Anatolia and policing the southern Aegean. Following the conquest of Rhodes in 1306-1309, an expedition that the Master of the Hospital Fulk de Villaret and a Genoese pirate planned and organised in Kolossi and Limassol, the Hospitallers relocated their headquarters to Rhodes in 1310, but they maintained a High Commandery in Kolossi and

¹⁶¹ For the events, see 'Amadi', 278-80, 283-91 and Bustron, 163-70, 219; generally, Hill (1940-1952: II, 232-6), Edbury (1991: 121; 1994; 2010b), and Claverie (2005b: II, 272-97).

their estates in Cyprus, considerably increased after 1312 when they inherited most of the Templar possessions, as we shall see below.¹⁶²

Population and Society

Limassol's population did not consist solely of Hospitallers, Templars, and their staff, of course. Although in the early fourteenth century the Templar of Tyre lists 'Limesson' after Nicosia and Famagusta, all three towns are said to be 'sizeable'.¹⁶³ An anonymous English traveller who visited Cyprus in 1344-1345 provides a rare comment about the Limassolians, stating that the people in Limassol had very pleasant manners, like the English (!), and were eloquent in French, while all the monks spoke Greek.¹⁶⁴ The Greeks probably remained in the majority, but the number of Latins and Christian Arabs must have increased as a result of the settlement of refugees actively involved in trade, who moved their business and residence from the ports of Syria and Palestine to Limassol after 1291. Thus 'John Crioti de Nimoccio' is mentioned in the 1300 will of a Latin lady from Antioch and 'Martin of Acre' is described as 'habitor Nimoccii' in December 1300.¹⁶⁵ The existence of a 'garden of the Jew' in the town in 1367 even suggests the presence of Jews.¹⁶⁶

Aside from the Latin cathedral, the churches of St Peter of the Pisans and of St George served the Latin community in Limassol, but as of the 1360s only two Latin rural parishes are recorded in the diocese, one in Sylikou and one in Alaminos. Besides the Templars and Hospitallers, the small English military Order of the Knights of St Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury (i.e., Thomas Becket), or St Thomas of Acre, also settled in Cyprus around Limassol, while the mendicants strengthened their presence there after 1291. These orders will be discussed below. Most Frankish knights lived in Nicosia, but Ludolf of Sudheim, writing around 1340, claims that some nobles owned palaces in Limassol, in addition to those of the burgesses. According to an audit or, more precisely, a report of tithe assessments from 1367, the Latin Church of Limassol farmed out its urban property to burgesses, who paid rent for their houses and shops ('ensenssives de maizons' and 'luage des estassons'), in particular, for a

¹⁶² The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §437, pp. 326-7; 'Amadi', 254-5; Bustron, 141; Riley-Smith (1967: 215-16); Luttrell (1986: 155-6; 2003: 68-9, 75-7, 171).

¹⁶³ The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, §278, pp. 230-1.

¹⁶⁴ Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, 7.

¹⁶⁵ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1299-1300*, no. 198 (cf. no. 132) and idem, *1300-1301*, no. 139.

¹⁶⁶ *Documents chypriotes*, 86.

court ('cour') consisting of shops (such as a barber's shop) and houses and a piece of land behind this complex.¹⁶⁷

The Italian merchants resided in specific quarters in the city. The Pisans stand out for their presence, as Limassol continued to be their official headquarters on the island. Two documents issued in Limassol survive by chance in the Pisan archives, dated 1292 and 1293, the first given in the 'Pisan house' and the second in the '*loggia* of the Pisans', both by separate notaries of the Pisans. The 1293 charter mentions 'the consul of the Pisans in Limassol and the entire island of Cyprus' and also refers to the sergeant of the Pisan commune in the city. Two documents of 1296 were done in the *loggia* of the Pisan commune, situated before the royal customs house, near the harbour; one of them was drawn up by the commune's scribe, in the presence of a broker (*sensarus*). In notarial documents from 1297-1302, no less than three scribes of the Pisan commune or *curia* in Limassol are mentioned together with members of the community involved in various transactions, and a document of 1300 refers to letters from the Pisan consul in the town. Thus the *loggia* consisted of at least the consul, two officers, and scribes. Persons bearing the toponymic surname 'Iohannes de Cassazo de Nimoccio' or described as 'Iohannes Chodecherii burgensis civitatis Nimotii' or 'Pisanum habitatorem Nimoce' are also mentioned.¹⁶⁸ The 1367 report states that the Pisans owned a garden in Limassol and mentions the church of St Peter of the Pisans, which no doubt existed in the period 1291-1310, if not before.¹⁶⁹

According to the privileges accorded to Venice in 1306 and confirmed in 1328, the maritime city was granted the right to have a church, a *loggia*, a house for the community's *bailli*, and an open court in Nicosia, Limassol, and Famagusta (cited in this order); it also obtained for its nationals the right to buy houses and full exemption from commercial taxes. The Republic, however, was compelled to renounce all former claims to state or private property, a clause that implied that the property in Limassol listed in the memorandum compiled by Marsilio Zorzi in the 1240s had been lost for Venice.¹⁷⁰ Apart from Venetian citizens or

¹⁶⁷ *Excerpta Cypria*, 19; *Documents chypriotes*, 77, 93-4.

¹⁶⁸ Otten-Froux (1986: nos. 4-5); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 93-4; Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1296-1299*, no. 32; idem, *1300-1301*, no. 73, p. 85, no. 162; idem, *1301*, no. 104a; idem, *1302*, no. 233; idem, *1304-1305*, no. 10; Coureas (2002: 22-3, 32-3; 2005: 134-5).

¹⁶⁹ Richard (1999: 13, 16); *Documents chypriotes*, 86.

¹⁷⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, IV, 46-8, esp. 46, 47, II, 102-8, esp. 104, 107; Jacoby (2009b: 70-1). For the memorandum, see above.

subjects of Venice's maritime colonies, the Venetian community in Limassol also comprised naturalised Greeks or other Oriental Christians, called 'White Venetians'; a Venetian bearing the toponymic surname Michael of Limassol in 1303 was most probably a White Venetian.¹⁷¹

During the early fourteenth century, the Genoese were active as traders and money lenders in Limassol. The Genoese Andrew Tartaro, a canon of Limassol, appears regularly in notarial deeds of the 1300s as a money lender and borrower.¹⁷² In 1302, two Genoese brothers owned houses in Limassol, although they resided in Famagusta; another Genoese, called 'Iohanes de Astexano de Nimoccio', witnessed a contract involving one of the brothers. In 1307, Genoese merchants are described as 'habitatores Nimoccium'. In 1338, a new agreement was signed between King Hugh IV and the Genoese, which specifically mentions Genoese merchants in Limassol; in the agreement of 1365 between Peter I and the commune, however, the city is not mentioned at all. According to the 1367 audit, the commune still owned the fief of 'D'Ispoire' (an unidentified village also found as *Despoyre*), granted to them in 1232, for which it paid tithes (forty bezants) to the Church of Limassol.¹⁷³

Limassol is also mentioned frequently in documents concerning Catalan commercial activities, especially with regards to Catalan dealings with the Hospitallers in the early 1300s, before the order moved its headquarters to Rhodes.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, merchants from Italian cities other than Pisa, Venice, and Genoa and from Provence conducted their business and/or lived in Limassol. In 1300-1301 a Bernardo de Quilano from Narbonne was active in Cyprus, but it is not clear if his toponymic surname, also attested as 'Quiliano' and 'Qualeno', might indicate a connection with Kilani.¹⁷⁵

A group of wealthy and educated Greek burgess families, whose members participated in the royal and seigneurial administration, is attested by the middle of the fourteenth century in Limassol in particular

¹⁷¹ *Libri commemoriali*, I, nos. 111, 149, pp. 27, 35.

¹⁷² Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1305-1307*, nos. 84, 151; idem, *1300-1301*, no. 139; idem, *1301*, nos. 137-8, 147, 238; idem, *1302*, no. 158; Giovanni de Rocha, nos. 25-7. See generally Coureas (2002: 33-4; 2008: 231).

¹⁷³ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1302*, no. 230; idem, *1307*, nos. 151, 156; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 170-1, 254-66; *Documents chypriotes*, 83.

¹⁷⁴ *Assegurances a Barcelona*, nos. 26-9 and below for references in Lamberto di Sambuceto's acts. See Coureas (1997b: 40-2).

¹⁷⁵ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1299-1300*, nos. 76-8, 176, 232; idem, *1300-1301*, nos. 145, 257, 340, 409; idem, *1301*, no. 156.

and in the rest of the island in general.¹⁷⁶ The well-known Greek families of Kontostephanos/Condostefano, Sozomenos/Sozomeno, and Kappadokas/Capadoca, identified as noble in the sixteenth century, seem to have originated from Limassol, or at least the earliest mentions in the sources concern members of the families who lived in Limassol and its district. In 1368, the bilingual scribe of the *secrète* of the Latin bishopric of Limassol was 'Thodre Condostefano'. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, 'Lambertos Kontostephanos, son of the late Stylianos Kontostephanos', who probably came from Sylikou, is mentioned in several manuscript notes. 'Sava Sozomeno' from Limassol is mentioned in the 1367 audit of the Latin Church of Limassol.¹⁷⁷ According to the same document, 'Phelipe' and 'Lion Capadoca' were tenants who leased land in Kilani and Lophou. 'Loze', wife of the above mentioned 'Lambertos Kontostephanos', was the daughter of 'Sir Kapadokas'.¹⁷⁸ In 1367 'Johan Quinnamo', perhaps a descendant of the old Byzantine noble family of Kinnamos, was 'apautour' or tenant in Sylikou; 'Τζουάν Κίναμος', who could be the same person, is mentioned in two later but undated notes in a thirteenth-century manuscript.¹⁷⁹ 'Thodri', 'Nicolle', and 'Pierre' 'Romannis'/'Roumain'/'Romain' are mentioned in 1367. The name indicates that they may have been related to the Romanitis (from *Romania*, or Greece) family that belonged to the upper echelons of Cypriot society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but does not seem to have entered the Frankish nobility. It is not clear if 'Nicolle Roumain' held Drapia (near Khirokitia) as a fief or rented it as a tenant from another fief holder.¹⁸⁰

Greek burgesses and free peasants appear in the sources as tenants who leased royal, seigneurial, or ecclesiastical land. In Alsos in 1348, 'Nikolaos Ourris' is 'paktonaris' (tenant), his *pakton* (tenancy) finishing in 1352, and he is also educated enough to be the scribe of a manuscript. In 1367, several Greek *apauteurs* are mentioned: as already said, 'Johan Quinnamo' and 'Phelipe Capadoca' were tenants who leased land in

¹⁷⁶ See generally Nicolaou-Konnari (2005a: 41-57).

¹⁷⁷ *Documents chypriotes*, 61, 88, 94, 99, 102; Darrouzès (1950: 169; 1956: 47-8); Richard (1950: 132). See Collenberg (1977: 121, 123; 1983a: 32-7) and Arbel (1989a: 187, 184-5) for later references.

¹⁷⁸ *Documents chypriotes*, 79, 81; Darrouzès (1956: 47-8). See Collenberg (1977: 121, 123; 1984: 542, 627-9) and Arbel (1989a: 188) for later references.

¹⁷⁹ *Documents chypriotes*, 79; Darrouzès (1950: 184). See Collenberg (1977: 121) for later references.

¹⁸⁰ *Documents chypriotes*, 78, 83, 85, 86. See Collenberg (1977: 122, 124; 1984: 647) for later references. Drapia was later deserted: see Grivaud (1998a: 130, 221, 224, 255).

Sylikou and Kilani respectively, and ‘Costans Zenberrono’, ‘Michel Apodicator’, and ‘Lion Capadoca’ in Lefkara, Vavla, and Lophou respectively. ‘Thodore Condostefano’, the scribe of the ‘segrete’ of the church, was a free tenant who paid only one fourth of his crops for land owned by the Latin Church in Moni.¹⁸¹ ‘Sire Nicolle Romain’, most probably the same as the one above, and ‘Jorge de l’Arsediaque’ were tenants of ‘vignes franches’ in Kilani, vineyards not held from the king or a lord for which they paid tithes; this suggests that some property was free and probably held by Greeks who had formerly belonged to the landowning class of the *archontes*. Greek burgesses (‘Pierre Romain’, ‘Mihalichi’, ‘Yorgui tou Coucy’) also held gardens in the town.¹⁸²

The Greeks seem to have prospered especially in the rural areas. The village of Lefkara, in particular, as the seat of the Greek bishop of the Limassol diocese, witnessed a relative growth. Undated documents in a *ca.* 1320 manuscript inform us of sales of vineyards in Lefkara between Greeks. By 1363, Lefkara was the estate of Hugh of Lusignan, Prince of Galilee, grandson of Hugh IV. In 1368 it was the richest fief in the diocese of Limassol, owing 2,500 bezants for tithes for the year 1367-1368, of which it paid only 1,400 bezants.¹⁸³ At the same time, the Greek ecclesiastical dignitaries acquired a new-found importance as diocesan *archontes*. When Olvianos, the abbot of the monastery of Asomatos in Lefkara, was elected as the new bishop of Limassol, probably in 1300, he was described as a good administrator, versed in letters. Many examples of *taboullarioi*, *nomikoi*, and *sakellarioi* of Lefkara survive in the sources from the beginning of the fourteenth century. A tradition in the holding of the post of *nomikos* of Alsos is attested for a family of priests between 1382 and 1410; we may assume that this was the practice earlier, too.¹⁸⁴ The Chartophylax family, a name of Byzantine origin that most probably originally designated the ecclesiastical officer described as ‘representative of the bishop’ in the *offikia* of the Byzantine Church, also seems to have had some importance in the district of Limassol. In 1359, ‘Ser Michaeli Hartofilacha’ was the scribe in the preceptory of the Hospital in Cyprus and a tenant of the order’s vineyards. The names of ‘Nicolle Hartofilaca’,

¹⁸¹ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 207-8; *Documents chypriotes*, 79-81, 88, 103.

¹⁸² *Documents chypriotes*, 67, 85-6, 91, 100.

¹⁸³ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367*, no. 101; Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§129, 131, pp. 112-13, 114-15; *Documents chypriotes*, 66, 80.

¹⁸⁴ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367*, nos. 92, 94, 97-8, 104. Darrouzès (1959: 39); Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 139-40.

a fief holder or a tenant of Kivides, and ‘Jorge Hartofilaca’ from Limassol survive in documents dated to the year 1367.¹⁸⁵

Greek *paroikoi* or ‘villains’ (i.e., serfs) cultivated land in the *presteries/προδοστεια* (hamlets) owned by the Latin Church in the district of Limassol, namely Phinikaria, ‘Viel Limeson’ (Old Limassol or Amathus), and ‘Agroades’ (Akrounta?); they paid to the Church one third of their crops of wheat, barley, and oats as well as the ‘droit de prise’, another tax in kind. A price of three bezants was paid for finding a fugitive serf. The *catepan* (tax collector) of the three ‘presteries de l’iglize’ was the Greek priest ‘papa Manoly’ and the two ‘jurés’ (jurats) ‘Vasily tis Morfias’ and ‘Jany tis Anousas’. Other Greek workers, often described as ‘maraboins’, ‘sergens et gardiens’ of the crops, ‘serveors des cazaus’, and ‘sers de l’iglize’, worked for the Latin bishopric of Limassol; in Pelendri, a cellarer was also employed.¹⁸⁶

The presence of slaves is attested in both urban and rural Limassol throughout the fourteenth century. Olvianos, the Greek bishop of Limassol, interfered in favour of the enfranchisement of a Christian slave in the early fourteenth century.¹⁸⁷ The Latin Bishop of Limassol Guy of Ibelin had two slaves in 1367.¹⁸⁸ Non-slave labour predominated in the sugar industry, however, since slaves were expensive, and the plantations of both the Corner (Cornaro) and the Hospitallers were administrated by managers and worked by *paroikoi* (serfs) and some *francomati* (free peasants); in 1396 in Episkopi a workforce of slaves, serfs, and fifty free peasants is attested. Thus, the majority of Greek peasants living on Hospitaller land were serfs, owing a number of days’ work per week on the lord’s lands, various other labour services, and dues for the lands they were assigned to cultivate. A serf could not leave his village or marry without his lord’s permission, and on his death a portion of his animals reverted to his lord. The Hospital seems to have treated its serfs and slaves comparatively well, however, perhaps realising that they had to be content in order to meet their financial and labour obligations. Significantly, in 1300 the Hospital decreed that when a *paroikos* died, all his animals should pass to his widow and children, who would then owe servile obligations to the order.¹⁸⁹ The 1348 plague caused a demographic shortage, and we have several examples of the efforts of the Hospital and

¹⁸⁵ Luttrell (1986: 165, 180-1); *Documents chypriotes*, 83; Richard (1950: 132).

¹⁸⁶ *Documents chypriotes*, 77, 88-90, 98, 101-2, 105, 106, 107.

¹⁸⁷ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367*, no. 92.

¹⁸⁸ Richard (1950: 121); *Documents chypriotes*, 102.

¹⁸⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 436; *Cartulaire*, no. 4515, §3; Luttrell (1986: 164; 1996: 167; 2011: lxxviii).

the Corner to face the problem. Two cases of manumission of serfs and their families are attested in 1358, a policy that apparently aimed at preventing the order's own serfs and slaves from fleeing and that encouraged workers from other estates to settle permanently on Hospitaller lands. In the 1360s, slaves are attested in the Corner estate of Episkopi. In 1367 the Hospital was using serfs and slaves who had fled lands of the Latin diocese of Limassol; the Church complained repeatedly to the king.¹⁹⁰

The countryside around Limassol was not devoid of Latins, as the rural parishes Sylikou and Alaminos attest, and even nobles were present. In March 1302 the Count of Jaffa Guy of Ibelin, his wife and four children, his brother, the constable Philip of Ibelin, and his sister, Abbess Margaret of the Benedictine convent of Our Lady of Tyre in Nicosia, were staying at the count's estate in Episkopi.¹⁹¹ In 1342 Ferrand of Majorca, King Hugh IV's son-in-law, lists among the indignities he suffered at his father-in-law's hands the arrest of several members of his household and family near Limassol, including that of his step-father Count Hugh of Jaffa; the latter's impressive pack of hounds, which included greyhounds, and his horses, charge horses, post horses, mules, and falcons were located near Limassol, where they were confiscated by the king.¹⁹² Indeed, noblemen were particularly fond of hunting on the Troodos Mountains. Hawks were used for the hunt and Cape Gata was one of the best places to catch them. Many toponyms deriving from the Greek word for 'hawk', 'ιέραξ/γέρακος/γεράκι', are encountered in the district of Limassol. Hawks were raised and kept on the lord's rural estates. The Bishop of Limassol Guy of Ibelin used the services of three falconers, as shown in the 1367 inventory of his property and expenses.¹⁹³

The audit of the Latin diocese of Limassol for the year from 1 April 1367 to 31 March 1368 (a period of vacancy after the death of the Bishop Guy on 29 March 1367) was carried out by the *bailli* of the chapter, Bernard Anselme, and was drafted by the Greek scribe of the *secrète* (the finance office) of Limassol Cathedral Theodoros Condostefano. It is a valuable, unique document, providing a picture of the society of the city

¹⁹⁰ Luttrell (1986: 164-5, 179; 2011: lxxviii-lxxix); Arbel (1993: 160); *Documents chypriotes*, 102, 104.

¹⁹¹ 'Amadi', 238; Bustron, 134; Grivaud (2008: 361).

¹⁹² Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 191, 199-201. For the episode, see Edbury (1991: 144-5) and, generally for the residence of the Frankish nobility, Nicolaou-Konnari (2005a: 17).

¹⁹³ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §238, pp. 218-19; *Excerpta Cypria*, 173, 185; Richard (1950: 132); Aristeidou (1993-1994: 146-55).

and district of Limassol in the aftermath of the Black Death. This was a rich diocese, which received tithes from the crown for the royal domain and from the lords for their fiefs.

The crown was by far the biggest landowner; the royal domain included the salt lake and many villages and their lands as well as various dues and taxes on public services in the town itself. The crown received about 100,000 bezants annually from the royal property in Limassol, the largest part coming from the villages (*casalia*, nearly 86,500 bezants in 1367).¹⁹⁴ The crown did not exploit its domain directly, but made it the object of rent or *apautage* by noblemen, the Church, burgesses, or even Greek free peasants, the *francomati*; only the customs house and the sale of salt from the Salines in Akrotiri were administered directly by the king's men. Frankish noblemen and freemen as well as the Latin Church leased the royal *casalia* and land at a fixed sum; these *apauteurs* included 'Bertolome Mahe' ('Cormiade?'), 'Fantin Corgner' (Pelendrakia), 'Thomas Haron' (Kamenoriaqui), and the abbot of the Latin monastery of Beaulieu (Pyrgos); another noble tenant was a woman, Margaret, lady of Arsur, a member of the important Ibelin family, who rented Mazotos and Yono (probably in the area of Mazotos). Latin but also Greek and Syrian burgesses rented houses, shops, and services from the monarchy, such as the right to fish in the Akrotiri lake. The lake was farmed out to 'Jorge Boudris', the baths of Limassol to a certain 'Dincano', the 'criage' (public announcements) to 'Nicollin Azapi', the exchange office ('halao' from the Greek *ἀλλάγιο*) to 'Dienchon Arnaudin', the tannery to 'Thodri Romannis', and the public weight of carobs and the skin commerce to unspecified *apauteurs*.¹⁹⁵

The king granted some important villages as fiefs to his vassals. The richest fief was Lefkara and belonged to Peter I's nephew Hugh, prince of Galilee. Pelendri together with Alamino and lands in Lophou belonged to King Peter's brother John, prince of Antioch. In 1353, the wife of John of Remes, Alice of Giblet, who was receiving 400 white bezants annually from the *casale* of Pelendri's revenues, sold this income to Archbishop Philip of Nicosia for a lump sum of 6,400 white bezants.¹⁹⁶ Most of the names of the rest of the fief holders that appear in the audit belonged to old Frankish noble families established on the island in the early thirteenth century, like the La Fierte, Langlais, Blanchegarde, Tabarie, Montolif,

¹⁹⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 64.

¹⁹⁵ *Documents chypriotes*, 78-9. The family name 'Azapi' (= the pirate or ravager) is most probably of Arabo-Turkish origin: see Nicolaou-Konnari (2011: 136, note 52).

¹⁹⁶ *Cartulary*, no. 130.

Scandelion, Le Petit, Béduin, Giblet, Cafran, De Bries, Nevilles, Mimars, Morf, and Ibelin. The Venetian Corner, holders of Episkopi, are one of the new noble families, while amongst the *parvenus* who had received favours from Peter I one finds John Lascaris Caloferos ('Johan Lascary'), who held Siria (near Monagri),¹⁹⁷ and Brémond de la Voulte, who owned the fiefs of Polemidia and Ayios Reginos (near Phasoulla); after the king's death, Polemidia was confiscated and passed to the sons of the prince of Antioch.¹⁹⁸ Interestingly, seven women (nearly 12%) are mentioned as fief holders: Izabiau d'Antioche held Melini and 'Porsades' (Parsada, near Vavla in the Vassilikos Valley),¹⁹⁹ Helvis de Baruth 'Vassouli' (Phasoulla) and part of Kophinou, Stefenie Licaut part of 'Paramides' (Paramytha?), Fenie Salamon 'Zanaquie', Alice de la Baume 'Plantes' (Aplanta?), Simone Loizion part of Kophinou, and Izabiau of Giblet that of St Nicholas.²⁰⁰

After the suppression of the Templars in 1312, most of their possessions in Cyprus passed to the Hospitallers, which has caused confusion among later writers about the properties of the military orders. By 1319-1320, in the town of Limassol the Hospitallers owned both their *domus* and that of the Templars, a conventual church, a kitchen for the brethren, a vault, a storage place, and the conventual hospital as well as the infirmary for the brethren mentioned above. In the district of Limassol, in addition to the estates that they possessed before (Kolossi, Trakhoni, and Monagroulli), they now held Anoyira, *Mons Esquillati* (the Mountain of Kellaki or Messokilada?), Apsiou, Yerasa, Paramytha, Mathikoloni, Yermasoyia, *Sirincocie* (probably not Syrianokhori), Sanida, Logara (Louvaras), Villa (a rare example of a French place name), Ayios Konstantinos, and Androclio (near Vasa), many of which had belonged to the Templars before.²⁰¹ In 1374 the Hospital was said to hold over sixty villages on the

¹⁹⁷ Siria was later deserted; see Grivaud (1998a: 73, 227, 237, 451).

¹⁹⁸ Gregory XI, *Lettres secrètes et curiales*, no. 225; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. w-34. Ayios Reginos was later deserted; see Grivaud (1998a: 91, 227, 417, 452).

¹⁹⁹ Parsada was later deserted; see Grivaud (1998a: 222, 224, 453).

²⁰⁰ For these fiefs, see *Documents chypriotes*, 64-6, 80-5, 88-91, 100.

²⁰¹ *Cartulaire*, no. 4515, §6, no. 4549, §§1, 6, 10, 19, 26, 28, no. 4612, §2, no. 4672, §§1-4 (documents dated 1300, 1301, 1303, 1304); *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 57, 63, 116 151, 425, 429-30, 434; *Documents chypriotes*, 67-9, 111-20 (documents dated 1319 and 1322); Edbury (1994: 191, note 7); Luttrell (1986: 155; 2003: 74, 99, 116, 267; 2011: lxxi). For the villages that have since disappeared, see Grivaud (1998a: 225, Androclio/oti; 226, 232, *Mons Esquillati*/Messokilada; 227, 234, *Sirincocie*; 55, 228, 234-5, 348, 417, 419, Villa/e).

island.²⁰² In the sixteenth century, Florio Bustron says that the confiscation of the Templar possessions took place at the end of 1313 and gives a list, which most probably coincides with that of the estates of the Hospitallers and reflects a later situation; his inventory agrees more or less with one from around 1523. The largest portion of the Templar property was in the district of Limassol; subtracting what we know to have been Hospitaller property, the Templars possessed many villages described as *casali* or *prastii*, namely Erimi, Asomatos, Phasouri, Zanakia, and Vasa in the west, Yermasoyia and Khirokitia with their towers (and the chapel Panayia tou Kampou in the latter village), Mathikoloni, Yerassa, Apsiou, Paramytha, Maurommeno (Marammeno or Ayia Paraskevi to the southwest of Louvaras), the *bailliage* of Logara (Louvaras) that included Chiva or Chira, Ville (Villa), Ayios Konstantinos, Arakapas, Dierona, Lividi or Livichi, Ayios Pavlos, Sykopetra, and Adraco (?), and the *bailliage* of Kellaki that included Vigla (Vikla), Androclioti, Sanida, Eftagonia, Celonari (Klonari), and Armenokhori. The Templars also owned Anoyira and Kaloyennata in the district of Avdimou.²⁰³

Economy and Trade

The agricultural products and other commodities from the Limassol hinterland were the mainstay of the area's economy throughout the Frankish period. According to the 1367 audit of the Latin Church of Limassol, the revenues of the Church came from the sale of agricultural products either produced on ecclesiastical land or paid by fief holders against tithes: barley, oats, beans, lentils, peas, carobs, cottonseed, flax, and wine.²⁰⁴ The most important cash products were salt, sugar, wine, carobs, and cotton, although our information is uneven.

The exploitation of the salt and fish from the Limassol salt lake was a royal monopoly and the crown gained large profits from it. In 1301 King Henry II raised the customs duties for exporting salt from 60 bezants for every 1,000 *modii* of salt to 150 bezants, and this caused strong protests on the part of the product's main purchasers, the Venetian merchants. For the year 1367-1368, fish farms on the lake paid an ecclesiastical tithe of 537

²⁰² Luttrell (1995a: 125).

²⁰³ Bustron, 170-1, 246-7; *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 260, 263 (1449); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 502-3 (1523); Mas Latrie, 'Documents nouveaux', 568-70; *Documents chypriotes*, 111; Luttrell (2011: lxix). For the villages that have since disappeared, see Grivaud (1998a: 225, 236, 261, Chira; 130, 236, 238-9, 448, Kaloyennata; 226, 234, 417, Livichi; 226, 236, 449, Marammeno).

²⁰⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 86-91, 100.

bezants to the Latin bishopric of Limassol; as Nicholas Coureas notes, this amount suggests ‘an annual revenue of over 5,000 bezants in total for the crown’.²⁰⁵

In 1368, however, King Peter I granted the exploitation of all the salt lakes of the island, including the one near Limassol, to the Venetian family of the Corner. The crown had to borrow heavily from the Corner at a very high interest rate from 1361 onwards in order to cover the huge expenses required for the preparation of the king’s famous crusade to Alexandria; because Peter and the Lusignan kings who succeeded him could not meet their debts, they kept granting the Corner land and other concessions in Cyprus. The exploitation of the salt lakes remained one of the most profitable trades of the kingdom under the management of the Corner too; in 1392 the salt produced was 261,000 *modii*, while the annual revenues of the Corner from the Cypriot salt alone amounted to 900 gold ducats, then about 4,000 bezants.²⁰⁶

Among the lands that the indebted crown granted to the Corner family was the rich fief of Episkopi, in their hands by 1367, which had belonged to the Ibelin counts of Jaffa and produced sugar.²⁰⁷ Sugar production in Cyprus had increased considerably following the fall of the Crusader States in Syria and Palestine in 1291, but it had remained relatively limited as it required considerable funds.²⁰⁸ This changed in the fourteenth century thanks to the Corner family and the Hospital, although much of the profits were sent to Venice and Rhodes, to the detriment of the local economy. The fief of Episkopi consisted of fertile lands irrigated by the Kouris, the most dependable river on the island. The Corner invested large sums of money in the pre-existing sugar plantations of their fief, endowing it with an irrigation system and the latest technologies for sugar refinement, including a mill, thus transforming it into a highly lucrative industrial enterprise.²⁰⁹ They became the richest fief-holders in Cyprus and one of

²⁰⁵ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 99-100; *Documents chypriotes*, 78-9; Coureas (2002: 35-6; 2005: 105, 108); Jacoby (2009b: 70).

²⁰⁶ Luzzatto (1961: 51, 93); Hocquet (1968: 228-31; 1978-1979: I, 223); Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 11.

²⁰⁷ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 162-5 (1190s); *Cartulary*, no. 28 (1249); ‘Amadi’, 238 and Bustron, 134 (1302).

²⁰⁸ In 1309, Sanudo, *Liber*, 24 claims that the island could supply Western Europe with all the sugar needed, but he obviously exaggerates in order to propagate a crusade against Egypt.

²⁰⁹ Luzzatto (1954: 117-23, 196-200); Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 11-12, 120-1; Aristeidou (1992); Wartburg (1995); Coureas (2005: 111-12); Jacoby (2009b: 74-5).

the richest families in Venice. Their wealth allowed them to rent more land; Francesco Corner, buried in Nicosia in 1390, was *apateur* of Pelendrakia near Mesayitonia.²¹⁰ Their powerful and influential position meant that Venetian ambassadors to Cyprus often presented the family's claims and complaints before the Cypriot kings. In 1396, for example, the Venetian ambassador Francesco Querini mediated on behalf of the Corner to the king and Episkopi was exempted from taxes.²¹¹

The sugar plantations of the Hospitaller commandery of neighbouring Kolossi were provided with a mill and a sugar refinery and were also very profitable.²¹² As a result of his services during the conquest of Rhodes, Peter Le Jaume was granted an annual income of 500 bezants from the revenues of Kolossi. The responsions that the Cypriot commandery paid to the Convent at Rhodes in the first half of the fourteenth century suggest an important production of sugar: a papal letter of 1320 speaks of 30,000 bezants annually, while the income from the Cypriot commandery was estimated at one ninth of the order's total incomes in 1329, one half of the income from Cyprus being paid to Rhodes in 1330.²¹³ In one deal of 1343, 1300 kilos of Hospitaller sugar were delivered to a merchant in Famagusta. The sale amounted to 800 bezants, less than 200 florins. Since in 1329 the commandery's income was 20,000 florins, equivalent to over 100,000 bezants at the time, the sugar crop must have amounted to many thousands of kilos.²¹⁴ As the most important landowner in the entire diocese of Limassol after the crown, the order's tithe assessment was a staggering 1,600 bezants in 1367.²¹⁵ The Hospitaller estates also produced wine, grew grain, and raised livestock, but sugar production remained the most important.

In addition to sugar, wine continued to add to the fame of Cyprus in general and Limassol in particular. Many fourteenth-century travellers mention the quality of Cypriot wine, repeating the myth of the Old Testament vineyards of Engaddi, which they place near Limassol. Visiting the town in 1334, Wilhelm von Boldensele claimed that Cypriot wines

²¹⁰ *Documents chypriotes*, 79; *Lacrimae Cypriae*, no. 141. For Pelendrakia, see Grivaud (1998a: 226, 235, 261).

²¹¹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 434-6.

²¹² Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, 7. See generally Vaivre and Plagnieux (2006: 410-22) for Kolossi and Solomidou-Ieronymidou (2001) for the mills.

²¹³ Sanuto, *Diarii*, X, col. 106; Pegolotti, 363-4; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 88-90; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r. 100, 206; Luttrell (1986: 164; 1995a: 125, 134; 1996: 166-7).

²¹⁴ Luttrell (1972: 168; 1999: IV, 158, V, 16).

²¹⁵ *Documents chypriotes*, 81.

were red and the older they grew the whiter they became (*sic*), had a pleasant odour, and had to be mixed with water because they were very strong. Ludolph of Sudheim and an anonymous English traveller, who visited Cyprus in 1340 and 1344-1345 respectively, also praised the wine of Limassol. Kilani, in particular, is mentioned in early fourteenth-century sources as a wine-producing village. In 1367, Kilani and Sylikou, another village where vineyards produced high quality wine, had revenues of about 29,000 bezants, while Pelendri, Siria, and land owned by the Greek monastery of St George of Mangana in Nicosia are also said to have been important wine producers.²¹⁶

Carob trees abounded in the vicinity of the town and grain was also cultivated on a large scale. The same English traveller praises the bread 'as white as snow' that he tasted in Limassol.²¹⁷ As early as 1309 Marino Sanudo Torsello refers to Cyprus as a major cotton producer, cotton plantations mainly being concentrated in the coastal areas between Limassol and Paphos.²¹⁸

The productivity of the Limassol region helped ensure that, despite the relative rise of the commercial importance of the town and port of Famagusta as a result of the fall of Acre in 1291, ships coming from the West and the East did not cease to use the harbour of Limassol as a port of call; this is invariably indicated in medieval portolans, which mark Limassol (together with Famagusta and Paphos) in red ink.²¹⁹ For example, an agreement between a Catalan shipowner, on the one hand, and the Florentine Bardi company and a citizen of Florence, on the other, signed on 22 April 1300, stipulates that the former may use the port of either Limassol or Famagusta for the transport of wheat. In 1300, a Genoese ship departing from Limassol was to transport horses and other cargo on behalf of the Templars from Syria to Cyprus; in 1301 a Catalan ship was to transport a group of Templar knights from Limassol to Majorca and Barcelona. In June 1308, the Genoese Vignol arrived with his armed galley at the port of Limassol in order to negotiate the conquest of Rhodes with the master of the Hospital. Sometime before 1310, Lord Bernard of Aquilano sailed overseas from Limassol, although he came from Famagusta.²²⁰ The port was also used by the Cypriot fleet during the

²¹⁶ *Excerpta Cypria*, 15-16, 19; Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, 7; Severis, 16; *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, no. 25; *Documents chypriotes*, 64, 79, 85, 87.

²¹⁷ Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, 7.

²¹⁸ Sanudo, *Liber*, 24; Jacoby (1995: 420, note 44; 2009b: 75).

²¹⁹ Campbell (1984: 55); Grivaud (1998a: 98); Coureas (2002: 21; 2008: 228-9).

²²⁰ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1299-1300*, nos. 74, 109; idem, *1300-1301*, nos. 219, 258; 'Amadi', 254-5; Bustron, 141; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 427.

expedition against Alexandria in 1365, by Cypriot ships sailing for raids against the Asia Minor coast, and by the Venetian envoys to and from the sultan of Egypt later on. On 10 February 1373 a Genoese ship arrived in the town carrying letters from Genoa to the Genoese community of the island concerning the riots between Genoese and Venetians during the coronation of King Peter II as king of Jerusalem in Famagusta in October 1372.²²¹

The bulk of international trade, however, seems to have moved to Famagusta (and, alternatively, Salines near Larnaca for salt) quite early. For example, the Genoese Tedisio Doria's business trip to Cyprus and Cilician Armenia in 1295 included long stays in Famagusta and Paphos, but not Limassol.²²² Venice was the first major maritime power to realise that Famagusta was to become the main port of the island and one of the most important emporia in the region, gradually hosting greater numbers of Venetians and other Italian merchants. As a result, at some time between 1296 and 1300 the seat of the Venetian representative on the island was transferred from Limassol to Famagusta. The Republic continued to appoint an officer ('bailo') in Limassol, however, a clear indication of continued Venetian presence and trade activity in the city; 'sir Jofre the Venetian, who was once *bailli* of the Venetians at Limassol', died there in the spring of 1308 and his successor is attested in September of the same year. Apparently, Limassol did not cease being active as a port of export of local and foreign products, especially in the trade of the commodities produced in the district.²²³

Thanks to its geographical location, Limassol may also have served for shipping to Egypt commodities 'prohibited' by the papacy, as indicated by the case of the Venetian Michael of Limassol, whose ship was looted apparently on its way to Egypt or returning from there in 1303. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Venetian authorities launched a commercial navigation system intended to make use of military galleys during periods of peace for the transport of valuable goods under state control, especially to Alexandria and other Mamluk territories. Cypriot ports are not included in these itineraries, but in 1323, when Venice had to conform with the papal embargo on trade with Muslim lands, most

²²¹ Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandre*, 192-3, 202-3, 210-11, 218-19 and *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87-8, 90, 93, 97, 100; Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §173, pp. 154-5, §181, pp. 160-1, although he places the arrival of the Venetian envoys in June 1366 in Famagusta; 'Amadi', 439.

²²² Musarra (2012).

²²³ Jacoby (1984: 169-71; 2009b: 70); *Lacrimae Cypriae*, no. 242. See generally Coureas (2002).

probably private Venetian ships used Cypriot ports as a transit station for trade with these lands.²²⁴

The town is not frequently mentioned in the documents drafted by the notary Lamberto di Sambuceto during the period 1296-1307, something that may be attributed to a large extent to the fact that he was a Genoese working in Famagusta. No such registers are preserved for Limassol, however, and so the mere three dozen or so documents from Sambuceto that concern Limassol provide us with an interesting if skewed picture of that town a decade or so after the fall of Acre. Voyages are recorded connecting the port of Limassol with all areas of the Mediterranean: Syria, Armenia, Turkey, Rhodes, Constantinople, Apulia, Genoa itself, southern France, Aragon, and Tunisia. Limassol was used primarily for loading local commodities, such as carobs, sugar, wine, cotton, wheat, and barley. Many of the participants recorded in this trade were Genoese, of course, but other Italians and Catalans also figure in some documents.

More specifically, in 1296 two Italians, Andrea Medius from Milan and Oberto de Galiana, did business in Limassol. In 1299, Catalan merchants used the port of Limassol and warehouses in the city for the trade of cotton and other merchandise, but it is not clear if the cotton had been produced locally.²²⁵ In April 1300, another Catalan undertook to transport a cargo of wheat from Apulia to Limassol (or, alternatively, Famagusta or other ports in the Levant) on behalf of the Florentine banking house of Bardi; in November of the same year a Genoese who lived in Famagusta hired a Venetian ship moored at the city's port to transport wheat from Limassol to Armenia. At the time, Cyprus and other countries in the Middle East needed to import grain because of a long drought.²²⁶ According to an agreement signed in February 1300, 5,000 gros tournois were to be paid in Limassol before 15 April.²²⁷ In the same year, a Genoese merchant hired a Genoese ship to transport 300 sacks of carobs and other merchandise from Limassol to Constantinople, and in 1301 another Genoese merchant hired a ship moored in Famagusta to transport a cargo of sugar from Limassol to Genoa. In 1300, a Genoese from Famagusta was involved in the wine trade in Limassol, an investment worth 350 white bezants. In 1301 a business transaction of 70,000 white bezants between a merchant of the Mozzi company of Florence and agents

²²⁴ *Libri commemoriali*, I, 27, 35, nos. 111, 149. See Stöckly (1995a: 132-4) and Jacoby (2009b: 69, 71).

²²⁵ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1296-1299*, nos. 4, 149.

²²⁶ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1299-1300*, no. 109; idem, *1300-1301*, no. 127.

²²⁷ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1299-1300*, no. 55.

of another Florentine company, the Bardi, was conducted in Limassol.²²⁸ In 1301 Andrew Tartaro, a canon of Limassol, formed a company with Giovanni de Vignali in order to trade in Romania (Greece), and in 1302 they were still associated; in 1309, the notary Giovanni de Rocha drafted two acts in Limassol concerning Tartaro's debts.²²⁹ In 1302 Bertozio Latinus, *speciarius* (spice merchant) and resident of Famagusta, and the Genoese Nicolinus de Sigestro formed a commercial association; Bertozio was to invest in this association the proceeds from the sale of dark cotton cloth in his possession, stored in a warehouse in Limassol that was owned by a candle maker, Madius ('apotheca Madii candelarii'). A few months later, Bertozio sold cloth and spices to Nicolinus and the latter had the spices transported to Limassol. In 1302, Giovanni de Negroponte received money from Giacomo de Zanterio di Messina to invest in Limassol. In the same year, a Genoese ship was to transport 400 sacks of carobs from the port of Limassol to Tunis in a transaction involving many Genoese merchants active in Limassol.²³⁰ In 1307 Limassol was mentioned in the transactions of Genoese merchants residing in Famagusta; their business involved wine that was loaded at the port of Limassol.²³¹

A few years later, however, the city is conspicuously absent from the manual of international commerce of the Florentine Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, an agent of the Florentine banking house of Bardi who was in Cyprus in the 1330s, while the name of its rival Famagusta occurs very often and at length.²³² The relaxation of the papal embargo on trade with Muslim lands in 1344 and the resumption of direct western trade with Egypt and Syria meant that the role of Limassol and other Cypriot ports as intermediary stations declined, although they were still used by small vessels that loaded on board local products to transfer them to Famagusta for export.²³³ Even fewer commercial documents mentioning Limassol survive from the 1360s, Famagusta still being the port figuring regularly in the sources. In the notarial register of the Venetian Nicola de Boateriis, who worked in Famagusta during the period 1360-1362, Limassol is

²²⁸ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1300-1301*, nos. 29, 299, 165, 343 (cf. nos. 73, 127).

²²⁹ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1301*, nos. 137-8, 147 (cf. no. 238), 104a; idem, *1302*, no. 158; Giovanni de Rocha, nos. 25-7.

²³⁰ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1302*, nos. 90-2, 197-199a, 233, 100, 266; for Bertozio, also see idem, *1299-1300*, Index, 332, idem, *1300-1301*, nos. 56, 65, 128, 211, 217, 281, 417, idem, *1304-1305*, nos. 10, 16, 18, and idem, *1307*, nos. 63-4.

²³¹ Lamberto di Sambuceto, *1307*, nos. 84, 148, 152.

²³² Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*. See Jacoby (2009b: 71-2).

²³³ Jacoby (2009b: 73-4).

mentioned as a port of call for local products or goods in transit within the regional trade also involving Famagusta, Paphos, Kyrenia, Crete, Rhodes, and Asia Minor. Products included carobs loaded on board ships for export to Venice, grain, tiles ('natas mille de copis de Firmo') for export to Rhodes, or spices, the ships staying in the town only for a few days, the time they needed to load the cargo.²³⁴

The Church

It was Limassol, the bustling hub of commerce and headquarters of the Templars and Hospitallers, and not Nicosia or Famagusta that hosted the great Provincial Council of Cyprus on 22-23 September 1298. The council was held in the 'Great Church', i.e., Limassol Cathedral, with Archbishop Gerard of Nicosia and Bishops Berard of Limassol and Nicholas of Paphos presiding, since the bishop of Famagusta was outside Cyprus. The council was perhaps the most important held in Cyprus to that date, attended by 'good men who had been summoned [...] and also many other honest men'. The regulations passed during the council were significant enough to be quoted in 1325 and several times at the great Council of Nicosia of 1340.²³⁵

Even the business of the cathedral seems to have come alive during these decades. Already before 1291 the Dominican Bishop Berard entered into a long conflict with the old but tenacious Bishop Matthew of Lefkara, who is first mentioned as the bishop of Lefkara who journeyed to Rome with Archbishop Germanos and participated in the discussions that led to the promulgation of the *Bulla Cypria* on 3 July 1260.²³⁶ In accordance with the *Bulla Cypria*, Berard travelled to Lefkara to perform an official visitation of the cathedral, an inspection so to speak, no doubt in part to receive his fee of thirty livres tournois in the process. Berard had many of the Greek priests and other clerics in Matthew's jurisdiction summoned to the cathedral, where he preached them a sermon. Then, in what appears to have been a show of power or a blatant attempt to pick a fight, the bishop of Limassol deliberately asked the priests and some of the canons of Lefkara Cathedral for their opinion about the Latin use of unleavened bread (*azymos*) in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Now, this is exactly what the Dominican Friar Andrew and his companion William had done when they visited the monastery of Kantara in about 1227. According to

²³⁴ Nicola de Boateriis, nos. 91, 98-9, 101, 114; Jacoby (2002d: 65, 67-9); Coureas (2002: 23, 35).

²³⁵ *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. G; J.X; L.II, III, V, VIII.

²³⁶ *Cartulary*, no. 25; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.25.10.

Latin doctrine, both unleavened and leavened (*enzymos*) bread – which the Greeks used – were valid, but the Greeks considered the Latin practice invalid and even heretical. Andrew’s provocation of the Greeks ended in their execution in 1231. Afterwards the Greeks who were confronted with the issue and did not wish to compromise chose to go into exile, as many did in around 1239.²³⁷

Bishop Berard of Limassol must have understood that the Greek clerics in Lefkara would have to choose between losing face and accepting the validity of the Latin practice or maintaining their opposition and going into exile, since the path to martyrdom does not seem to have been taken again after 1231. Instead, probably by prior arrangement, the priests pleaded ignorance, maintaining that they had no idea about the Latin practice. All the while Bishop Matthew of Lefkara kept quiet but nodded his approval to their response. Berard was flustered and pressed them on this and other issues, demanding that the clergymen swear an oath about their opinion. This time the priests and canons asserted that they could not swear an oath because they would not be able to celebrate the divine offices afterwards. When Berard asked Bishop Matthew directly, his Greek subordinate quoted the Gospel of Matthew: ‘Do not swear’. Pope Boniface VIII, to whom we owe this information, states that Berard could have proceeded against Matthew on suspicion of heresy, but chose to warn him and to summon him to Limassol to renounce his errors. Matthew never showed up, although Berard kept waiting after the deadline, so the bishop of Limassol excommunicated Matthew, denouncing him publicly. Matthew remained obstinate, the bishop of Limassol summoned him again, the bishop of Lefkara refused to come, and he was excommunicated a second time.²³⁸

Frustrated, Bishop Berard of Limassol turned to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem Nicholas. Like Berard, Nicholas summoned Bishop Matthew of Lefkara to appear before him in Limassol to answer to Berard’s charges. Of course Matthew did no such thing. This time Nicholas did the excommunicating, dying in 1291 without having the satisfaction of seeing Matthew brought to (Latin) justice. Matthew continued to ignore the Latins until about 1294, celebrating the divine offices despite his being thrice excommunicated without any absolution. Berard summoned Matthew to Limassol once again to receive his punishment, but Matthew held Berard in contempt. So Berard condemned Matthew as a heretic, removing him from office, taking away his benefice, stripping him of his

²³⁷ Schabel (2010b).

²³⁸ *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, o-19, 20; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. X.31-32.

title, and defrocking him. This time Matthew took refuge in the Nicosia diocese, and here we learn that perhaps there was another Latin side to the story. Once Matthew had left his jurisdiction, Berard had to ask the cooperation of the archbishop of Nicosia for the bishop of Lefkara's capture and extradition. Perhaps because he was a Franciscan, and thus a rival of the Dominican Berard and more sympathetic to the Greeks, Archbishop John of Ancona refused to comply. This time Berard had nowhere to turn except to Rome.

In April of 1295 Pope Boniface transferred Archbishop John and replaced him with Gerard of Langres, although we have no way of knowing if this move had anything to do with the affair of Bishop Matthew of Lefkara. In October of the same year Boniface commanded Archbishop Gerard to capture and imprison Matthew, with the help of the secular authorities if necessary, keeping him there until further notice. At the same time Gerard was given full and unrestricted power to capture, imprison, and punish canonically the canons and priests of the cathedral of Lefkara – who 'still stubbornly persisted in their errors' – and anyone in the city and diocese of Limassol suspect of heresy.²³⁹

Regrettably, we have no idea how the conflict was resolved. Both Bishop Berard of Limassol and Bishop Matthew of Lefkara were dead by late 1300, Matthew before Berard. Following Matthew's death his subordinates proceeded to elect his successor exactly as specified in the *Bulla Cypria*, according to the election document, a copy of which has been preserved:²⁴⁰

On the 22nd of the month of January we, the clerics of the most holy bishopric of Amathus ('Ἀμαθουσίας'), the great dean ('οἰκονόμος') and the rest, arrived in the city of Limassol to announce the death of our lord Bishop Matthew to his holiness the bishop of Limassol, lord Berard ('Μπαρτάρ'), according to our custom and as described in the decree of the most holy Pope Alexander. And our master the bishop of Limassol ('Νεμεσοῦ'), the aforementioned Lord Berard, instructed us to make a choice and vote for a bishop who is a fitting and worthy person, after having invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit. We, the aforementioned clerics of the bishopric of Amathus, after consulting and deliberating for many days with the trustworthy and wise men of our diocese, both abbots and laymen, and after having invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, having sung the psalms and prayed all night, looking, thinking, and searching we found a prudent man most pleasing to God [...].

²³⁹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, o-19-20; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. X.31-32.

²⁴⁰ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367*, nos. 94, 104.

At this point things get confusing. We actually have two documents, agreeing almost verbatim up to this point, but then going on to name two different successors of Matthew: Olvianos,²⁴¹ the true successor, attested in many later documents, and Germanos,²⁴² whose election document adds that the clerics went to Limassol ‘in the year 1320’. If Germanos’ text is not a forgery, than there is at least one scribal error in the date. Without going into the details, the latest scholar to analyze the documents holds something like this: after 22 January, probably in 1300, but possibly 1296-1299, the electors chose:

the most blessed kathegoumenos of the venerable monastery of Lord Epiphanius, Lord Germanos, of a renowned name and family, a pious, wise, and law-abiding man, who was raised as a monk from a young age and who successfully administered his monastery and its monks, quick and well versed in learning, serene and able to assist and administer the diocese [...].

Since Olvianos was Matthew’s successor, Berard must have rejected Germanos, perhaps because he had prior experience with him. So the electors went back and chose ‘the most blessed kathegoumenos of the venerable monastery of Asomatos of Lefkara, Lord Olvianos the hieromonk’. They copied out the new election decree, changing only the name, although the copy we have lacks the year date. This time Berard must have agreed and, during the ceremony (described below concerning the Venetian period), Olvianos took the oath of loyalty to the Roman Church and to Bishop Berard, thus becoming bishop of Lefkara. The basic form of the oath, most of which was common to Latin bishops as well, is preserved in Greek in the same manuscript:²⁴³

I, the above-named bishop of such-and-such diocese, from this time forward will be faithful and obedient to St Peter and to the Holy Roman Church, and to my lord the bishop of Limassol (‘Νεμεσοῦ’), and to his successors canonically elected [...].

If Olvianos was elected some time in early 1300, then he did not have to suffer long under the belligerent Berard, for the latter died within a few months. Olvianos was perhaps relieved that the election of Berard’s

²⁴¹ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, no. 94.

²⁴² *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, no. 104.

²⁴³ *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, no. 103. By chance, we have a similar oath for the bishop of Limassol from the mid-fourteenth century: ASV, *Instrumenta Miscellanea*, no. 1717, edited in Schabel (forthcoming).

successor was disputed, for although the chapter voted for Anthony of Saurano, the treasurer of Famagusta, and John de Nores, the treasurer of Nicosia who was serving as the vicar of the absentee Archbishop Gerard, confirmed the election, the cantor ('J.') of Nicosia claimed that he also held a canonry in Limassol and had been excluded from the election, which was therefore invalid. The cantor appealed to the pope, both he and Anthony travelled to Rome in person to argue their case, and Anthony gave up and resigned his claim into Pope Boniface VIII's hands. Boniface then appointed papal chaplain Peter Erlant in early 1301. Bishop Peter was so busy with the administration of Nicosia, Amaury's coup, various missions, and overseeing the trial of the Templars in Nicosia, that perhaps Bishop Olvianos of Lefkara was left alone for a time. The only thing we hear about him until 1313 is a mention in a letter of repentance dated to February 1307 and written by Theodoros tis Skoufenas, *sakellarios* of the 'Bishopric of Amathusia'.²⁴⁴

During the trial of the Templars in Cyprus, the Bishop of Limassol Peter Erlant, acting as administrator of the Church of Nicosia in the absence of Archbishop Gerard of Nicosia, was one of the two inquisitors. Hugh of Carmagnino, treasurer of the Church of Limassol, also followed the proceedings as observer together with Nicholas Bonihominis, canon of the same church. The interrogation probably began in May 1310 with Templar witnesses, discontinued at some point, and began again in May 1311 with non-Templar witnesses. It took place in Nicosia, and although often the 'house of the reverend father lord Peter, by the grace of God bishop of Limassol' is mentioned as the meeting place, this was the bishop's house in the capital.²⁴⁵ The two inquisitors heard the testimonies of witnesses, many of whom were members of the order in Limassol or clerics who came from the diocese of Limassol: James of Doumanin, preceptor of Templar lands in Limassol, John of Livisi, preceptor of the Templar palace in Limassol, Stephen of Safet, prior of the Templar house in Limassol, Andrew Tartaro, canon of Limassol, Hugh of Carmagnino, treasurer of Limassol,²⁴⁶ as well as brothers Guy and John of Amandula,

²⁴⁴ *Bullarium Cyprum*, II, o-51; *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367, no. 98, cf. no. 92; Schabel (2000-2001: 227; 2009: 185-8; 2012: 201-4, 207).

²⁴⁵ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 24-30 (date of the hearings), 39 (inquisitors), 93, 97, 119, 155, 404 (observers), 43-4, 51, 92, 104, 212, 251, 442 (bishop of Limassol and place of the hearings); 'Amadi', 283.

²⁴⁶ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 30-7, 75, 89, 93, 97, 108-9, 116-17, 119, 261-5, 288-92, 405-8 and passim. John de Noris/Nores, *ibid.*, 407 and note 8, was treasurer of Nicosia and not Limassol (as erroneously stated in the manuscript of the hearings) and later canon of Paphos; the mistake must be attributed to the

abbot and monk respectively of the Benedictine monastery of Stavrovouni.²⁴⁷

Peter Erlant spent much of his time at his palace in Nicosia, and no doubt so did his successors, who were also sent on missions. As we shall see, from 1322 to 1337 three Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem held the administration of the Church of Limassol, usually drawing its income while living in Nicosia, surely, when they were in Cyprus at all. Although he did not know it in 1310, the Greek Bishop Olvianos of Lefkara was also to spend many years away from the diocese of Limassol and his cathedral in the mountain village.

In the end Olvianos managed to get into as much trouble as his predecessor, Matthew, if not more. In 1308 Pope Clement V sent as papal legate Peter of Pleine-Chassagne, bishop of Rodez, to deal with the crisis between King Henry II and his brother Amaury. Peter remained on Cyprus after Amaury's murder and Henry's return in 1310 to involve himself in the suppression of the Templars in 1312.²⁴⁸ Around the same time he ran into difficulties with the Greeks of Cyprus. According to later letters of Pope John XXII, which relay the complaints of Bishops Leo of Solia and Olvianos of Lefkara, Leo and Olvianos maintained that until Legate Peter began to meddle in their affairs, the *Bulla Cypria* had been observed peacefully in Cyprus since its promulgation, which is something of an exaggeration given Matthew's defiance, but Olvianos' own election supports their claim. According to Leo and Olvianos, the legate determined that the extreme Greek and Syrian Orthodox reverence for the still-unconsecrated host was idolatrous and even heretical, so Peter resolved to stamp it out. He also promulgated legislation *de facto* modifying several of the terms of the *Bulla Cypria*, the two Greek bishops asserted.²⁴⁹

The four Greek bishops of Cyprus apparently tried to explain to the legate why they were not bound to obey his new regulations, but the legate rejected their reasoning. Knowledge of the rift became public, so when on 1 May 1313 Leo, Olvianos, and Bishop Hilarion of Karpasia were

scribe confounding *Nicosiensis* with *Nimociensis*: see Nicolaou-Konnari (forthcoming b), chapter 1.

²⁴⁷ In the proceedings, a brother Guy, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Mary in Limassol, and a brother Guy, abbot of the monastery of Stavrovouni, are mentioned. Since the only Benedictine monastery in Limassol was Stavrovouni, the two monasteries must be identical; see *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 75 and note 165, 405-6.

²⁴⁸ Coureas (1997a: 106-9).

²⁴⁹ *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.37; Schabel (2006: 202).

proceeding to the archiepiscopal palace in Nicosia, where Peter was staying, to plead with him once again, an agitated crowd of Greek layfolk joined the bishops. Although the bishops themselves were probably partly responsible for this development, they understood that the consequences could be dire, and they left. But the crowd pressed on to the palace, broke in, tried to find the legate to do him harm, and, failing this, attempted to set fire to the palace to burn him inside. The viscount of Nicosia with his men came just in time and chased away the crowd. The viscount then announced the king's decree that anyone entering the archiepiscopal court would lose hand and foot, and after an investigation the ringleaders were rounded up and imprisoned. It seems that they shifted the blame to the bishops, however, for the laymen were released, since 'their actions were done out of ignorance', and the bishops were imprisoned instead.²⁵⁰

Poor Leo, Olvianos, and Hilarion remained incarcerated for years, and Hilarion probably died in prison. The legate, who was promoted to patriarch of Jerusalem, not only failed to give them due process of the law, but he had the chapters of the Greek cathedrals appoint administrators who were not to consult with the bishops themselves. In 1315 Peter left Cyprus, without having resolved the issue, and the Greek bishops appealed to the pope in Avignon. On 23 November 1318 Pope John XXII ordered an investigation and their release from prison under certain conditions, with their possible referral to the pope. As a result the bishops were released from custody, but they had to go to Avignon with the sealed documents of the inquest. When they arrived, Pope John had the matter looked into and, considering their time in prison, their age, their tiring journey to Avignon, and their spirit of humility and obedience, the pope decided to restore them to their ministries, even if they were at fault for the riot. He did ask that they show more respect to papal legates and try to explain the Sacrament of the Eucharist more clearly to their congregations, but otherwise he confirmed their rights according to the *Bulla Cypria*.²⁵¹

This decision was not announced until 30 January 1321, nearly eight years after the incident occurred. The Greek bishops' imprisonment had other repercussions, but there were benefits in being at the court of a pope who was rather friendly and protective. Olvianos and the others took the opportunity to complain about what had happened during their incarceration. The Latin bishops had exploited their absence by usurping jurisdiction over the Syrian Orthodox that, according to Leo and Olvianos,

²⁵⁰ *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.37; 'Amadi', 395-6; Bustron, 247-8; Schabel (2006: 202-4).

²⁵¹ *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.36-37.

was theirs under the terms of the *Bulla Cypria*. Worse for Olvianos, since he probably had fewer Syrians in his diocese, certain Latins, Greeks, and Syrians, both clergy and laymen, stole not only movable and immovable property belonging to Leo's and Olvianos' episcopal estates, but also their personal possessions. A Frankish scholar even retained their copy of the *Bulla Cypria*, while a knight held Pope John XXII's letter of late 1318 that demanded an investigation and their release, both of them extorting money for the documents. Perhaps this explains why Leo and Olvianos were not exonerated until over two years after that letter. On 11 February 1321 the pope demanded that the situation be rectified and that the bishops receive compensation.²⁵²

On 7 July 1321 the pope went beyond this with two letters. In the first, he granted the Greek chapel of St Mary in the Limassol diocese to a Greek cleric named Theodoros Catidi, who had requested the chapel. Theodoros maintained that it had been left vacant for so long that its collation had devolved on the pope and not Bishop Olvianos, who normally had jurisdiction in this matter. As Pope John knew full well, Olvianos had been in prison and was unable to grant the chapel. Probably during Olvianos' imprisonment the administrator of Lefkara Cathedral had conferred the chapel on one of his favourites, and most likely Olvianos sought a way to dislodge the occupant in favour of Theodoros. This is supported by the second letter, in which the pope related that, in Avignon, Olvianos had recently explained that 'the incomes and yields with respect to his episcopal manse are so slight and meagre that they cannot properly sustain him according to what is decent for his rank'. Olvianos asked Pope John to annex to his episcopal estate the Greek abbey of the Holy Saviour in Lefkara, which the bishop of Lefkara claimed had been deserted for a long time and was in ruins. The pope granted this request as well, pending an investigation. Since Bishop Leo of Solia made similar requests accompanied by assertions that later turned out to be false, for in fact he was quite rich and wanted to annex a functioning and lucrative property, it is quite possible that Olvianos, too, was lying about his economic situation and the circumstances of Holy Saviour abbey.²⁵³

Afterwards our sources for Lefkara fall silent until 1340. This was the year of the recovery of the Cross of Tokhni, a jewelled cross encased in which was said to be a piece of the True Cross that St Helena had brought to Cyprus in the fourth century. Leontios Makhairas relates how a Latin priest named John Santamarin had stolen the cross from Tokhni in 1318,

²⁵² *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. X.38.

²⁵³ *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. X.40-3, 45-6.

but failing to sail away he threw it into a hollow carob tree. Its hiding place was miraculously revealed to a slave boy named George in 1340. Naturally the bishop of Lefkara at the time, Clement, wished the cross to be returned to Tokhni, only about ten kilometres south of Lefkara and in his jurisdiction, but King Hugh IV, Queen Alice, her mother Mary, Bishop Leontios of Solea, and the Orthodox Patriarch Ignatios of Antioch ensured that the cross was housed in a monastery near the capital.²⁵⁴

That we know the bishop of Lefkara's name is due to the fact that Clement of Lefkara attended the great Council of Nicosia that same year, 1340. Several Latin clerics based in Limassol were also present at the council: Bishop Lambertino Balduino della Cecca from Bologna, transferred to Brescia on 3 November 1344; the hellenophone Treasurer James Paschal, who already had the expectation of a canonry in 1322; and Canon James of St Prosper, who acted as interpreter for the Greeks – perhaps an indication that it was useful to be bilingual in the chapter of the cathedral of predominantly Greek Limassol. Also in attendance was the Dominican friar Francis of Limassol, prior provincial of the Holy Land province and also a Greek speaker.²⁵⁵ It seems that Francis was actually from Limassol, and perhaps first joined the Dominican convent there, learning Greek in childhood. A great number of other clerics attended, possibly some of the other Greeks of Lefkara and Latins from Limassol.

Regarding the Latin regular clergy, the mendicants strengthened their presence in Limassol after 1291. Writing in the sixteenth century, Étienne de Lusignan maintained that all four mendicant orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites, had convents in Limassol,²⁵⁶ but unlike their houses in Nicosia and Famagusta their existence in Limassol is shadowy and hard to date. Although the Franciscans' Limassol convent may have been founded as early as 1248, the first secure information comes from this period: 'Amadi' mentions it in 1308 in connection with the trial of the Templars, because the Templar goods in Limassol were sequestered, inventoried, and placed with various citizens, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans.²⁵⁷ Aside from various Franciscan bishops of Limassol, all we hear of their convent in these years is that, along with the other Franciscan houses, it was involved in a quarrel between King Hugh IV and his son-in-law Ferrand of Majorca in the early

²⁵⁴ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§67-77, pp. 60-73 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 101-7 (all three manuscripts); Bustron, 256-7.

²⁵⁵ *Synodicum Nicosiense*, nos. L.1, 14, VIII.b; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. r-133; Kaoulla and Schabel (2007: 167-9).

²⁵⁶ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fols. 8v, 32v-33r.

²⁵⁷ 'Amadi', 287, 289; Golubovich, II, 158, 524-5.

1340s. Limassol is first mentioned in this context in 1341 when Hugh had Ferrand's secretary taken to Limassol for questioning. In 1342 Hugh summoned the leading Franciscans of Cyprus to Limassol where he publicly accused them of treason for supporting Ferrand.²⁵⁸ It is not certain, but it seems that this would have happened at the Limassol convent.

The first Dominican convent in Cyprus was in Nicosia. If Patriarch Opizo founded a Dominican house in Limassol in the 1250s, it was temporary, to judge from its absence from a 1277 list of the order's convents. The Dominicans established a second house on Cyprus just before 1296, most probably in Famagusta, but the Limassol convent was soon to follow, because it is mentioned in 1303.²⁵⁹ Since the bishop of Limassol from the fall of Acre until around 1300 was the Dominican Berard, he may have been instrumental in the founding of the convent.²⁶⁰ We have very little evidence of the Limassol Dominicans in this period, although prominent Dominicans occupied the see of Limassol either as administrators or bishops. Pope John XXII chose to preside in Limassol the first of a series of three patriarchs of Jerusalem in 1322, quashing the Carmelite William's election in favour of Patriarch-elect Peter of Genouillac. Peter was administrator in 1323, but he died near Avignon in 1324, having never surpassed his 'elect' status. In March of 1324 Pope John appointed as Peter's replacement as patriarch and administrator the Dominican Raymond Béguin, master of theology at the University of Paris and an important scholar. When Raymond died in Cyprus in 1328, he was replaced by an even more famous Dominican author, Peter de la Palud, who held Limassol until 1337, when Pope Benedict XII cancelled the arrangement.²⁶¹

Of the Carmelites, Étienne de Lusignan remarks that they had both a convent in Limassol itself and a 'loghetto' a league outside of town near the *casale* of 'Apelemidia'.²⁶² When their Limassol convent was established is uncertain. No doubt their Nicosia convent was founded first, and Famagusta would have been second, permission for the establishment being given in 1311. So the Limassol convent probably came to be between 1311 and the Black Death (1348), perhaps in connection with the brief episcopate of the Carmelite William. After the death of Bishop John

²⁵⁸ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 180-1, 182-203.

²⁵⁹ *Acta Capitulorum O. Praed.*, I, 281; Altaner (1924: 21 and note 13). See Coureas (1997a: 213).

²⁶⁰ *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, nos. n-23, o-51

²⁶¹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-135, 217, 224, 225, 399, 400, s-21, 30.

²⁶² Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 33r.

at the papal curia, sometime after mid-1320, the Limassol chapter elected William and the archbishop confirmed the election and consecrated the Carmelite. Pope John XXII, however, asserted that the post was reserved for his collation, conferred it on Patriarch-elect Peter of Jerusalem in mid-1322, and transferred William from Limassol to Cività Castellana in Italy in early 1324.²⁶³ At any rate, in 1367 the order owned a garden in the town of Limassol for which the tithe assessment was one bezant,²⁶⁴ the Limassol convent itself is mentioned in a document of the order dated 1369, and an undated manuscript note lists Carmelite houses in ‘lumason’ and ‘bafa’.²⁶⁵

Apparently nothing remains of the Carmelite convent in Limassol, nor do we know its location, but the ‘loghetto’ near ‘Apelemidia’ is a different story. One of the most interesting medieval monuments in Greater Limassol is the church of Karmiotissa in Pano Polemidia, near the new hospital, clearly the Carmelite property of which Étienne de Lusignan wrote. Michalis Olympios describes the church in detail in this volume. It seems to have existed by 1368, judging from one of the fragments of tombs recently unearthed on the north side: ...rere:A... /...sa:en:l.../...acion:II.../...et:LXVIII: .../...Novembre:/... Cecile:Die... ..erci:de:l’arm... This could be expanded to something like: ‘[Ici gist F]rere A[ndre?] [qui trespa]sa en l[’an de l’incarn]acion II[I cens] et LXVIII, [le mois de] Novembre, [le jors de S.] Cecile, Die[u ait m]erci de l’arm[e]’. Probably Brother A. was a Carmelite who died on St Cecile’s day, 22 November, in 1368.²⁶⁶

We know even less about the Order of the Hermits of St Augustine, or the Austin Friars. Their first convent was in Nicosia and on 14 June 1328 Pope John XXII wrote to the prior general and the friars of the Augustinian Order, mentioning that they still had only one house on the island. The letter gave them permission to receive two places given to them by the knight Raymond of Antioch, who lived in Nicosia. They were allowed to found convents in each locale, provided that the two papal nuncios assigned to investigate the sites first determined that each one was sufficient to accommodate at least twelve friars.²⁶⁷ Given that Étienne de

²⁶³ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-135, 223; Smet (1988: I, 43).

²⁶⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 86.

²⁶⁵ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3991, fol. 87v, cited by J. Smet in Philippe de Mézières, *Peter Thomae*, 82, note 45.

²⁶⁶ This corresponds to *Lacrimae Cypriae*, no. 429. There is also an illegible fragment, *ibid.*, no. 671, from which we can only gather that it is a tombstone written in French, and one corresponding to no. 430, which reads: ‘+:ici:gist:s[il]-re:Rohart:lai...’.

²⁶⁷ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. r-357.

Lusignan relates that the Augustinians had houses in Nicosia, Famagusta, and Limassol, but not Paphos,²⁶⁸ it is clear that the two convents established after mid-1328 were in Famagusta and Limassol, and we have the additional information that the Limassol friars should have numbered at least twelve.

A rather enigmatic letter of Pope Innocent VI of 1353, addressed to King Hugh IV, relates that Patriarch William of Jerusalem informed him that a certain John de Correto had been staying at the *casale* of 'Perendaco' (Pentakomon or Pendas) of the Limassol diocese, which since King Aimery's grant of 1201 belonged to the patriarch and chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, the canons of which followed the rule of St Augustine. These were not mendicant friars of the Augustinian Hermits, but rather a separate order of canons regular, priests who followed a monastic rule. According to Pope Innocent's letter, John de Correto had been governing the *casale* in the name of the prior and chapter, by the king's charity, fearing injury from no one. But a certain 'apostate' of said order, Bartholomew by name, with some of his accomplices, went to the *casale*, captured John, broke open one of his chests, and violently removed John's money and other things, making off with the animals and other goods of the prior and chapter that belonged to the *casale*. They also took John captive and were holding him who knows where. King Hugh was asked to deal with it.²⁶⁹ The only other information we have for this foundation is from tithe levies from around the same time. For 1357 the *casale* of 'Pendaco', belonging to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, paid 100 bezants, actually quite a respectable sum. For the period 1362-1365 the assessment for 'Pendaco' was 390 bezants, again very high, while in 1367 only 30 bezants were paid, the rest of the amount owed to be clarified. The papal letter of 1353 indicates that canons stayed there, at least on occasion.²⁷⁰

When he visited the island around 1340, the German traveller Ludolf of Sudheim claimed that an unspecified number of Teutonic knights were living in a place in the diocese of Limassol named 'Pravimunt' or 'Perrinunt'. In Latin the place was called 'Pauper Mons', or 'Poor Mountain', and was near the *casale* of Pentakomon/Pendas owned by Augustinian canons. It was assessed at the rather high sum of 345 bezants for the tithe levy of 1362-1365, but we know little else about it.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 33r.

²⁶⁹ *Bullarium Cypricum*, III, no. u-16; Hubatsch (1955: no. 2).

²⁷⁰ Richard (1984-1987: 31; 1999); *Documents chypriotes*, 81.

²⁷¹ *Excerpta Cyprica*, 19; Richard (1999: 13); *Documents chypriotes*, 69, 120; Houben (2008: 157).

While the Teutonic knights maintained a diminished presence in the diocese after 1310, the small English military Order of St Thomas the Martyr of Acre continued to use Cyprus as one of its bases, with its headquarters in the Limassol diocese. Before 1291 there had been negotiations between the Templars and the Knights of St Thomas of Acre about a merger, the latter order being poor and the master often absent. Some of the members in Acre were apparently opposed to union, and certainly the members of their London convent were. With the dissolution of the Templars the merger came to nought, but the talks helped cause a rift between the brothers in Cyprus and those in London. Richard of Southampton, the master in London, attempted to gain control over the Cyprus branch, sending John des Roches to the island as his agent in 1309, with the power to arrest troublesome brothers. But Henry of Bedford was elected master in Cyprus in 1310, and for a while the order was split, with Richard of Southampton reigning in London.²⁷²

Grand Master Henry was able to dislodge Richard in 1318, thus uniting the order, but afterwards Henry ran into problems. A letter of Pope John XXII from 1 July 1320 informs us that a dispute over jurisdiction and tithe exemption had arisen between Bishop John of Limassol and the knights of the hospital of St Thomas of the Limassol diocese. Within their convent the knights were divided into factions, one wishing to relocate to London, the other preferring to stay. After Bishop John's death and Bishop William's election, between 1320 and 1322, at the request of the brothers of the hospital William summoned Henry of Bedford to his presence to face charges of simony during his promotion to master, the dilapidation of the goods of the hospital, and various other crimes. In his inquisition, William found Henry guilty and ordered him removed from power, although various impediments prevented the enforcement of the decision. In 1322 Henry of Bedford claimed to have been robbed when travelling from the knights' Cyprus base to England, when the order was apparently moving its property to London, but we are entitled to doubt his veracity. After Bishop William's transfer, John XXII ordered a new investigation, and Patriarch Raymond of Jerusalem's vicar again found Bedford guilty and removed him from power in 1324. On 1 July 1325 Pope John told the vicar to find the 'house or hospital' of St Thomas the Martyr a new master, and the vicar chose Brother Nicholas of Clifton. Because of the distance between Limassol and London, however, Nicholas was not able to take control in London as well, so in 1328, yet again on 1 July, Pope John ordered that Clifton be put in possession of the order's house in London.

²⁷² Forey (1977: 494-6).

In 1344 the head of the order was still in Cyprus, for in a document from Cyprus Robert of Kendale terms himself ‘general preceptor of the entire Order of the Knights of St Thomas the Martyr in the Kingdom of Cyprus, Apulia, Sicily, Calabria, Brindisi, England, Flanders, Brabant, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and Cornwall, and of all the houses in other regions or kingdoms in various parts of the world that are subject to the same order’.²⁷³

Since the order’s surviving documents coming from Cyprus were drawn up in Nicosia at this time, one inside their church or chapel of St Nicholas of the English, and their Nicosia possessions often figure in them, it has been suggested that their real base was the capital.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, not only do papal letters refer to it as being in the Limassol diocese, but the bishop or administrator of Limassol is often involved in this correspondence. Moreover, travellers’ reports from the late 1330s and early 1340s speak of the ‘English monks of the Order of St Thomas of Canterbury’ as being in the Limassol diocese. One, an anonymous Englishman, leaving the city and ‘passing many villages, arrived at a most beautiful place where resides the master of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre’.²⁷⁵ Perhaps their rural headquarters and small size made it convenient to use the notaries of Nicosia for their correspondence, since they employed public notaries Peter Anselm, John Lambert, and Thibault de Brayda de Alba. We hear of the order’s presence in the Limassol diocese down to the 1350s and 1360s, for example with its tithe assessment. In 1357 the preceptor had to pay 60 bezants, for 1362-1365 it paid 120, and in 1367 – when their ‘comandour’ is still mentioned – it owed 44. By 1379, at least, it seems clear that the order’s master was based in London. Perhaps the Genoese war put an end to their house near Limassol.²⁷⁶

The mountaintop Benedictine monastery of Stavrovouni, also known as St Paul of Antioch and the Abbey of the Cross, was an important and much-visited pilgrimage goal for fourteenth-century travellers. In 1346, James of Verona (Bern) visited it on his way back to Famagusta from Nicosia, saying that it was particularly revered by ‘seafaring men in storms at sea’; five years later, Ludolf of Sudheim does not fail to repeat that the

²⁷³ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, r-101, 262, 358; ASV, Reg. Vat. 87, fol. 150r-v and Reg. Aven. 30, fol. 608r; Forey (1977: 496-8); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 81-2; Mas Latrie, ‘Documents nouveaux’, 358-63.

²⁷⁴ Forey (1977: 496-7); Mas Latrie, ‘Documents nouveaux’, 357-63.

²⁷⁵ *Excerpta Cypria*, 19; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 56.

²⁷⁶ Forey (1977: 499); Mas Latrie, ‘Documents nouveaux’, 360-3; *Documents chypriotes*, 69, 84, 102; Richard (1984-1987: 31; 1999: 13-14).

monastery was saluted by seafarers, also claiming that from the top of the mountain one can see Mount Lebanon.²⁷⁷ The monastery is also systematically mentioned as the place where one could witness the miracle of the suspended cross. The miracle was also known in Muslim circles, with an author, in an attempt to discredit Christianity, claiming in 1321 that it was achieved by magnets.²⁷⁸ Some travellers confused the Cross of the Good Thief, donated to the monastery by St Helena, with that of Jesus Christ. In *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* from the 1350s, whose author claims to have visited the island in the 1322s, we find an attempt to clarify the confusion.²⁷⁹

There also survive papal letters concerning the monastery. Mostly they are connected with papal business, but in 1323 the monk Philip Campanesia of the same monastery was granted some of the abbey's Nicosia property, the above-mentioned church of St Spiridion and other things providing an income of forty gold florins. Presumably Philip needed the money for something other than prayer.²⁸⁰ We have seen that Guy was abbot in 1310.²⁸¹ In 1328 the pope received a complaint from another of the monks, Lawrence of Cyprus, denouncing one of Guy's successors, Abbot Simon, on a series of charges: that Simon had wasted so much of Stavrovouni's goods that, without prompt intervention from the pope, the monastery would be reduced to poverty; that Simon was excommunicated when he was elected abbot and still is, because he had laid violent hands on the late Abbot Bartholomew of Bellapais when Simon was a monk there; that Simon had obtained his post through simony; that Bishop Gerard of Paphos excommunicated Simon for unpaid tithes when Gerard was still papal tithe collector (before 1327); that Simon lives so dissolutely and rules with such neglect that the monastic life there has totally collapsed; that as a result Simon is notorious in Cyprus and the surrounding areas. The pope ordered an investigation for the abbot's possible suspension. Simon was not deposed, however, because the election of Abbot John de Salexinis, specifically mentioned as the late Simon's successor, was confirmed in March 1346. On the contrary, in 1344 Simon was one of the royal envoys who negotiated a peace treaty with Genoa in Rome.²⁸²

²⁷⁷ *Excerpta Cypria*, 18, 19.

²⁷⁸ Ebied and Thomas, 321.

²⁷⁹ Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, 7-8; *Excerpta Cypria*, 21.

²⁸⁰ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. r-215.

²⁸¹ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 75, 405-6.

²⁸² *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-365, t-182; Mas Latrie, 'Nouvelles preuves (1873)', 57.

Tithe records from the 1350s and 1360s show that, despite the accusations against Simon, the ‘Abbey of the Cross’ continued to be wealthy, its assessment in 1362-1365 equalling that of Premonstratensian Bellapais at 900 bezants and second only to Cistercian Beaulieu at 1950 bezants. In 1367, however, it paid only fifty bezants.²⁸³ Perhaps Abbot Peter Gregory, appointed to succeed Abbot Philip in 1363, had run the monastery into the ground in the meantime. In 1368 Abbot Peter was living in Padua, having taken the abbey’s goods with him. In fact, Pope Urban V complained that more than one abbot had done such things, neglecting their charge for a number of years, removing property to the West, and leaving Stavrovouni desolate and deprived of monks. Urban did not manage to dislodge Peter, however, for Gregory XI was still addressing him as abbot at late as 1374.²⁸⁴ Perhaps such abuses contributed to the famous and once-great monastery’s collapse in the early fifteenth century.

We do not possess much personal information about Limassol in this period, but papal documents provide us a glimpse into the lives of close to a hundred clerics of the Church of Limassol. A number of them, albeit the minority, were locals, with famous Cypriot surnames like Chappe, Montolif, and Ibelin, coming from families from Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, and Acre, or called ‘of Cyprus’. Some, like William of Acre, Frederick of Bargagli, and Geoffrey Spanzota, were associated with the chapter for thirty or forty years.²⁸⁵ In 1319 Bishop John and the chapter asserted that Henry Hamelin had served the church for more than twenty years, but could not support himself on his meagre incomes as cantor, so he was granted the expectation of a canonry.²⁸⁶

In general, however, the snapshots we have of the internal affairs of the Church of Limassol seem to confirm a picture of increasing absenteeism. As we have seen, and in ironic contrast to the Greek cathedral chapter at Lefkara, the cathedral chapter of Limassol, still just the archdeacon, cantor, treasurer, and six canons, was never really able to establish a tradition of episcopal elections, so usually the bishop was a papal appointment, often just an administrator. The bishop or administrator might take a long time to arrive from the West, could spend long periods of time on royal or papal embassies abroad, and could return to the West

²⁸³ Richard (1999: 12-14; 1984-87: 31); *Documents chypriotes*, 81.

²⁸⁴ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. v-19, 58, 191, 207, w-50, 284.

²⁸⁵ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-63, t-363 (Acre, 1318-1349), r-335, t-363 (Spanzota, 1327-1366), and r-16 and ASV, *Instrumenta Miscellanea*, nos. 1952-3 (Bargagli, 1317-after 1353).

²⁸⁶ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. r-89.

early. We have seen how active Peter Erlant was in Nicosia, and in the 1310s King Henry II sent the Franciscan bishop of Limassol, John of Latakia, on embassies to the West concerning marriage alliances with Aragon and its satellite states. Raymond Béguin was granted the right to exercise his duties as patriarch of Jerusalem and administrator of Limassol at the papal curia in Avignon and elsewhere.²⁸⁷ Limassol was seen as a source of income more than a assignment with care of souls, and this attitude affected the chapter as well. The most common single reason Limassol is mentioned in papal letters in these years is because the pope gave canonries in Limassol Cathedral to his favorites, or rather he gave away 'expectant' canonries in the future that would become available upon the death, resignation, or transfer of the incumbent.²⁸⁸ The pope also granted to the archbishop and the crown the right to confer expectant canonries.²⁸⁹

The treatment of posts in cathedrals as mere sources of income to be dispensed by popes and kings was a European-wide phenomenon and led to similar situations in Limassol as elsewhere. Some grantees were unsuitable: Philip de Scandelion was only fourteen years old when he obtained an expectant canonry in 1372. Nepotism was not uncommon, with Bishop Francis of Arezzo favouring his nephews Simon and Benvenuto. Pluralism, the holding of many benefices each of which theoretically required residence, was another result, and Limassol was no exception, Geoffrey Spanzota, mentioned above, and George Homodei being examples of clerics with various posts. Sometimes, however, it was used as a system of scholarships to support higher education. Philip Chappe, for example, was a canon of Limassol in early 1317, but two years later, when he was described as a doctor of canon and civil law, he received another in expectancy, perhaps in connection with his studies. In 1328 John of Montolif was allowed to receive the income of his expectant prebend in Limassol for three years without residing there, one possible condition being studies at a university abroad. In that same year, James of St Prosper, who had already studied law for an incredible twenty-eight years, received an expectant prebend, although he may not have obtained full possession until 1349, two years before his death. In 1345, Albert Baldwin was allowed to study letters for two years while receiving his income as archdeacon. Archambaud de Montencès was studying at

²⁸⁷ Mas Latrie, 'Nouvelles preuves (1873)', 55; 'Amadi', 395, 397, 399; Bustron, 249; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. r-245.

²⁸⁸ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III contains some forty letters on expectant canons of Limassol.

²⁸⁹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-52, 271, t-144, w-93.

Montpellier when he received his canonry in 1349, and he was still there studying civil law a decade later.²⁹⁰

We also read of the trade in benefices. In 1324 John XXII wrote that someone claiming to be the substitute of the agent of Galhard of Saint-Albin accepted and took actual possession of the archdeaconate of Limassol on behalf of Galhard, who had been expecting a post since 1317, but who did not approve the substitute's actions and resigned the archdeaconate, asking the pope to confer on him anew the parish church in the West that he had possessed for nine years. The situation was confusing, because in 1343 Clement VI wrote that Galhard's resignation was uncertain and, as a result, the important position of archdeacon had been vacant for eighteen years. Clement appointed Albert della Cecca of Bologna as the new archdeacon. In 1327 John XXII allowed what was basically a trade when another Galhard, de Albenga, gave his Limassol canonry to Geoffrey Spanzota.²⁹¹

Occasionally the system created tension, as in October 1325 when we hear that a case had been raging for a while between Patriarch Raymond and William Rodier, canon of Limassol and chaplain and familiar of Cardinal-priest Bertrand of San Marcello. William had been given a dispensation to receive his Limassol incomes without being resident, but Raymond declared that he was not responsible for paying back-incomes from the time before he took over the administration, when someone else was in charge. In 1326, at Raymond's request, the pope told the other three Latin prelates of Cyprus to revoke grants of pensions from Limassol incomes that the late Patriarch-elect Peter had made and that the former Bishop William, the Carmelite, had confirmed.²⁹² An interesting case occurred around 1370. Without the permission of his superior, the Dominican John of Jarrey had left his order and travelled to Cyprus, at some point holding a canonry in Limassol for four years. Wishing to fight against the Saracens and Turks, John rode in armour with King Peter I on his expeditions, becoming the king's chaplain. Many were killed on these campaigns, and although John insisted that he killed no one personally, he was excommunicated. He later joined the Benedictine Order for the peace of his soul. In 1371 Pope Gregory XI absolved him of the sentence of

²⁹⁰ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-10, 88, 374, s-6, t-148, 256, 320, 368, 450, u-128, 217, w-122.

²⁹¹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-335, t-36; the 1317 and 1324 letters are omitted in the *Bullarium Cyprium*, see: ASV, Reg. Vat. 66, fol. 297r-v and Reg. Aven. 7, fol. 424r-v (1317); Reg. Vat. 77, fols. 199v-200r (the copy in Reg. Aven. 21, fol. 218r-v, is water damaged) (1324).

²⁹² *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-275, 293.

excommunication, allowed him to serve in minor orders, although he was a priest, and approved his transfer to the Benedictines. Meanwhile, Bishop Adhémar de la Voulte had conferred John's canonry on James of Cremona, but Pope Gregory granted it instead to Guy de Nefin, despite the fact that Guy was already canon of Famagusta and treasurer of Limassol.²⁹³

Power and money, these are the subjects of most papal correspondence with the Dominican Patriarchs Raymond and Peter de la Palud. While they were in charge they and the Church of Limassol were exempt from the archbishop of Nicosia's jurisdiction, as letters of 1326, 1327, and 1329 show. But both patriarchs had to recover incomes and properties borrowed or taken by outsiders. Raymond, who had to take out a loan of 2,000 gold florins (over 10,000 bezants) for his expenses and for carrying out the business of his patriarchate and bishopric, found that King Henry II had borrowed 6,000 silver bezants from the late Bishop John from six years of tithes, and now that Raymond had to pay these funds to the papal nuncio, Pope John ordered Henry's nephew King Hugh IV to repay the loan. In contrast, the pope ordered the other prelates to force the papal tithe collector to repay to Raymond what the former had received from the goods of the former patriarch and administrator, the late Peter, and from the patriarchate's *casale* of Psimolofu, or else put this money toward tithe payments. After Raymond's death Peter de la Palud faced similar problems. Peter, who borrowed 1,000 gold florins himself and was allowed to exact a small subsidy from each of his subordinates for his labours, had to get Pope John to move against two papal nuncios, collectors of tithes and other incomes, since they had occupied goods and even *casalia* belonging to Patriarch Raymond.²⁹⁴

The excitement that accompanied the stays of these important ecclesiastics in Cyprus did not necessarily mean that Limassol basked in their glory, however. Most of the time Raymond and Peter de la Palud were not even in Cyprus, but when they were, their presence in Limassol was probably rather infrequent. Peter had a particularly important mission, the restoration of the Latin Church to the East with the patriarch of Jerusalem in charge. He was accompanied to Cyprus by six learned Dominicans and his regular household, which no doubt increased in size. For example, Peter was allowed to make six notaries in Cyprus. Like Raymond, he seems to have required to have his residence in Nicosia, close to King Hugh IV and the bulk of the Latin clergy. He had a rather

²⁹³ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. w-30, 77.

²⁹⁴ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r- r-290-1, 296, 318, 409, 414-16.

negative view of the Greeks in any case, and all sources point to his residence in the capital.²⁹⁵

In fact, when they were in Cyprus, even the mere bishops of Limassol – even the Cypriot bishops of Limassol – appear to have spent much of their time in Nicosia, actively involved in state affairs, at least from the fourteenth century on. Indeed, one of the best descriptions of a medieval household on Cyprus is that of the Cypriot Bishop of Limassol Guy of Ibelin. Bishop Guy died in 1367, and the inventory of his goods has been used to represent the average noble house at the time, the wealth of a prelate, and the books available on Cyprus, for he left a library of some fifty-seven volumes on religious matters and philosophy, all of which belonged to the western tradition. But these items were in Nicosia, not Limassol, and although the above evidence is indicative of the education he received on the island, there is no reason to believe that this aristocratic Dominican studied outside his order's convent in the capital.²⁹⁶

Following the death of Bishop Francis in 1351, in 1353 Archdeacon Albert della Cecca of Bologna and the chapter's vicar Canon Frederick of Bargagli had to explain to a commission why the personal fortune of that bishop (40,000 bezants) did not reflect the economic state of the Church of Limassol, which should not be taxed accordingly. They maintained that Bishop Francis would hardly have been able to survive on his Limassol revenues alone, and the greater part of his income came from the king and his court, since he was the king's confessor and familiar. The Church of Limassol, moreover, was and had long been quite poor. Limassol Cathedral, the episcopal residence and other houses of the bishop in the town, and the rural dependencies were in need of repair, or else they risked ruin. Even the necessary vestments for the divine office were in a sorry state.²⁹⁷ In 1337, after fifteen years of patriarchal administration, the new Bishop Lambertino of Bologna paid the Apostolic See 1,000 florins in common services for his new position, only half of what the bishop of Paphos owed, and in 1353 Bishop Elias of Chambarlhac's burden was reduced by 250 florins. In 1357-1365, the Church of Limassol paid 3,000 bezants in tithes to the Apostolic See annually, as compared to 6,000 for Nicosia, 4,000 for Paphos, and 2,000 for Famagusta, so the proportions from a century before still obtained. The fact that the Franciscan Bishop Itier of Nabinaux was transferred to Famagusta in 1346 and Bishop Elias went over to Paphos in 1357 indicates that Limassol ranked last in

²⁹⁵ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-413, 450; Dunbabin (1991: 164-9).

²⁹⁶ Richard (1950); Laurent and Richard (1951); Grivaud (2012: 144-6); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 229-30.

²⁹⁷ Richard (1984-1987: 3); ASV, *Instrumenta Miscellanea*, nos. 1952-1953.

prestige. In 1367-1368 the annual revenue of the Church of Limassol was estimated at around 18,000 bezants, and it was taxed at 1,400 in 1367.²⁹⁸

We are fortunate to have a rather complete picture of the Church of Limassol on the eve of the Genoese invasion in the form of the 1367 audit mentioned above. The chapter still numbered nine members, three officers and six canons (of whom four were resident). The archdeacon since 1363, Peter de Lescoutz, who lived at least part of the time in Nicosia, had an income of some 550 bezants annually, but he employed a cleric to whom he paid forty-eight bezants and he owed a further forty-five in tithes, so his net pay was 457. Benvenuto of Arezzo, the cantor from 1349, and Guy de Nefin, the treasurer by 1363, both earned 200 bezants and paid fifteen, with 185 remaining. Each of the six canons – John de Château Royal, John Cacciaguerra of Parma (from 1366), Bernard Anselme himself (from 1350), Raymond de Nefin, Simon Credy, and Francis of Cyprus – earned 375 gross and 278 net, each paying forty-eight for a cleric as assistant and forty-five in taxes. Five priests served the church, the master chaplain Philip of Saint-Étienne, who made 125 bezants gross and 115 net, and Simon Roussiau, Peter of Tortosa, Nicholas Castaigne (who had died recently), and George Resenchas, each of whom had an income of one hundred bezants, ninety-two after taxes. Then come the five deacons, each with eighty bezants gross and seventy-three net (it was twenty-eight gold florins in 1336, over one hundred bezants): Francis of Paris, Nicholas Lengles, Janot Alexi (a Greek?), Mark, and Gregory Bonvizin. There were also five subdeacons: Guiotin Bonefe, Janot Pavis, Simonyn Anselme, and Ssaves Bourboul (perhaps a Syrian), who each had a salary of seventy bezants before and sixty-three after taxes. Finally, there were five acolytes: Simonyn de Lion, Jorgin Lengles, Nicolin of Acre, Simonyn of Acre, and two who served part of the year, Nodon Falguar and Nicolin Baza, each with an annual income of thirty-six bezants. We are also given the names of the clerics who served the canons, at least one, Manoly Zolo, probably a Greek. Another Greek, Theodoros Condostefano, earned 250 bezants a year as the scribe of the cathedral's *secrète*, making him almost as well paid as the canons and better paid than the cantor and treasurer. Giles Anselme cooked for the sixteen paupers fed at the cathedral every day, earning sixty bezants for his troubles, and there were two wardens making six bezants monthly, an agent, and a porter of the court at Limassol, who made five bezants per month. In the absence of the bishop, Bernard Anselme and Peter de Lescoutz had a large sum to cover business

²⁹⁸ Richard (1984-1987: 7-8, 31, 38, 41-2; 1999, 12); *Bullarium Cypricum*, III, nos. s-30, 32, t-190, 191, u-3, 134, 139.

expenses, including an additional scribe. Besides the bishop, then, the cathedral church would have employed directly thirty-six clerics and at least six more men, a total staff of at least forty-three, including the bishop himself. Elsewhere we read of the position of bishop's chaplain and subcantor. There were also three paid posts of parochial priors, one of Alaminos, one of Solic (Sylikou), and one of St George in Limassol itself.²⁹⁹

The Church of Limassol seems to have had rich revenues of approximately 15,000 bezants, coming from tithes, rents of buildings and land, and the sale of various products. Interestingly, tithes were paid for land in Limassol that belonged to the Premonstratensian monastery of Bellapais or 'Episkopie' (fifty bezants) and the Greek monastery of St George of Mangana in Nicosia (fifty bezants).³⁰⁰ Only one Greek monastery located in the district of Limassol is mentioned as paying tithes, St Mary of Stylos in the Akrotiri Peninsula, a dependency of St Margaret of Agros. The fact that no other Greek or Syrian monastery is mentioned and that the Greek bishopric of Lefkara is also conspicuously absent from the account does not indicate that these were not rich enough to pay tithes, but that they were exempted from tithes. As mentioned above, Greek monasteries did not pay this tax on property they had owned before 1215 that they worked directly. St Mary of Stylos became a separate monastery by 1360, when it reached an agreement over tithes with Bishop Guy of Limassol, which explains why 'l'abaye de Lestille' paid twenty-five bezants in 1367.³⁰¹

From the information we may glean from the 1367 audit, both the Latin chapter and the Latin population of Limassol seem to have followed scrupulously the customs and practices of the Church. The expenses of the cathedral provide information about the cost of the twenty main feasts and reveal that they maintained the holy books by having them bound and that they regularly fed a number of poor people; the people gave offerings to the church and paid for funerals. The audit tells us even more. We know how much the cathedral spent on wheat, barley, beans, onions, and wine, and exactly how many measures were distributed to each of the clerics and

²⁹⁹ *Documents chypriotes*, 92-5; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. s-9, t-320, 470, u-7, v-75, 79, 140, w-217; ASV, *Instrumenta Miscellanea*, no. 4604. Levels below officers and canons rarely show up in papal letters, e.g., *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. r-189, 253, 421.

³⁰⁰ *Documents chypriotes*, 69, 85, 87, 91.

³⁰¹ See above for the tithe exemption; *Documents chypriotes*, 69, 84.

employees mentioned above. At the death of a priest, his mobile property was sold by auction.³⁰²

Ominous Signs of Decline

The rise of Famagusta entailed the relative decline of Limassol soon after 1291, but in absolute terms the decline only began with the departure of the military orders in the first decade of the fourteenth century. It is difficult to assess general trends before the Genoese invasion, but the town and region did experience its share of calamities. Although the causes are unclear, Gilles Grivaud has established that between 1250 and 1375 three unidentified villages disappeared in the district of Limassol (*Auvo Lopistrico de Polipani, Livichi, and Sirincocie*).³⁰³ Already before the first outbreak of the great plague in 1348, natural disasters had begun taking their toll on the town itself. Marginal notes in Greek manuscripts describe the devastating storm that occurred in Nicosia and Limassol around midnight one Friday to Saturday 9-10 November 1330. Flooding and strong winds destroyed many houses and lives; in Limassol huge waves covered the city and 2,000 souls perished, the inhabitants having abandoned their homes to seek shelter elsewhere.³⁰⁴ In 1346, James of Verona had much to say about Famagusta, but he did not mention (and probably did not visit) Limassol. Perhaps this is because Limassol 'was once fair but now laid waste by constant earthquakes and by floods coming suddenly from the mountains', as another traveller, Ludolf of Sudheim, relates around 1340. His mention of the palaces built by the nobles and the burgesses in the city implies that those days had passed or were passing. Indeed, the aristocracy dwelt mainly in Nicosia or Famagusta, but while in the fourteenth century nobles of the Paphos diocese show up in papal letters, none from the Limassol area do.³⁰⁵ When

³⁰² *Documents chypriotes*, 77, 87, 95-9, 105-8.

³⁰³ Marsilio Zorzi, 188.27; Bustron, 171; *Documents chypriotes*, 116; Grivaud (1998a: 234-6).

³⁰⁴ Darrouzès (1953: 86, 93), who gives a wrong reading of the year, and Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 51 for a note in BnF, MS Paris. Gr. 1590, fol. 65v; *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 205 for a note in BnF, MS Paris. Gr. 546, fol. 324r that mentions only Nicosia; Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §65, pp. 60-1; Villani, *Nuova cronica*, II, 731, who says that the rainfalls lasted for 28 days and killed 8,000 souls on the entire island; 'Amadi', 404-5; Bustron, 254-5; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 56v, who mentions only Nicosia. See generally Grivaud (1998a: 431).

³⁰⁵ *Excerpta Cypria*, 18, 19; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, passim.

the Black Death arrived on the island, it did not spare Limassol. Nikolaos Ourris, an *apauteur* and a scribe from Alsos, whose family originated from Jerusalem, mentions the attack in 1348 (‘τὸ θανατικὸν τὸ μέγα’), and several members of the cathedral chapter died at the time. In 1349, Niccolò de Poggibonsi passed through Limassol, but did not consider it worthwhile to say anything about the town.³⁰⁶ In 1358 King Hugh IV received papal permission to import food from Muslim lands after six years of devastation from locusts, which must have affected the Limassol area.³⁰⁷

Besides natural disasters, evidence indicates that both the urban and the rural population suffered from the activities of thieves, robbers, and pirates, who caused great damage, pillaging and murdering innocent citizens. In July 1325, King Hugh IV ordered the execution by hanging of one hundred men in several places on the island, including seven in Limassol and Paphos.³⁰⁸ Limassol is one of the districts mentioned in a royal ban against the larceny of beasts; we do not know when the ban was issued, but it is found in a 1369 addition to John of Ibelin’s treatise.³⁰⁹ In September 1298, the Genoese Franceschino Grimaldi, who was notorious for plundering both friend and foe, was in Limassol. In March 1302 corsairs in three ships, said to be from Rhodes and Monemvasia, raided the estate of the Count of Jaffa Guy of Ibelin in Episkopi, took many riches from the house, and captured the count, his wife Maria, his eldest son, and his daughter; ‘Piphani’, an obviously Greek servant, was killed, while the count’s brother, the constable Philip of Ibelin, his sister Margaret, and his two younger sons jumped from a balcony in order to escape. The captives were liberated only after the master of the Temple intervened and paid a ransom of 45,000 silver pieces. In March 1303, the Genoese pirate Percival de la Turcha captured the ship of the Venetian Michael of Limassol close to Cape Aspro (‘καβο Πάωνκο’) west of Limassol.³¹⁰ In the

³⁰⁶ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 207; *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, nos. t-363, 450, 459, 470, 604, 606; Niccolò de Poggibonsi, 150.

³⁰⁷ *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, no. u-176, correcting summary with ASV, Reg. Vat. 233, fol. 426r-v.

³⁰⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §64, pp. 60-1 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 100. This is the year given by the Oxford and Ravenna manuscripts, considered to be more likely than 1357, the year given by the Venice version.

³⁰⁹ John of Ibelin, 798.

³¹⁰ For 1298, see Mas Latrie, ‘Nouvelles preuves (1873)’, 42-6; for 1302, ‘Amadi’, 238 and Bustron, 134; for 1303, *Libri commemorativi*, I, 27, 35, nos. 111, 149; generally, Hill (1940-1952, II: 210-12), Coureas (2002: 37), and Grivaud (2008: 361).

1338 agreement between King Hugh IV and the Genoese, article 5 speaks at length of the injuries caused to a Genoese merchant by Catalan pirates in 1334 off the coast of Limassol, which was still not well defended.³¹¹

The anti-Turkish policy of King Hugh IV (1324-1359) and his son Peter I (1359-1369) meant that the Cypriot coasts often suffered raids and attacks by Turkish ships. In 1363 a series of Turkish raids prompted the Cypriots to take retaliatory action and, although Limassol is not explicitly mentioned in the sources, we may assume that the Limassolian coast was affected.³¹² According to the Cypriot chronicler Leontios Makhairas and the French poet Guillaume de Machaut, who wrote an epic poem in praise of Peter's exploits sometime between 1369 and 1377, the port of Limassol was used by the king's fleet on the way back from the expedition against Alexandria in 1365, something that must have put a strain on the population.³¹³ Significantly, Peter and his army used the port of Limassol to sail to Tripoli in September 1367 and the Latin Church of the city gave them chickens, heifers, and sheep.³¹⁴

Although the main field of operations during the 1373 Genoese invasion of Cyprus was in Famagusta, Nicosia, and Kyrenia, these dramatic events seriously affected Limassol as well. In 1372, a Genoese ship arrived in Limassol carrying letters that informed the Genoese nationals in Cyprus of the imminent attack; the letters were apprehended by the king's men. A year later, in April 1373, a first expedition under Damiano stopped at the port of Kolossi ('Colaiis'). The main Genoese fleet under the command of Pietro Campofregoso ravaged the coast of Limassol and, because the garrison of the town was small in number and weak, the Genoese landed and burnt many houses in the city; the inhabitants took flight and the Genoese did much damage.³¹⁵ Both Venetian Corner Episkopi and Hospitaller Kolossi seem to have escaped unscathed the Genoese invasion, however, for the Genoese probably wished to avoid antagonizing those powers.

³¹¹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 170-1. See Coureas (1997b: 34-5).

³¹² Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§137-44, 150-2, pp. 120-7, 130-5.

³¹³ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §173, pp. 154-5; Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandre*, 192-3 and *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87-8.

³¹⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 101.

³¹⁵ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §377, pp. 356-9; 'Amadi', 439, 444; Balletto (2001: 661).

3. From the Genoese Invasion to the Venetian Annexation: 1374-1489

Limassol's significance rose dramatically after 1291, suffered almost as dramatically with the withdrawal of the Knights Hospitaller and Templar around 1310, and probably declined gradually thereafter until the Genoese raid in the early summer of 1373, during which the town was burnt down.³¹⁶ Travellers' reports do continue to mention Limassol as a port of call, partly the result of the Genoese occupation of Famagusta. For example, the lord of Anglure stayed in Limassol for a week about twenty years after the war with Genoa (from 26 December 1395 to 1 January 1396), although King James I soon sent to his party mules, horses, and porters to take them to the capital. Likewise, Bertrand Lesgare, the envoy of the duke of Bourbon to Cyprus, arrived at the port of Limassol on 3 February 1399, where he was able to hire eleven horses and the services of a man-servant for the high price of twelve bezants. Nevertheless, Anglure presents a sad picture of Limassol after the Genoese invasion: 'Formerly a very fair city [...] this city of Limassol, which is for the most part uninhabited, was thus destroyed of old by the Genoese when they made war on the king of Cyprus'. The town receives little attention in the early fifteenth century, which further implies a state of desolation.³¹⁷ The Mamluk raids of the 1420s would complete the destruction and bear testimony to the fact that the Lusignan authorities had left the town defenceless.

Destruction and Desolation: A City Infirm

After the death of King Peter II in 1382, the following summer the Genoese brought his uncle James, Peter's eventual successor, out of captivity and attempted to install him on the throne during a rebellion of the Cypriot barons. Nicosia and Paphos, with sufficient fortifications, were in the hands of the rebels, while Famagusta was Genoese. When the Genoese fleet brought James to Limassol during its voyage around the island in late July 1383, the captain of the town expressed his loyalty to James. This may have been because he had no good stronghold from which to refuse, however, and for the same reason Limassol, unlike Kyrenia, was not considered as a possible temporary base for James.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §377, pp. 356-9.

³¹⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 450 and 451, note 5; *Excerpta Cypria*, 28; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 49-51 (in 1412, 1419, ca. 1419-1425, 1421).

³¹⁸ *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, II, no. 74, cf. no. 100; Schabel (2013).

Although Limassol was still important enough to have a captain in charge, and royal *baillis* in the city are mentioned in the sources until the end of Lusignan rule,³¹⁹ when the Genoese came again to Limassol by sea from Famagusta in 1408, this time with a great cannon, the besieged castle was weak and not prepared for war, and the garrison promised to hand it over after two months. Before the term was over, however, the Lusignan forces, assisted by the Venetian Admiral Carlo Zeno, easily defeated the Genoese and captured eighty men and many arms, including the cannon.³²⁰

The Cypriots were less successful against the more severe depredations of the Mamluks, and Limassol was the first to suffer. The sources speak of Mamluk raids in 1424, when the town was burnt down, and again in 1425, but the most serious destruction seems to have taken place during the Mamluk invasion of 1426. The raids were organised in retaliation for the town's use as a base for pirates, mostly Catalans, who menaced the Syrian and Egyptian coasts.³²¹ According to Leontios Makhairas, the *bailli* of Limassol Philip Picquigny was among those who purchased plunder from piracy against Egyptian territory, prompting the sultan of Egypt to send a squadron to Cyprus in order to make an accusation before the king in September 1424. Five galleys (for all sources except Makhairas, who gives six) arrived in or near Limassol on 26 September and defeated the town's garrison under the *bailli*, stationed at the castle together with reinforcements sent from Nicosia under Philip Prévost, who was killed, beheaded, flayed, and taken to Cairo. The Egyptians did not take the castle, but recovered many of their stolen goods, pillaged the storehouse of the Venetians, set fire to Limassol, and burnt many ships in the harbour. Two Arabic sources give other details, but they may confuse the 1424 raid with the 1425 one: one claims that twenty-five men, women, and children were imprisoned, the other, on the contrary, that the city's population had been alerted and evacuated the town, leaving seventy horsemen and 300

³¹⁹ At the time of the Mamluk raids Philip Picquigny and Stephen of Vicenza are mentioned (see below), in 1440 Andrew Goneme ('baiulo regio in Limisso'), in 1441 Anthony of Milan, in 1450 Galeran de Palen, and in 1412 and 1452 unnamed *baillis*: Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§651-2, pp. 630-1; Otten-Froux (2001: 411); Darrouzès (1959: 42, 45); Grivaud (1998b: 397). See generally Coureas (2002: 39-40).

³²⁰ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §635, pp. 620-1; 'Amadi', 498; Bustron, 355. See Hill (1940-1952: II, 458-9).

³²¹ Irwin (1995: 159-63).

footmen to wait for the Muslims, who defeated them and captured twenty-three men.³²²

The raid of August 1425 was better organised. A fleet of forty to fifty vessels, depending on the source, arrived in Larnaca and, after receiving information from Muslim slaves who had escaped from the Corner Episkopi plantations, the Egyptian army proceeded to Limassol, took the castle, and killed many people, including, according to Leontios Makhairas, the *bailli* Stephen of Vicenza. Makhairas specifies that the castle fell (*ca.* 11 August) because Muslim slaves betrayed to the Egyptians a hole in the wall, which was not built up inside, but which, apparently, was concealed with mud from the outside. On 22 August the king sent a contingent with the royal standard from Nicosia to assist the Limassolians, but a villager from the Limassol area alerted them of an ambush prepared by the Mamluks, and the Cypriots retreated to Palamida (Paramytha?) and thence to Limnati. The Egyptians followed, burning the countryside as they went, but, not wanting to confront the Cypriots, they returned to Limassol, embarked on their ships, and left. According to an Arabic source, which describes Limassol as ‘the strongest place on the island’ in an obvious effort to enhance the difficulty of the expedition, the Egyptians massacred a great number of people in Limassol and the nearby villages and enslaved many, devastated the countryside, and took much booty. Another Arabic source adds that the Muslims destroyed the upper section of the castle. Both the French chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet and Makhairas tell the story of the nobleman Ragonnet de Pioul (Rekouniatos in Makhairas), who was captured ‘in the great tower of Lymecon’ and taken to Cairo, and because he refused to change his faith, his body was brutally sawn in two.³²³

³²² Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§651-3, pp. 630-3; ‘Amadi’, 499-501; Bustron, 356-7; Grivaud (2001: 324) (27 September); Enguerrand de Monstrelet, IV, 180, whose report corresponds closely to that of Makhairas; Mas Latrue, *Histoire*, II, 506-8, *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 70, and *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 96, 103, 121. On the Arabic sources, see Hill (1940-1952: II, 470-1) and Irwin (1995: 166-7), and on Monstrelet and Makhairas, Nicolaou-Konnari (forthcoming a).

³²³ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§654-9, pp. 630-7 (50 galleys); ‘Amadi’, 501-2 (50 vessels); Bustron, 358-9; Enguerrand de Monstrelet, IV, 245-7; Grivaud (2001: 324-5) (45 vessels; the text does not mention Limassol specifically); Darrouzès (1958: 240-1) and *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, no. 28/1-2 (40 vessels); Mas Latrue, *Histoire*, II, 508-10, *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 71-2, and *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 97, 106, 128. See generally Hill (1940-1952: II, 471-3), Irwin (1995: 167-70), and Nicolaou-Konnari (forthcoming a).

On 1 July 1426, the Egyptian armada of more than one hundred vessels (perhaps 180) arrived at a small anchorage in the bay of Pissouri in the district of Avdimou, called Linidia. King Janus had restored Limassol Castle after the previous raids, but it was apparently undermanned: when the Egyptian fleet proceeded to Limassol, the army landed and took the castle on 3 July. Leontios Makhairas, an active participant in the events surrounding the invasion, asserts that the king was informed almost immediately, and when the Cypriot army heard that the Mamluks had taken Limassol and its ‘miserable people’, ‘they were bitterly grieved’. Contrary to Makhairas, Enguerrand de Monstrelet asserts that Stephen of Vicenza, the ‘captain’, was killed in this attack and not the previous year.³²⁴ The Arabic sources give triumphant accounts of the events, citing verses from the work of a poet who ‘thus celebrates this victory’. According to these narratives, after a siege of six days, on 1 July the Egyptian forces defeated the garrison of ‘al-Lamsoun’ or ‘Limsoun’, destroyed the town, took much booty, and then ravaged the countryside for another six days. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Étienne de Lusignan affirms that the sultan’s men totally destroyed and pillaged the town, underlining the destruction of all the churches.³²⁵

From Limassol, the Egyptians marched inland to meet the Cypriot army, causing even more damage and destruction. They met with the Cypriots near Khirokitia and defeated them in a battle fought on Sunday 7 July, capturing King Janus, who had spent the eve of the battle at the Hospitallers’ tower in the village, which had formerly belonged to the Templars; the Mamluks attacked and destroyed the tower.³²⁶ One significant casualty was the monastery of Stavrovouni, which was raided and looted; the shrine, like Limassol, did not fully recover.³²⁷

³²⁴ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§672-4, 686, pp. 652-5, 666-7; Darrouzès (1958: 241) and *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 209 (arrival in Limassol on 30 June, surrender of the castle, which was put to fire, on 1 July); ‘Amadi’, 504-5; Bustron, 361-2; Grivaud (2001: 325) (30 vessels); Enguerrand de Monstrelet, IV, 260. See Nicolaou-Konnari (forthcoming a)

³²⁵ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 510-14; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 72-75, 73 for the quotation; *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 85, 108, 122, 129. See generally Hill (1940-1952: II, 476-86) and Irwin (1995: 170-6). Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 8v, 59v, *Histoire*, fol. 23r, and *Description*, fols. 20r, 154v, adds other details too, but confuses the dates.

³²⁶ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§675-85, pp. 654-67; ‘Amadi’, 505-8; Bustron, 362-6; *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, no. 28/7; Grivaud (2001: 325-6); Vaivre and Plagnieux (2006: 406).

³²⁷ Mas Latrie, II, 512; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 73; *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 129. See also below.

In the absence of political control in the wake of the Mamluk invasion and King Janus' captivity, what is commonly known as 'the revolt of the peasants' occurred in 1426-1427. In fact, the events, as they survive in the chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, do not seem to amount to more than unsystematic riots and pillaging by some Greek peasants and some Spanish mercenaries in the king's army. One of the captains whom the peasants set up was in Limassol, which indicates that incidents of pillaging of shops and houses and of ugly acts of rioting and violence must have taken place in both urban and rural areas. The rebels were arrested, however, some hanged, and some suffered nose and ear mutilation; the riots in Limassol, in particular, were suppressed by Sir Henry of Giblest and Peter (Perrin) Makhairas, Leontios' brother.³²⁸

Limassol and the surroundings remained easy prey. Further Muslim raids are recorded in 1434, when the raiders damaged the Hospitallers' estate of Kolossi.³²⁹ According to Arabic sources, in 1443 the Egyptian fleet revictualled in Limassol (and Larnaca and Paphos) before sacking the Hospitaller island of Kastellorizo.³³⁰ In May 1450 two Catalan pirate vessels raided the Corner estate of Episkopi, burning many houses of serfs and 103 belonging to free peasants and taking John Corner's son hostage. The commander of Cyprus and the *bailli* of Limassol ended up paying a ransom of 4,600 ducats (then about 25,000 bezants). A Turkish raid against Limassol is reported in 1451, when a portion of the population was taken prisoner and Avdimou and Pakhna were pillaged.³³¹ It is thus not surprising that for the quarter century after the Mamluk destruction few visitors stopped at the town at all, and those who did merely mentioned the handsome castle. Steffan von Gumpenberg, who visited in 1450, drew a picture of disaster and blamed the Genoese for the town's destruction, although he did remark that the nobles of Limassol built chapels in their houses and attended Mass there, which suggests that the town was not entirely deserted even of aristocrats, unless he was referring to rich burgesses.³³²

³²⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§696-7, pp. 672-5; Darrouzès (1958: 242-4), *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 210, Monstrelet, IV, 268, 'Amadi', 513, and Bustron, 369 do not mention Limassol. See generally Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 69-70; 2005a: 20).

³²⁹ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 110-11; Luttrell (2011: lii).

³³⁰ Atiya (1938: 475).

³³¹ Darrouzès (1959: 41-2, 43-5); *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 67; Grivaud (2001: 332).

³³² *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 55 (1435), 62 (1444), 66, 69 (1450); Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 92 (in 1436).

By mid-1452 Limassol Castle had come under Genoese occupation. The exact circumstances of the occupation are unknown, the main Cypriot chronicles being silent, but most probably it happened in the context of Genoese reprisals against the king for his failure to pay his debts according to the 1374 treaty ending the war. An anonymous short Cypriot narrative records that the Genoese ‘took Limassol’ on Thursday 27 April 1452, but a contemporary Greek Cypriot witness gives a later date and many details. After an unsuccessful attack against the castle of Paphos, a Genoese ship, which had left Famagusta on 2 May 1452, anchored in Pissouri Bay, at Cape Aspro (‘Bianco’), with the captain of Famagusta on board. A force of sixteen men led by Daniel Lomeli (*read* Damiano Lomellini) went by boat to Cape ‘tou Gouvatheo’ (Cape Gata?), where the Greek watchman Kyriakos Klapati told them that Limassol was not well defended, since its *bailli* had been arrested by the ‘grand commander’ of the Hospitallers and King John II had not yet sent his replacement. The Genoese proceeded to Limassol and took the castle by ruse: when Lomeli asked the guards for a place to sleep, they told him to enter the castle because in the open air there were flies and mosquitoes (!); he entered with another four men, threw out the two keepers of the castle, and raised the Genoese flag. The ship with the rest of the Genoese arrived in Limassol on Saturday 2 June 1452. A document dated 28 December 1452 seems to corroborate this account, mentioning a Genoese expedition against Cyprus led by Napoleone Lomellini, future captain of Famagusta (elected in January 1456), earlier that year, in which Damiano also participated. In two letters dated 25 August and 4 November 1455, King John II protested and demanded the restitution of the ‘castrum Nymosii’; in a letter dated 12 April 1456, the Genoese authorities claimed to be protecting the coast from raids. The occupation of the castle lasted until 1461 or shortly thereafter, ending only with King James II’s victorious war to oust the Genoese.³³³

We are relatively well informed about the period of the Genoese occupation of the castle. The first captain was the aforementioned Damiano Lomellini, followed by Segurano Ardimento in 1455-1456, Antonio Reibaldo in 1456-1457, and Bartolomeo de Campofregoso *olim Porchus* in 1457-1458; in between, other men served for short periods as either castellans or consuls, thus dividing the duties of the captain. Reibaldo, in particular, was a Genoese citizen who was very active in

³³³ Archival sources are cited in *Sindicamentum*, 31 and Otten-Froux (2001); for the short narrative, see Grivaud (2001: 331); for the Greek note in BnF, MS Gr. 1626, fol. 98v, see Darrouzès (1959: 45-6). Richard in *Documents chypriotes*, 72, note 2, follows the narrative of the Greek manuscript and Coureas (2002: 31, 39-41) speaks of the ‘Genoese occupation of Limassol’.

Cyprus: he owned a house in Famagusta, his name appears regularly in notarial acts drafted in this city during the period 1453-1455, he did business with the Hospitallers, and he was one of the principal accusers in the investigation against the captain of Famagusta Napoleone Lomellini in 1459. During his time in Limassol, he was in charge of the entire garrison (men dispatched from Famagusta) and many soldiers who died in Limassol named him as their testamentary executor. In March 1457, in the absence of a notary, Pagano de Marini wrote down the last wills of several soldiers who died at Limassol Castle. The Genoese archives preserve documents that mention sums of money required for the castle's maintenance; in 1459, Paolo Grimaldi was appointed as the person responsible for repair works. Archival sources also record that a garrison of twenty-five men was stationed at the castle, including the captain, whose personal page, a cook, a barber, a blacksmith specialising in firearms, a drummer, and a servant – Maria, at one point – were also assigned to the castle, making a total of thirty or so persons. Periodically, the notary Antonio Foglieta, a vicar, a scribe, and other persons were dispatched from Famagusta. The men stationed at Limassol Castle seem to have been slightly better paid than those in Famagusta, due, no doubt, to the more precarious nature of their situation. No foreigner was to enter the castle, nor more than four other Genoese. Only four soldiers at a time could leave, but they had to return to sleep in the castle, unless the captain needed to send one or two persons to Famagusta for instructions. The castle's store was to contain four months' supplies at all times. Two horses, one for the mill and one for carrying wood, were also present at the castle. This is the picture of a garrison under siege, without any contacts with the town and its inhabitants, entirely depending on Famagusta.³³⁴

On 16 June 1458, while staying in Episkopi as guests of Andrew Corner, two Italian travellers, Roberto di Sanseverino from Milan and Count Gabriele Capodilista, a law professor at the University of Padua, received the news of the death of Queen Helena and of King John II's making his natural son James, the future King James II (1464-1473), his lieutenant.³³⁵ The Civil War between Queen Charlotte (1458-1485) and her half brother James, who had the support of the sultan of Egypt, lasted from September 1460 to sometime in early autumn 1464. Military events

³³⁴ Balletto (1992: 71-3, 138-41); *Sindicamentum*, 31, 35, 214, 216, 221-2, 233, 242, 245, 247, 254-5, and passim; Otten-Froux (2001). See also Michalis Olympios' chapter for repairs to the castle planned and perhaps carried out by the Genoese.

³³⁵ For Roberto di Sanseverino, see *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 71-2; for Capodilista, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 76 and *Excerpta Cyprica*, 35.

were concentrated in the fortified cities of Nicosia, Kyrenia, and Famagusta, and Limassol seems to have been only slightly affected. The town's Latin bishop was actively involved in the events, however, and Limassol's captain professed his obedience to James' men.³³⁶ In 1460, the grand master of the Hospitallers in Rhodes instructed the lieutenant of the grand commander of Cyprus never to surrender Kolossi Castle or do homage for it either to James or to the captain of the Egyptian army.³³⁷ Around 1461, James' men confiscated from an opponent who lived in Pelendri, George Sateni, the silver *gros* coins filling a *pithari* that was hidden in his wine cellar and was big enough to hold three sack-loads of wine.³³⁸

By 1464 all of Cyprus was in Lusignan hands for the first time since the Genoese invasion, but this did not result in Limassol's revival. Travellers and writers of the last decades of Frankish rule described Limassol as a town in ruins, eloquently described in the next chapter. Although his testimony is only second hand, in his influential *Cosmographia* Pope Pius II (1458-1464, born Enea Silvio Piccolomini) briefly mentions Limassol, Amathus, Kourion, the Hospitaller castle of Kolossi, and Mt Olympus, and informs his readers that in the town of Limassol there is a castle and a Latin cathedral in ruins.³³⁹ In 1472 a German pilgrim referred only to the salt lake of Akrotiri, for at about the same time a French pilgrim could write that the 'Moors and Saracens' had destroyed all the walls, churches, and houses in Limassol. Thus, in 1474, a Florentine pilgrim considered only Nicosia and Famagusta to be worthy to be named cities.³⁴⁰

King James II died on 6 July 1473 and his widow, the Venetian Caterina Cornaro (Corner), assumed the rule of the kingdom. In October of the same year she appointed as one of her envoys to Venice the Latin bishop of Limassol, Anthony de Zucco.³⁴¹ During the revolt of the Neapolito-Catalan faction in 1473, the latter tried to take control of Limassol Castle, but the Venetians easily crushed the conspiracy after the

³³⁶ Boustronios, 166, 282; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 67v and *Description*, fol. 170v.

³³⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 107-8.

³³⁸ Boustronios, 108-11; Bustron, 401; Grivaud (2008: 362).

³³⁹ Pius II, *Cosmographia*, 376-7, 381; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 77-8. A number of contemporary and later writers follow Pius' work closely, including Pietro Ranzano; see Dalché (2014: 62) and, generally, Tolia (2014: 68-70).

³⁴⁰ *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 81, 85-6, 90-2.

³⁴¹ Barbaro, *Lettere*, no. XXXIII, p. 91.

intervention of the constable Pietro Davila.³⁴² As the Grand Commandery of the Hospital at Kolossi had been conceded in 1471 to Brother Nicholas Zaplana, a relative of James Zaplana, one of the conspirators, the authorities had valid suspicions that the latter had brought valuables to the castle for safety; on 22 January 1474 the queen's men went to the commandery to conduct a search, and Nicholas Zaplana was soon replaced.³⁴³

After the death of King James II's infant son James III in 1474, Cyprus came increasingly under the control of Venice, which annexed the island in 1489. During the reign of Caterina Cornaro (1474-1489) several travellers left detailed descriptions of Limassol, passing through in the summer tourist season on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. In the summer of 1479, two German pilgrims stayed in Limassol for three days, labeling it 'a dilapidated town', destroyed by the sultan together with the countryside around it. The pilgrims and their company stayed for the benefit of the ship's crew, who sold their goods in the town, but because of the fear of malaria the passengers remained on board their galleys except for attending Mass in the mornings.³⁴⁴ A French pilgrim visited the following summer, again for three days. He noted a small castle and no town walls, the entire town destroyed and razed by the infidels. Another anonymous French traveller claims that, as soon as their ship entered the port of Limassol in 1480, the inhabitants assembled in arms and on horses on the coast, fearing that they were Turks.³⁴⁵

The German Franciscan Paul Walther passed through in the summer of 1482. Stopping at 'a certain ruined coastal city', the passengers disembarked for supplies but 'were unable to get firewood and good drinking water', so they were forced to sail elsewhere. Nevertheless, a colleague did get off the galley with the laymen to look around, and he provided the Franciscan with a description: 'Limassol was a strong and powerful city [...] but now it is destroyed down to one rather solemn church, which today stands along with a few small houses'. Like today, however, much of what one heard from the locals was hearsay, and Walther goes on to relate a myth that was to become popular after the memory of the destruction caused by the Mamluks had begun to fade: Richard the Lionheart destroyed Limassol to avenge Isaac Komnenos'

³⁴² Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, IV, 3, 9.

³⁴³ Boustronios, 228-30.

³⁴⁴ *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 35; corrected in *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 97 and notes.

³⁴⁵ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 98-9, 102, 107, 110.

treatment of his sister! Unfortunately, this romantic story takes up more space than the description of the city.³⁴⁶

The Dominican Felix Faber, who first visited Cyprus in 1480, passed through again in the summer of 1483, touching the island twice on his way to and from Jerusalem. He left a very extensive description, but he does not say much about Limassol during his first visit, although his ship tarried 'at the barren port of Limona', where he spent a few days, waiting for ships. 'A ruined city with a good harbour', he says of the town, adding that Limassol, 'as its ruins show, was a great city, to which, when Saladin took Jerusalem, the Templars, the knights of St John and of the Teutonic Order migrated', attributing the town's golden age to an event of 1187 rather than 1291:

They took possession of it and fortified it with walls and towers, especially the port, near which they built a very strong castle, facing the sea on one side [...] Ruin in many forms has stricken the city, the hatred of the Saracens towards the knights of the Temple, of St John, and of the Teutonic Order, earthquakes, and floods rushing down from the mountain behind.³⁴⁷

A year or two later a Flemish tourist came to Limassol. After the town's destruction, he writes, Limassol was little more than a village of thirty or forty houses, so angry was the king of England at the treatment of his sister! Francesco Suriano, a Venetian nobleman who stopped in Limassol in the summer of 1484, gives more or less the same impression of Limassol, 'a city almost entirely destroyed and overthrown by wars and earthquakes'. In 1486, a German knight was laconic about the town, saying that 'a sultan destroyed Limassol'.³⁴⁸

A Healthy Hinterland

In September 1487, on the eve of the Venetian annexation of the island, another German knight stayed for two days in Limassol in order to hear Mass and get 'victuals, biscuit, sheep, and some wine', informing us that 'one gets there thirty sheep for a ducat', which he apparently considered to be very cheap.³⁴⁹ The tourist's remarks remind us that, while the city itself

³⁴⁶ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 113-14; Golubovich, II, 524; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 37-9.

³⁴⁷ *Excerpta Cypria*, 36-47, esp. 36-7, 45-6; also, in *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 105.

³⁴⁸ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 116-18, 124, cf. 128; *Excerpta Cypria*, 48, cf. 53.

³⁴⁹ *Excerpta Cypria*, 51-2.

lay in ruins, Limassol's rich agricultural hinterland, in addition to pilgrims, kept its port active. The Limassol surroundings no doubt suffered less from raids and invasions and recovered more quickly than the city, although epidemics and natural disasters affected both town and countryside. In 1449, for example, two Venetian galleys came to Limassol to load sugar, but they also brought the plague from Syria, an epidemic that lasted two years, causing the deaths of many children and adults, especially serfs. It was accompanied by a food shortage, perhaps because of a very heavy winter in 1450; bad weather reduced the harvest, especially sugar, and even killed fish when the water froze.³⁵⁰ In a manuscript note dated 7 October 1468, Paul Phostiniates, a priest in Mallia in the district of Avdimou, informs us of a serious drought in 1467-1468, when it rained only twice, with the result that all the orchards and the trees died and in Mallia only one well still had water; presumably, the neighbouring district of Limassol was equally seriously affected.³⁵¹

The invasions affected the Limassol area indirectly, causing land redistributions and economic hardship. Once the baronial rebellion was over and the Genoese released him from captivity, James I (1382-1398) granted fiefs to the knights who had accepted him as king and restored some of the villages that Peter II (1369-1382) had confiscated from their owners because of their participation in the murder of his father Peter I. In the district of Limassol this redistribution involved Omodos, given to John de Bries, prince of Galilee, and Lophou, Polemidia, and Pissouri, given to John of Lusignan, lord of Beirut.³⁵² Significantly, according to an account of the revenues and expenses of the king of Cyprus for the year 1412, the royal property farmed out in the area of Limassol brought only 831 bezants to the crown, far less than Nicosia (76,801), Paphos (6,378), or Kyrenia (3,078) with only Karpasia less (148) (the office of the *bailli* of Limassol was farmed out for 3,136 bezants compared to 400 for that of Karpasia).³⁵³ The financial strain caused by the 1426 Mamluk invasion and the ensuing tribute that the king of Cyprus had to pay to the sultan of Egypt meant that the king depended more and more on various creditors, to whom he gave land in Cyprus as security. Janus himself probably granted John Podocataro the exploitation of the salt lake of Limassol. The lake was still in his family's hands in 1452: in his will, Hugh Podocataro

³⁵⁰ Note in Greek in BnF, MS Gr. 1626, fol. 144r: see Darrouzès (1959: 43-5, 46); *Documents from the Hospital*, no. 298.

³⁵¹ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 234-5.

³⁵² Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §620, pp. 608-11; 'Amadi', 494; Bustron, 352.

³⁵³ Grivaud (1998b: 396-7).

bequeathed it to his son Janus.³⁵⁴ Sometime in the late 1430s and early 1440s, King John II gave the villages of Sylikou, Limnati, and Ayios Theodoros ‘con la Montagna di Borgers [?] e Comenoriachi [*read* Camenoriachi]’ to Marco Corner as a guarantee for the crown’s debt.³⁵⁵

Naturally many fiefs also changed hands after James II’s victory over his half-sister Charlotte. Florio Bustron gives a list of fiefs and annuities that James granted to his supporters sometime between 1464 and 1468, including villages near Limassol: Agridia ‘de Pelendria’, Agros in Limassol rather than the one in Pentayia (vineyards, houses, and a lake), Ayios Therapon, Doros, Dora, Asomatos and Katokhorio ‘de Lefkara’, Asomatos and Ayios Andronikos ‘de Chilani’, Chira, Kato Drys (united with the *bailliage* of Lefkara in 1469), Pano Kivides, Kouka, Lefkara, Monagri (the village and vineyards), Moniatis, Omodos, Pelendri (annuities), Polemidia, Siria, Trakhoni, the salt lake of Akrotiri as well as Dora, Mallia, and Pissouri in Avdimou and Kalavastos and Tokhni in Mazotos. The names of the beneficiaries include Archbishop of Nicosia William Goneme, old Frankish noble families, such as the Nores and the Grenier, Greeks and Syrians who had recently risen to noble status, such as the Podocataro, the Bustron, and the Salah, and newcomers, especially Spaniards, such as the Davila and the Fabrices.³⁵⁶

In 1461 (?), for example, James gave to Balian Salah Kouka and Moniatis, which formerly belonged to Alexander Kappadokas; after 1464 John Perez Fabrices received them together with Mallia in the district of Avdimou.³⁵⁷ The case of the count of Rouchas is also very characteristic: holder of the domain of ‘Marathassa of the Count’, Morf de Grenier (de Morphou on his mother’s side) was James’ supporter, and for his loyalty he was recompensed with many fiefs, including Agridia (it is not certain if this is the village near Pelendri), Alassa, Pano Kivides, and Trakhoni in the district of Limassol; these villages were still in the hands of the count’s family in the early 1520s, according to a Venetian report.³⁵⁸ Before the Civil War, Polemidia belonged to James de Fleury, count of Jaffa, but King James gave it to Nicola Calaberto (Galiberto?) in 1464; Fleury’s son-in-law Hugues Boussat still included it in a list of his and his wife’s family

³⁵⁴ Collenberg (1993: 137, 146-7, 157).

³⁵⁵ Arbel (1988: 135 and note 14) and Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 17, note 80 citing archival sources. For Camenoriachi/qui, see above.

³⁵⁶ Bustron, 417-24; *Livre des remembrances*, nos. 98, 129, 226; Georgiades (1934: 230).

³⁵⁷ Boustronios, 132; Bustron, 418.

³⁵⁸ Bustron, 422; *Livre des remembrances*, nos. 177-8; Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 511.

estates in Cyprus when he was in exile in Rome sometime after 1460.³⁵⁹ Vouni belonged to Fleury's sister Isabeau Visconte in 1432 as part of her dowry and to her brother the count in 1438, who apparently inherited her property. James II granted it to Peter Podocataro,³⁶⁰ who also received the village of Ayios Therapon and the exploitation of the lake of Akrotiri; his brother Philip was granted Doros. James gave Gabriele Gentile, his physician, Dora in Avdimou.³⁶¹ In royal acts dated 1468 and 1469, the viscount of Nicosia and other individuals obtained annuities on the revenues from taxes in Lefkara.³⁶²

After the crown crushed the revolt of the Neapolito-Catalan faction in 1473, fiefs were again confiscated and granted to new owners in retaliation against the conspirators and as a reward for the queen's supporters. Philip Podocataro received Dora following the assassination of its owner, Gabriele Gentile; the fief was confiscated a year later. In January 1474 the constable Pietro Davila obtained two estates in Pelendri.³⁶³

The Corner family in particular seems to have used its privileged position on the island to profit from King James II's marriage with Caterina Cornaro in 1472. In April 1473, a few months before his death, James granted the Corner the right to pay their dues for Episkopi in kind and not in money. In 1489 the Grand Commandery of Kolossi, which included fourteen villages, was given to Giorgio Corner as a reward for his role in convincing his sister Caterina to abdicate in favour of the Republic.³⁶⁴

The Hospitallers faced several problems during the period. It seems that by the end of the fourteenth century they had lost both their fortified house and the one they had inherited from the Templars in Limassol, probably because the crown did not want them to possess strongholds. The existence of a Hospitaller prior of Limassol in 1412 indicates that the order still held a church in the town, but evidence suggests that the headquarters of the Preceptory of Cyprus was in Nicosia and not in Kolossi, even

³⁵⁹ Bustron, 419; *Documents chypriotes*, 125.

³⁶⁰ *Documents chypriotes*, 132, note 1, 140 and note 5, 142, where it is mistakenly said that James II granted Vouni to Galeazzo de Villarut, the editor confusing Vouni with Voni in Bustron, 418; *Livre des remembrances*, no. 155, note 2.

³⁶¹ Bustron, 420, 421; Mas Latrè, *Histoire*, III, 162, note 1.

³⁶² *Livre des Remembrances*, nos. 168, 182.

³⁶³ Boustronios, 198, 224, 282; *Livre des Remembrances*, no. 181, note 1; Bustron, 449.

³⁶⁴ Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, no. 77; Mas Latrè, *Histoire*, III, 821; Enlart (1899: II, 685).

though the preceptory was not attached to any particular house.³⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the order remained the largest landowner in the district (and on the island, for that matter) after the crown. In the 1410s, King Janus exempted the preceptory of Cyprus, including Phinikas and Anoyira, from the payment of annual dues, but he also intervened in the appointment of the grand preceptor of Cyprus and the dependent preceptor of Phinikas and Anoyira; he wanted the office to go to persons he favoured, one of whom was his natural son Louis.³⁶⁶ Inversely, in 1441 the preceptor Jacques de Milly was captain of the *castrum* of Limassol and sometime before May 1452 the then preceptor, Louis de Manhac, expelled the royal *bailli* of Limassol.³⁶⁷ In 1427 the crown granted Kilani with its *presteries* to the Hospitallers as a surety for the 15,000 ducats of Venice (*ca.* 90,000 bezants) that the order paid to the sultan of Egypt as ransom money for King Janus. In 1428 the order granted for life the *baiulia* of Kellaki and its dependency of Khirokitia to Antonius Pintor, a layman from the town of Rhodes, for his services to the Preceptory of Cyprus as a notary and scribe at Kolossi, and in 1445 Jotus de Molin received it for life.³⁶⁸

The construction of the present Kolossi Castle is a clear indication of the importance the order assigned to the Preceptory of Cyprus. The Saracens had burned the previous tower, which doubled as the sugar factory and warehouse, in 1434, and a Turkish raid caused further damage in 1451. The tower had many cracks and was in danger of collapsing, so it was proposed ‘to repair it and make it in the form of a square with four towers and a barbican’. In 1452 the Preceptor Louis de Manhac undertook to reconstruct it at his own expense, with the entire project to be completed before a deadline to be set by the commissioner and protomagister; construction began the following year, in 1453.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵ Luttrell (2011: lxxi); *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 31-2; Phillips (2013: 259).

³⁶⁶ Mas Latrè, II, *Histoire*, 501-2; *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 10-11, 70, 72, 103, 109, 111, 117, 124, 130, 133-4, 137, 140, 155; Luttrell (2011: xlvi- xlix, lxi).

³⁶⁷ Darrouzès (1959: 45); Iorga (1898: 433); Luttrell (2011: lxxiv).

³⁶⁸ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 80, 91 (at p. 110 the editors identify ‘Ziroquetre’ with Sykopetra), 135-6, 202. Luttrell (2011: lxxix, lxxv-lxxvi) thinks ‘Quillano’ to be Kellaki, which, however, was already in Hospitaller hands, but he correctly identifies ‘Ziroquetre’ with Khirokitia.

³⁶⁹ See Michalis Olympos’ chapter for more details and note 329 and 331 above for 1434 and 1451; *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 298-9; Vaivre and Plagnieux (2006: 410-22); Luttrell (2011: liii, lv, lxxviii, lxx-lxxi).

It seems that the Hospitallers made an effort to communicate with their Greek subjects. In the 1420s and 1430s, the order's notary Antonius Pintor, who as mentioned came from Rhodes, probably spoke Greek. Antonio Tebaldi, the governor of Phinikas and Anoyira in the 1440s, was said to master the Greek language and understand Cypriot affairs.³⁷⁰ This served practical purposes, but there is evidence that relations with the order's dependents continued to be good in general. In 1445, a decree of the preceptor of Cyprus indicates that *francomati* from other estates wished to live on Hospitaller lands.³⁷¹ In 1459 a mill at Erimi called 'tu Thrakana' and a piece of land at Kolossi called 'tis Zunzifias' (the land of the jujube tree?) were leased to Theodoros Neranzii, a *francomato* from Kolossi.³⁷² Significantly, even when the Preceptory of Cyprus was leased, a special clause was included in the agreement specifying that the 'leaseholders are to treat the serfs and subjects of the preceptory in the accustomed way'. When Johannes Zilotta, a serf from Logara, died in 1412 without heirs, his houses, vines, and gardens escheated to the preceptor, who would, however, maintain his widow. In 1454, Petros Theodoros tu Litru and Georgios tu Theognosto tu Nomicu, serfs from Anoyira, were manumitted. Manumission was sometimes in return for an annual payment, as in the case of Michael, alias Figo tu Bicine, from Kaloyennata, the *nomikos* Georgios, son of the *papas* Georgios, from the preceptory of Phinikas and Anoyira, and Nicolaos Patriarchi from Kellaki, the thirteen-year-old son of Georgios Patriarchi who was a sworn tax collector ('catapan castellan jurato') in Kellaki in 1459. The latter examples show that serfs could also be relatively literate and hold administrative offices on the estate. The description of the preceptory's subjects as 'our jurors, heads of the community, free men, subjects, vassals, *paroikoi*, and slaves' further implies the presence of Greek lesser officials amongst the rural population. Slaves could be freed, usually Christian ones like the Cali Georgii tu Latrioti from Phinikas in 1439, or given as presents, like an eight-year-old Greek boy in 1437. There are, however, some examples of complaints against the order's leaseholders by their tenants and serfs in 1433 and of serfs escaping to other estates in 1442 and 1447.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 89-91, 135-6, 171, 250.

³⁷¹ *Documents from the Hospital*, no. 240; Luttrell (2011: lxxviii).

³⁷² *Documents from the Hospital*, no. 344; a mill called 'lo Stosuario' and a water mill called 'Despotico' are also mentioned in the area of Kolossi, *ibid.*, nos. 343-4.

³⁷³ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 37, 106, 130, 158, 171, 230, 246, 298, 311-12, 340-2; Luttrell (2011: lxxviii-lxxix).

Artistic evidence reveals interesting religious exchanges between the Latin military order and the Greeks: a mid-fifteenth century fresco in one of the first-floor rooms of the reconstructed Kolossi Castle is in the Byzantine style and carries the preceptor's arms. Since no mention survives in the extant sources of a Hospitaller or Latin priest serving at Kolossi, and no provision seems to have been made in the new castle for an interior chapel, one may plausibly assume that the Hospitallers used the twelfth-century Greek church of St Eustathios, situated very near the castle, especially from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, when co-celebration was not unknown on the island. The church was renovated in the mid-fifteenth century, probably by the Preceptor Louis de Manhac, whose arms were in the apse.³⁷⁴

The other great estate in the area, Episkopi, one of the richest fiefs of the island, supported an important number of money fiefs³⁷⁵ and required much manpower: in 1397, fifty *francomati* together with a unspecified number of *paroikoi* and slaves worked there. At some time before 1419 Giovanni Corner bought more Muslim slaves, whom the Venetian government, in a gesture of good will towards Egypt, freed and sent back to Egypt except for those who had been baptised. Allegedly 400 slaves worked in sugar production on the estate in 1494.³⁷⁶ Some free Greeks sought to acquire the status of 'White Venetians' (naturalised Venetians), because of the protection and the privileges they would enjoy. In 1469, the royal *secrète* granted this status to 'Jano fis de Panaguioty' and his brother 'Jorgi' from Episkopi, their father being the 'bastonnier' (court usher) of the Venetians in the district of Limassol.³⁷⁷

The condition of Greek serfs or *paroikoi* in Limassol at large did not change, however. They could still be sent to another *casale*, as was the case for 'Valiandi Quiriaco Taresti [tou Arestti]' from Lefkara, who was exchanged for another serf from Lapithos in 1468. In 1469, a *paroikos* from Moutoullas named 'Limbiti tou Simio' paid 200 bezants to an officer of the *secrète* in order to buy his freedom and thus be able to become a priest, since priests had to be free. Serfs also had to ask for the permission of their lord to marry (*formariage*). In 1468, two royal acts concern the marriage of a female serf from Pelendri, which was part of the royal domain at the time; with the first act (in Italian) the king authorised the

³⁷⁴ Enlart (1899: II, 691, 694-5); Aristeidou (1983: 45-9); Luttrell (2011: lxx-lxxi).

³⁷⁵ *Livre des remembrances*, no. 166 and note 7, no. 195 and note 1; *Documents chypriotes*, 84.

³⁷⁶ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 458-9, 503; Mas Latrie, 'Documents', 110-11; Jacoby (1977: 176-7; 2009b: 82); Luttrell (2011: lxxxv).

³⁷⁷ *Livre des remembrances*, nos. 232-3.

bailli of Pelendri to allow the marriage between Nota, daughter of John Gatani, and John Albanitaqui (*Αλ/ρβανιτάκης*, probably of Albanian origin), but with his second act (in Greek) he annulled this permission, since the girl was already betrothed to another *paroikos*, the son of Yalota, and the king ordered her to marry her betrothed.³⁷⁸

This rural workforce maintained the Limassol area's economy, especially in the lucrative sugar industry centered in Hospitaller Kolossi and Corner Episkopi, in addition to the crown's *casale* of Kouklia in the Paphos diocese, although the wealth provided did not mean much for the natives, since to a large extent it left the island. The sugar plantation at Kolossi experienced its share of difficulties in the early fifteenth century, however. The crown often abused its power, confiscating and selling sugar from Kolossi, as a 1413 document from the Hospital's archives informs us. Other documents indicate that raids, fire, locusts, and frost, as well as late harvests, were damaging factors. The Mamluk raids and the 1426 invasion, in particular, seriously harmed agriculture and, together with plagues, reduced agricultural and industrial manpower, as explicitly stated in a Hospitaller document of the year 1428.³⁷⁹ Eventually, in 1445, the Hospitallers sold the export and sale of their sugar production to the Martini company from Venice, an agreement renewed in 1449, 1450, 1454, and 1464. The Martini also did business with the Corner of Episkopi and the crown, thus managing to secure much of the island's sugar production.³⁸⁰

Episkopi was so important that the Corner family began to call themselves 'Corner della Piscopia'. In 1450 Steffan von Gumpenberg explicitly mentioned the rich sugar plantations in Kolossi, but almost all the travellers who visited Limassol in the second half of the fifteenth century – in 1453, 1460, 1461, 1472, 1479, and 1483 – stopped first at the port of Episkopi or visited the small village of 'Episcopia' and underlined the importance of the Corner plantations, a fact reflecting the continuing importance of the sugar industry.³⁸¹ Roberto di Sanseverino and Count Gabriele Capodilista left almost identical accounts of their visit to the

³⁷⁸ *Livre des remembrances*, nos. 162 and 96 (exchange of serfs), 126 (emancipated serf), 98-9 (marriage).

³⁷⁹ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 40, 89, 111, 114, 145, 165-6, 171, 187-8, 220, 224, 230, 298, 303, 309, 325; Luttrell (2011: l-li).

³⁸⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 88-93; *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 174, 194, 197, 251-2, 255, 260, 263, 265, 267-8, 290, 294-5, 315, 323, 331; Luttrell (2011: lxxxvii-lxxxix) with more sources.

³⁸¹ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 67, 70, 73, 78, 90, 97, 116; *Excerpta Cypria*, 37; Arbel (1988).

island in 1458. They both described Episkopi as a ‘little *castello* [...] very rich in sugar’ and surrounded by most lovely gardens of lemon, bitter orange, and carob trees. The two Italians also give the first reference ever to a banana plantation on the island, referring to trees that ‘produce fruit very much like small cucumbers; when it is ripe it is yellow and very sweet of savour’. Capodilista specifies that ‘these gardens and fields are watered by running streams, and bulbs and squills grow there in abundance’.³⁸²

The competition with other sugar production centres demanded huge investments in technological innovations on the part of the producers, for example in water management, and by the end of the fifteenth century cotton would replace sugar as the island’s top cash crop in view of international competition.³⁸³ Although drought does not seem to have been a serious problem, lack of water, of primordial importance to the sugar industry, accelerated the demise of the Episkopi plantation. Already from 1374 to at least 1406 the Corner had engaged in a bitter dispute with the Hospitallers over water rights.³⁸⁴ One of the issues raised by the Venetian envoys to Cyprus Giovanni Canale in 1401 and Andrea Zane in 1405, 1406, and 1412 was the quarrel between Giovanni Corner and the Hospitallers, which the Hospital won. In 1428 the Hospital made another complaint about water supply, perhaps against the Corner. When the royal authorities interrupted the water supply in 1468, the damage to the Corner plantation was estimated at the great sum of 10,000 ducats (*ca.* 70,000 bezants). The Corner were never compensated, despite the intervention of the Venetian Senate itself in 1468 and 1471, and the plantation never fully recovered. As mentioned, the powerful and influential standing of the Corner family meant that the Venetian government often intervened on their behalf with the Cypriot king for failure to respect their privileges or for injuries, for example concerning the arrest of Corner’s men to serve on the galleys or exemption from taxes. The estate and the sugar trade were so important for the Republic that the Venetian ambassadors to Cyprus were repeatedly instructed to exempt the Corner of Episkopi from an embargo on trade with the king of Cyprus, who had imposed a tax on Venetian estate holders in Cyprus concerning the tribute to Egypt.³⁸⁵

³⁸² For Roberto di Sanseverino, see *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 71-2; for Capodilista, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 76-7 and *Excerpta Cypria*, 35-6.

³⁸³ Wartburg (1995); Luttrell (1996); Solomidou-Ieronymidou (2001; 2007); Jacoby (2009b: 81-3).

³⁸⁴ Luttrell (1995a: 134; 1996: 166; 2011: lxxxiv-lxxxv).

³⁸⁵ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 434-6, 455-7, 503; Mas Latrie, ‘Nouvelles preuves (1874)’, 96-7, 135, 139; Mas Latrie, ‘Documents nouveaux’, 372, 375, 376-7, 396-

Fortunately, sugar was not the area's sole crop, and like Corner Episkopi, the Hospital's estates in Limassol and Anoyira were diversified, producing a variety of vegetables and fruits (broad beans, chickpeas, lentils, flax, haricots, lecielle, carobs, millet, sesame, almonds, chevels, indigo, chevenis, onion, olives, pepper), grain (wheat, barley, oats), cotton, animals and their skins, wine, and honey.³⁸⁶ The fact that the Preceptory of Cyprus was one of the richest estates of the Hospitallers and a major provider of agricultural products to Rhodes, which mainly included wheat, sugar, and wine, is exemplary of the nature of the trade conducted in the town and district of Limassol during the period.³⁸⁷

Wine remained a very profitable product, and in 1468 King James II granted pensions from the wine revenues of Kilani, Pelendri, or Lefkara.³⁸⁸ Wine from Hospitaller Kellaki, but also from other estates of the order in Limassol (Logara/Louvaras, Kolossi), was a regular export commodity for the Hospitallers.³⁸⁹ Carob production was abundant. In 1479, two German pilgrims noted the many carob trees in the surrounding area. In 1483, Friar Felix Faber remarked that the carob and wine production was impressive in Limassol, 'the vines [...] said to be so large that a man cannot clasp his arms round their stems'. In 1486, a German knight praised the groundwater supply and number of carob trees in the area of Limassol.³⁹⁰ In his *Cosmographia* Pope Pius II claims that immense marrows grew in the area of Kolossi, which 'when covered with pitch [...] serve for casks'.³⁹¹

Timber could also be found on the mountainous areas around Limassol. In December 1394 Nicolas de Martoni was particularly impressed by the 'trees called zibini, a wild pine which produces many cones in which is no fruit', which he saw in the area of Stavrovouni,

7; *Documents from the Hospital*, no. 94; Jacoby (2009b: 83); Luttrell (2011: lxxxiv-lxxxv).

³⁸⁶ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 10-11, 37, 89-90, 127, 135, 171, 224, 250, 254-5, 259-61, and passim. For wine, see below.

³⁸⁷ Luttrell (1986: 164; 2011: lxxx); Coureas (2002: 23).

³⁸⁸ *Livre des remembrances*, nos. 19, 166, 168.

³⁸⁹ *Cartulaire*, no. 4515; *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 37, 90, 196, 230, 255, 260; Luttrell (2011: lxxvii, lxxix).

³⁹⁰ *Excerpta Cypria*, 46; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 97 (correcting *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 35), 124.

³⁹¹ Pius II, *Cosmographia*, 377; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 77. Pietro Ranzano follows Pius, Dalché (2014: 62).

adding that ‘these trees grow in great numbers, and supply roofing for houses and fuel for fire’ in the same region.³⁹²

The trade of salt continued to be lucrative, although, as we have seen, the exploitation of the salt lake of Limassol was no longer in the hands of the crown, since the Podocataro family received it as a fief soon after the Mamluk invasion in 1426. It seems that the crown preserved the right to rent the lake, however, probably for fishing, as indicated by a 1468 document of the royal *secrète* according to which the royal court used funds from the lease of the lake of Limassol to pay the Venetian Marco Loredano for the purchase of luxurious clothing.³⁹³

Economy and Trade

Together with pilgrim traffic, the export of crops grown in its vicinity thus preserved what remained of urban life in Limassol. In addition to the occasional reference to aristocrats in the town, mentioned above, the presence of Italian merchants in the city is also attested during the period, but the documentation is sparse due to the lack of archival sources and the city’s decline. The Venetians had a storehouse in Limassol, and Makhairas mentions a Venetian *bailli* in the city in 1424, although the main Venetian *bailli*’s seat was relocated after 1373 from Famagusta not to Limassol, but to Nicosia, where Venetian business activity seems to have been concentrated.³⁹⁴ While Limassol is entirely absent from surviving documents concerning the business transactions of the Genoese in Cyprus from 1391 to 1480, the presence of Genoese consuls in the town after the Mamluk invasion suggests that it hosted a relatively important Genoese community; Domenico Falamonicha held the office in December 1438, Jean de Milan in 1447, and, in the late 1440s or early 1450s, Segurano Ardimento, a Genoese who lived for a long time in Famagusta, where he participated actively in public life until his death in 1458.³⁹⁵

The Genoese occupation of Famagusta (1374-1464) had an important impact on the maritime trade of Limassol. The treaties of 1374 and 1381 between Cyprus and Genoa, which regulated the political and economic status of Famagusta under Genoese rule, stipulated that overseas trade

³⁹² *Excerpta Cypria*, 27.

³⁹³ *Livre des remembrances*, no. 101.

³⁹⁴ Jacoby (2009b: 77).

³⁹⁵ *Die Genuesen auf Zypern*; Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §652, pp. 632-3; *Sindicamentum*, 71, 221; Otten-Froux (2001: 411). See generally Coureas (2002: 39-40).

should be conducted exclusively from the harbour of Famagusta.³⁹⁶ Fate works in strange ways, however, for this monopoly would in the long run favour Limassol, its harbour gaining in importance and becoming again the principal port of the Lusignans. According to the terms of yet another treaty, signed between James I and the Genoese on 19 February 1383, by exception the ports of Limassol and Larnaca could be used for the export of certain regional agriculture produce, such as carobs. Trade along the coast was also allowed, as well as the export of sugar and honey directly from the production area, that is, mainly the coast between Limassol and Paphos, provided a licence had been acquired from the Genoese authorities in Famagusta, to whom the pertinent taxes were paid.³⁹⁷

Moreover, Genoese efforts to implement the terms of the treaties and compel foreign merchants, the Venetians in particular, to export solely from the port of Famagusta failed to a large extent. Prior to 1372, only one Venetian state galley called annually at Limassol, but after 1372, although the regular galley service was discontinued, visits of both state and private Venetian ships are mentioned relatively often, especially with relation to the export of sugar from the Corner estate of Episkopi. From 1388 to 1424 Cyprus, that is to say Genoese Famagusta, was reintegrated into the Venetian maritime commerce as a staging-post on the galley line to Beirut.³⁹⁸ Strained relations between Genoa and Venice in 1408-1409, however, led to the suspension of the Venetian state galley line to Cyprus and Syria, and the instructions of the Venetian Senate indicate that Venice tried to bypass Genoese Famagusta as the first port of call, using the ports of Limassol and Paphos, and more rarely Episkopi, as staging-posts for the Beirut galley line, especially for the export of sugar, cotton, and spices; in 1424, for example, a Venetian ship unloaded goods in Episkopi. By 1430 the Genoese had become more flexible, allowing ships to load sugar, cotton, and honey in ports near the production areas, as long as the ships

³⁹⁶ The Latin texts of the treaties are in *Liber iurium*, II, cols. 806-15 and Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 378-81.

³⁹⁷ Latin texts of the treaty in *Liber iurium*, II, cols. 806-15, Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 378-81, and Gongora and Sperone, *Real Grandezza*, 116-37 (quotation at p. 125); cf. Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§370-3, pp. 348-52 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 417-18 and Bustron, 351. For examples of the use of Limassol port, see *Gènes et l'Outre-mer*, I, no. V.9, pp. 164-6 (in 1435), II, no. 114, pp. 340-1 (in 1383). See generally Mas Latric (1879: 21), Hill (1940-1952: II, 414-15, 427-9, 433-5), Edbury (1995a: 132, 135-6), Balard (1995: 263-4), Otten-Froux (2006: 284-5), and Jacoby (2009b: 76-7).

³⁹⁸ Stöckly (1995a: 133-6; 1997a: 60-1, 64, 68-70); Coureas (2002: 28-9); Jacoby (2009b: 76-7).

also stopped at Famagusta and paid the Genoese customs duties. In 1445 a new Venetian galley line to Cyprus was established, intended to meet the increasing demand for sugar. According to an official schedule, the galleys stopped for twenty-five days at Paphos, two at Episkopi, four at Limassol and eight at either Larnaca or Famagusta. They are attested in Limassol in 1445, 1446, 1450, 1452, 1453, and 1457 taking on sugar, salt, wine, cotton, camlets, and spices. The Genoese occupation of the castle from 1452 to after 1461 probably explains the intermittent Venetian galley line, which seems to have started again by 1464. Private Venetian ships also stopped at the port of Limassol (and Episkopi) during the period for cargoes of sugar, cotton, or salt; in 1449 two Venetian ships came to Limassol to load sugar from Episkopi.³⁹⁹

The Hospitallers exported sugar from the Genoese port of Famagusta, as attested in a contract between the order and the Martini brothers dated 30 December 1449, but they sometimes used that of Limassol too, especially after *ca.* 1461 when it was no longer under Genoese control. Sugar was transported to Famagusta by sea, which means that the port of Limassol was used for coastal trade. Wine from another Hospitaller estate, Kellaki, was also apparently exported from the port of Limassol in 1445.⁴⁰⁰

By the middle of the century, and especially after 1470, Limassol and Paphos had become the main ports of call for pilgrim ships, which sometimes stopped at Episkopi too. According to the extant contracts between travellers and ship owners, the ships did not stop for more than three days in Cypriot ports. The town naturally profited from the pilgrims' sojourn. In 1450 Steffan von Gumpenberg mentioned a pilgrim hostel where he lodged.⁴⁰¹

Toward the end of the Frankish period we have some information of a more personal nature for the life of the burgess population of Limassol. In 1468 King James II reappointed 'Yani tou Yali', probably a Greek, as *mathessep* or chief of police of Limassol.⁴⁰² A testament dated 14 September 1478 of a certain 'Τζιάμες [*read* Τζιάνες?] Τεγκλέζη' (Zane d'Englesi or John son of the Englishman?), obviously not of Greek origin,

³⁹⁹ See generally Racine (1977: 324), Stöckly (1995a: 134-6; 1997a: 60-1, 71-4; 1997b: 1135-6, 1141-3), Otten-Froux (2001: 410; 2006: 285), Coureas (2002: 28-31), and Jacoby (2009b: 78, 83) with sources. For Episkopi in 1424 and 1449, see *Die Genuesen auf Zypern*, no. 22, p. 130 and Darrouzès (1959: 46).

⁴⁰⁰ *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 196, 263; Luttrell (2011: lxxxvi-lxxxvii); Coureas (2002: 31).

⁴⁰¹ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66. See above for more examples.

⁴⁰² *Livre des remembrances*, no. 52.

is nevertheless written in the Greek Cypriot dialect. He leaves 1,316 *nomismata* (probably ducats) to the king and one *nomisma* to the captain and the court of Limassol, apparently for taxes he owed. He rents a house in Limassol from a certain Taranti, to whom he owes six *nomismata* for the rent. The debt will be paid after the contents of the house are sold. He owns a house in Nicosia, which he rents with some furniture to a wet nurse named Maria. Stephanos Malatestas from Episkopi owes him eighteen *nomismata* and a John of Negroponte, the holder of the mill of Lapithos, owes a sum that is unspecified due to a gap in the manuscript. He bequeathes five gold ducats to the *bailli* of Episkopi, Sir Stephanos Vouzinos, one ducat to Brother Piero, prior of Kolossi, and another ducat to the same person for his (the prior's?) funeral. What is left of his belongings after his debts are paid is bequeathed to his wife Joanna. The witnesses are the aforementioned prior of Kolossi, who signs in Latin, and Nikolaos Yiannoulis, Nikolaos Kontalimenis, and Antria tou Omoti (a woman?), who sign in Greek.

The list of the contents of the Limassol house provides, socially, a very lively picture of everyday life in Cyprus in the late 1470s and, linguistically, a number of interesting words of varied origin still used today. It includes four bronze beds ('κρεβάτια τέσσερα χάλκινα'), the boards and bars of a bed ('κρεβατοσάνιδα με τα τριστέλλια α' κρεβατιού'), two quilts ('παπλόματα β'), two big chests ('σεντούκια μεγάλα β'), one chair ('τζαγέραν α'), two wall straw mats ('ψαθία του τύχου β'), one rug ('πεύκην α'), several pieces of luxury cloth ('γαβαρδίναν', 'γουνέλαν', 'το φούργιασμάν της πλαγκέττον άσπρον', 'βένετον'), one candlestick ('τζαντιλιέραν α'), two Gospel books ('βατζέλλια μικρά β'), two axes (?) ('σκε[πά]ρνια β'), one tablecloth and eight napkins ('μαντήλαν της ταύλας μεγάλην α' και σε[ρ]βέττες η'), one bench (?) ('φούρμ[αν] α'), copper, iron, and tin kitchenware ('χαλκομαγύρισσες β', τυγάνια σιδερένια β', 'λακάνην α', 'πλατέλλα στάνια μικρά μεγάλα θ', 'σκουτελαριές β' κάσσινες'), two iron spits ('σιδεροσούγλια β'), a marble mortar ('γδην μαρμαρένον α'), iron scales ('ζηγαριάν σηδερένιαν α'), flour ('αλεύριν μόδια β'), twenty cheeses ('τυρήν κεφάλια κ'), a pair of hams ('χοιρομέρια ζευγάριν α'), and animal fat ('μήλλαν σφακτινήν').⁴⁰³

⁴⁰³ Georgiades (1934: 228-35, text at 229-30).

The Church

Not surprisingly, Greek Lefkara fared better than Latin Limassol from the Genoese invasion until the Venetian annexation of the island. The little information we have for the Church of Lefkara in this period suggests that it was the Greek see most loyal to the Latin ecclesiastical authorities. When some members of the Greek clergy of Cyprus sought to take advantage of the chaos of two (and then three) competing popes in the Great Schism of the West (1378-1417) to request official reunification with the Patriarchate of Constantinople just after 1400, the bishop of Lefkara did not attend the meeting with the patriarch's representative, Joseph Vryennios, on 28 July 1406. The other Greek bishops termed the bishop of Lefkara a 'Latiniser', which corresponds with the fact that our best information for the implementation of the episcopal election procedure outlined in the *Bulla Cypria* comes from Lefkara *ca.* 1300 and again in the middle of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the only other specific evidence we have for the bishopric in this period is a manuscript note recording that the election of Ioannis Japhoun, son of Leontios and grandson of Ioannis, on 5 July 1455, followed the stipulations of the *Bulla Cypria*. In addition, in 1468 King James II granted a pension to Bishop Nicholas of Kourion from the wine revenues of the *casale* of Pelendri, and this probably reflects the Greek title of the bishop of Amathus, Limassol, and Kourion.⁴⁰⁴

The stability of the Church of Lefkara contrasts with the relative decline of the Latin rite in the Limassol diocese, which is perhaps most striking at Stavrovouni, as we shall see. Although we have seen that the Knights Hospitaller, with a powerful base at nearby Rhodes, were able to maintain a notable presence on Cyprus, the Teutonic Order, the Order of St Thomas of Acre, and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre no longer appear in the sources, their possessions probably having become crown property as a result of the Cyprification of the Latin Church on Cyprus due to the rise of royal vs. papal control following the Great Schism. During the schism, the popes in Rome and Avignon both appointed bishops, but few of them spent much time in Limassol, if they reached the town at all, complaining of poverty. In the confusion, the chapter even elected a bishop in the early fifteenth century, the Augustinian William Scarbotti, with the king's support, and the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII wisely confirmed it. Even within the secular clergy of Limassol, we find traces of de-Latinization, in part because of the decline of the Frankish element in

⁴⁰⁴ Katsaros (2000: 34); Darrouzès (1951a: 103); *Livre des remembrances*, no. 166.

Cypriot society. From 1428 to 1439, the Church of Limassol was held by Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan, a Greek-speaking Cypriot, albeit of Frankish blood. In 1427 or 1428 the archdeacon of Limassol granted the office of notary to the priest John ‘Papaghuri’, probably Greek, and to ‘Thomasio Bibi’, doctor of arts and medicine and a Syro-Cypriot. In 1443 Andreas Audeth, doctor of canon law and a Syro-Cypriot, was a canon of Limassol (and three other cathedrals) whom the pope allowed to live in Nicosia and collect his incomes. Anthony ‘Sulugani’ (Soulouan), another Syro-Cypriot, was the treasurer of Limassol in 1443, and Isaac Abraham de Minia was a canon in 1445. This may explain in part why a traveller passing through in 1450 remarked that the Latin-rite monks – probably the mendicants serving the cathedral – and priests in Limassol ‘all want to live in the Greek manner, and each wants to have a wife’.⁴⁰⁵ Alternatively, this could simply be another example of the gradual Hellenisation of the period.

The collapse of the mendicant orders in Limassol is both effect and factor in this de-Latinization process. When Steffan von Gumpenberg visited the city in 1450, he mentioned that all four mendicant orders had had convents in Limassol, but he claimed that the Genoese, whom he held responsible for the destruction of the town in general, had smashed the convents. We have little evidence to test this assertion, but the Franciscan convent is still mentioned as functioning in 1390, when the bishop of Limassol was a Franciscan, Bartholomew Gay. His predecessor, Stephen I Governus, had been a Franciscan as well. Étienne de Lusignan blames the Mamluks, writing with some exaggeration that, following the Mamluk incursions, the Latin regular clergy as a whole left the island, although he also states that the Cistercian monks departed in the time of James the Bastard (1460-1473). Being a mendicant, however, Étienne probably knew the situation of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians well, and he adds that these mendicants only returned to Nicosia and Famagusta, in the latter case to poor circumstances. For Limassol, Étienne specifies that there were many Greek and Latin churches there, but that the Mamluks destroyed them all, including the Templar and Hospitaller churches (the Hospitaller church still had a prior in 1412), the convents of all four mendicant orders, and even the cemetery. Only the cathedral was restored, the rest being left to further ruin, their foundations visible in Étienne’s day. Thus Limassol had no more active mendicant convents after the 1420s, the friars of those orders residing in

⁴⁰⁵ Collenberg (1982a; 1982b: 645-7); *Acta Martini V*, no. 461; *Acta Eugenii IV*, nos. 1103-4, 1111, 1322; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66.

their Nicosia houses and merely drawing their incomes from their Limassol properties, as Étienne relates. The only trace we find of the mendicants in Limassol afterwards is a testimony to the decline of the Latin secular clergy in the city and in Cyprus in general: by the 1440s secular clerics were not available to serve in the cathedral, so mendicants had to take their place. This was still the case at the start of the Venetian era, for in 1482 a Franciscan, an Augustinian, and either a Carmelite or a Dominican were running the cathedral, probably sent out from Nicosia.⁴⁰⁶

Perhaps the town had few Latins after 1426, which would explain why King Janus' most important advisor, his uncle Hugh, cardinal-deacon of San Adriano, was given the Church of Limassol (and that of Nicosia) *in commendam* in 1428, something that was renewed until 1439.⁴⁰⁷ Even in the thirteenth century the strong tradition of episcopal elections evident in Nicosia and other dioceses was largely absent in Limassol, and by 1373 papal intervention in general had made such autonomy a distant memory. In Étienne de Lusignan's time, papal intervention itself was almost forgotten. Already in the first half of the fifteenth century Leontios Makhairas would describe the original system as one of royal appointment, and Étienne relates that royal approval was necessary before the Venetians took over.⁴⁰⁸ The situation made it even easier to bend the rules. When Treasurer Benedict of Negroponte died, in early 1432 Cardinal Hugh, now cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, granted the position to an eleven-year-old cleric named Anthony Silvano, papal orator and student at the University of Padua! Since the Church of Limassol had been destroyed by the Saracens, it was argued, and the treasury was worth no more than forty gold florins (then about 160 bezants), the pope agreed to overlook Anthony's age.⁴⁰⁹

Although Cardinal Hugh was drawing an income from Limassol, he seems to have assigned someone to act as bishop. After the death of Bishop James, Pope Eugene IV gave the administration of the Church of Limassol to Hugh's nephew, Lancelot of Lusignan, the future cardinal, in 1436. In the summer of 1438 Galesius of Montolif, who had been archdeacon of Limassol, was promoted to bishop, perhaps by Cardinal Hugh, who had now risen to cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 8v (for the Hospitaller prior in 1412, see above), 33r; *Acta Eugenii IV*, no. 1038; Golubovich, II, 269, 524.

⁴⁰⁷ *Acta Martini V*, nos. 331, 497f; *Acta Eugenii IV*, no. 441.

⁴⁰⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§28-30, pp. 26-9; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 31v.

⁴⁰⁹ *Acta Martini V*, nos. 101-2.

⁴¹⁰ *Acta Eugenii IV*, nos. 457, 597, 715-16, 858. See Collenberg (1982a: *passim*, esp. 116).

We still hear of the positions of archdeacon, treasurer, and canon, in the context of the nepotism popular in the Church of the day,⁴¹¹ but the situation in Limassol is clear from four letters of Pope Eugene IV dated 23 July 1442, sixteen years after the third Mamluk incursion. The letters present Bishop Galesius' report on his church. He accurately asserted that Limassol had been destroyed three times by the infidels and menaced by plague and other evils that reduced the number of the church's vassals. Moreover, although the Church of Limassol was sufficiently endowed with prebends, high-ranking positions ('dignitates'), and offices to allow enough pay for them to reside at and serve in the church, as required by law, several members of the chapter were claiming exemption for university study or serving cardinals or other prelates at the papal curia or elsewhere, while others were maintaining that they feared further incursions of the infidels or the bad air and hence abandoned the church completely – naturally they all continued to collect their incomes. So Galesius had to provide for the church's needs with friars of the mendicant orders, which he did not consider the best solution. The bishop asked the pope for the power to force those who held canonries or other offices to reside personally in the church with the threat of withholding their income or by other means. The pope granted the right to withhold incomes after a warning and a deadline, then to replace absentees with suitable persons. We are told that there were to be eight who were to be obliged to reside there as canons, probably meaning the six canons and two officials, and Galesius could offer them the positions provided that they were priests or were ordained priests within a year.⁴¹²

A better solution soon came along for Galesius, however, for he was made archbishop of Nicosia in 1443, after Cardinal Hugh's death, with James de Nores, who had studied in Padua in the late 1430s, taking over the administration of Limassol. Better still, two years later Gelasius obtained the administration and income of Limassol again, in addition to that of Paphos. In his capacity as 'episcopus Limisso' he acted as the king's ambassador to Venice in 1441 and 1445. Unfortunately for Galesius, King John II had other ideas and prevented Galesius from occupying the archiepiscopal see, while James de Nores and Lancelot of Lusignan caused difficulties with Limassol and Paphos respectively, partly in the context of the 'Little Schism' of the West, in which Lancelot adhered to the anti-pope Felix V. Then in 1447 Pope Eugene IV appointed

⁴¹¹ *Acta Martini V*, no. 461; *Acta Eugenii IV*, no. 140.

⁴¹² *Acta Eugenii IV*, nos. 1036-9. Some cathedral staff lived in Nicosia throughout the fourteenth century, for example in 1399 when Canon John apparently resided there: Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 453-4.

John Morelli to Nicosia and made Galesius archbishop of occupied Tarsus, uniting that see with Paphos and Limassol as long as Galesius lived and exempting him from the jurisdiction of Nicosia.⁴¹³

Galesius' rise did little for his ambitious programme to revitalise the Church of Limassol. In 1450 Steffan von Gumpenberg related that there were only two canons in Limassol, who shared their one chasuble, while the bishop lived in Nicosia. The visitor mentioned that the bishop had had an income of 7,000 *Gülden*, the canons 350 each ('dritt halb hundert'); if *Gülden* are bezants, as they seem to be, then the incomes were more or less at 1367 levels. He also states that there were no churches in Limassol, the nobles attending Mass in private chapels in their houses.⁴¹⁴

The story of Bishop Galesius' successor, Peter de Manatiis, illustrates the situation of the Church of Limassol in the last years of the Frankish period. As canon of Torcello, Peter accompanied Cardinal Louis of San Lorenzo in Damaso (patriarch of Aquileia) on his legation to the East in the context of an expedition against the Turks. They set sail from Naples on 6 August 1456 and, after their arrival, Louis sent Peter to King John II of Cyprus to speak about the needs of the fleet. While there, when the see of Limassol was vacant following the death of Bishop Galesius, also titular archbishop of Tarsus, the chapter elected Peter as Galesius' successor. At the request of King John, Queen Helena Palaiologina, and the other prelates and nobles of Cyprus, Cardinal Louis confirmed Peter in office, as did Pope Calixtus III later on. Almost immediately, it seems, Peter was complaining about his new post. The first complaint reached the pope by 4 July 1457, the date of the papal reply that provides the information: 'The Church of Limassol is situated on the confines of the Turks, Saracens, and enemies of Christ's name and can easily be occupied by them', Calixtus was told. The pope tried to help by allowing him to continue to receive income from the West in addition to what he earned from Limassol, and he could apply the money to the needs of the two institutions as he saw fit. This did not suffice, and by 27 August 1457 Calixtus was responding to more complaints and requests. Peter could not find secular priests willing to attend, serve, and celebrate the divine offices, since the church was located in such a remote place, so Peter had to offer church benefices to get them. Moreover, the city of Limassol was totally destroyed and only

⁴¹³ Betto (1993: 52); *Acta Eugenii IV*, nos. 1070-4, 1077, 1091, 1302, 1304-5, 1307-9, 1416-17, 1419-21, 1426, 1428-9; Mas Latrie, 'Nouvelles preuves (1874)', 131.

⁴¹⁴ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66; on the two canons and the bishop, cf. the Carmelite Le Huen's translation of an earlier text in *Excerpta Cypria*, 51.

suitied for warfare, so he could not live there. The pope gave him the means to entice four new canons.⁴¹⁵

Things got only worse, however, and Peter decided to quit. On 28 September 1459 Pope Pius II charged Cardinal Louis with finding out Peter's reasons and the state of the Church of Limassol, and later, on 28 December, Louis was asked to determine whether a certain Anthony de Zucco, papal protonotary, would be a suitable replacement. One witness, Antonio Capodilista (a relative of the Gabriele Capodilista, who visited the island that year?), declared in 1458 that he had found the Church of Limassol to be in a 'ruined and deserted place'.⁴¹⁶ The testimony of Bishop Peter himself, dated 2 January 1460, is perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the state of Limassol and of the Limassol Church at that time, and it is worth quoting at length:⁴¹⁷

On 2 January the above-written reverend father in Christ lord Peter de Manatiis, bishop of said Limassol Church, asked by me the below-written notary concerning the state and condition of the Church of Limassol, said under oath that said church is situated in the island of Cyprus under the dominion of the most serene lord king of Cyprus in the city of Limassol, which for a long time lay and presently lies alone and prostrate, completely uninhabited and wholly deserted because of the incursions of pirates and other barbarian peoples, for it is positioned on the sea shore. And the church of Limassol itself, which is half-ruined, was established under the name of the Blessed Mary Mother of God, in which neither the bishop nor the canons reside because of the bad conditions of the place and its site. Yet said church has a chapel located in the fortress of Kolossi five miles distant from the city of Limassol, and there the divine offices are celebrated by the bishop and others and the books and other ornaments of said church are kept there. Again, the aforesaid lord bishop said that the church of Limassol has six canons, a treasurer, an archdeacon, and a cantor. And it has an episcopal residence in Nicosia, which is the royal city of the Kingdom of Cyprus. Again, that it is valued at 800 ducats [*ca.* 5,000 bezants] per year and receives its income in money, wheat, wine, and barley. And that the bishop of Limassol has no care of the people or of souls, because this care belongs to the Greek bishop who has always been created by the bishop of Limassol, and according to the Greek rite he has the care of the people and of souls.

⁴¹⁵ Dalla (1898: no. 1, 162, note 1; 163 and note 2; 165, note 1; 166, note 1).

⁴¹⁶ Dalla Santa (1898: no. 1 and 156).

⁴¹⁷ Dalla Santa (1898: 155, note 1).

The cardinal's final report⁴¹⁸ adds more information from the investigation and is quite interesting for the light it sheds on the relationship between Church and State in Cyprus, the personal details of Bishop Peter, and of course the state of Limassol. As long as King John II and Queen Helena Palaiologina were alive he had peaceful possession of his church, but after their deaths (on 28 July and 11 April 1458 respectively) Peter lost favour in the new regime, although he was the main prelate responsible for the coronation of Charlotte as queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus on 15 October in St Sophia.⁴¹⁹ Afterwards most of the incomes of his church were wrongly taken over by royal administrators and within a year Peter was twice deprived of his church, or so he said. Because of such trouble Peter did not want to return to that land anymore, for he did not think he could live there in safety. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that on 28 September 1459, during the investigation of the captain of Famagusta Napoleone Lomellini, Giuliano Rollerius, a burgess from Famagusta, does not fail to mention the sapphire ring the bishop had on his finger.⁴²⁰

Ring or not, Peter had given more reasons for his resignation. The people of that land were too different from him in manners and speech, and he did not believe that he could live in harmony with them. Whether he meant the mainly Greek population of the diocese or just Cypriots in general is unclear. Peter also protested that he was already old and unable to tolerate the hardship and danger of the sea voyage back to Cyprus. Even if he could, the air of the island of Cyprus was not agreeable to his constitution, but so contrary to it that he doubted he would be able to survive there for long. So Peter wanted to resign his church into the pope's hands. Of course, Peter wanted to retain his episcopal rank and a pension of 250 florins (*ca.* 1,000 bezants) from the Church of Limassol's revenues so that he could live in the style that was fitting for his position. He also wanted to have the vacant title of archbishop of Tarsus, since his predecessor as bishop of Limassol had obtained that title while living and was now deceased.

As for the state of the Church of Limassol, for the most part Cardinal Louis agrees with Peter, adding some details. Limassol's deserted and uninhabited state is blamed on the Genoese destruction. Only the nave of the cathedral remained, but even it was in danger of falling down. Louis remarks that, in addition to the chapter, the church had two scribes. He also confirms that only one (Latin) abbey existed in Peter's diocese, no

⁴¹⁸ Dalla Santa (1898: no. 1).

⁴¹⁹ Mas Latrie, 'Documents nouveaux', 390; Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§712-13, pp. 682-5; Collenberg (1979-1980: 177-8, 193).

⁴²⁰ *Sindicamentum*, 119-20, 141, 235.

doubt Benedictine Stavrovouni. Louis concedes that the bishop had to live in Nicosia, because he could not stay safely in Limassol because of pirates and other invaders. But he adds that there was no episcopal residence at all in Limassol, and that it was more than two days' journey to his palace in the capital. Finally, he gives a nod to Peter's statement of his finances, specifying that before Limassol was destroyed the church was worth 3,000 florins (*ca.* 12,000 bezants) and assessed at 1,000 ducats (*ca.* 7,000 bezants), but now its income comes to only 800 florins (*ca.* 3,200 bezants). The most interesting bit concerns Peter's flock: 'Said church does not have care of the people, because the flock that it has, which is small, is Greek, and the metropolitan and the bishop of Limassol provide them with a Greek bishop who ministers the divine [services] to them according to the Greek rite'.

Louis concludes his report by affirming that Anthony de Zucco, papal protonotary, was a relative of his and had gone with him on his legation to the East for the crusade. Louis finds him to be of noble blood and legitimate birth, a doctor of civil and canon law, around 30 years old, and suited to the position. Antonio Capodilista testified that Zucco had actually been rector of the law faculty of the University of Padua and was perfectly capable of running the Church of Limassol. Thus by 18 January 1460 Peter was no longer bishop, but Pope Pius II only granted him 200 florins (about 800 bezants) for his pension from Limassol, although he gave Peter the benefice that Zucco had renounced in order to become the new bishop of Limassol.⁴²¹

Anthony de Zucco became the new bishop at the start of 1460, but the situation apparently did not improve. Around 1472 the French pilgrim Sébastien Mamerot wrote that the 'Moors and Saracens' had destroyed all the churches in Limassol and only 'two poor churches' remained, the cathedral of Notre-Dame and a Greek church. He added that all the images in the churches had been destroyed or defaced by the Saracens, who smashed against the wall the paintings (icons?) of the Crucifixion, Our Lady, the evangelists, and the other saints. There were still just two canons, but four chaplains served the cathedral, one a Castilian (Castellongne?) who was the bishop's vicar, the others being a Spaniard, an Italian, and a Burgundian.⁴²²

On 18 April 1475 we hear that Bishop Anthony had complained to Pope Sixtus IV that it was bad enough that the buildings and episcopal palace of the Church of Limassol had been greatly damaged and mostly

⁴²¹ Dalla (1898: 156-8, 168, note 2).

⁴²² *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 90; copied verbatim in 1480: *ibid.*, 107.

destroyed by the Moors and infidel Saracens, but the crown or certain nobles also greatly oppressed and harassed the bishop, and for many years they extorted from him 200 gold ducats (*ca.* 1,400 bezants) from the revenues of his episcopal manse, contrary to ecclesiastical freedom and to the danger of their souls. For her part, Queen Caterina Cornaro placed the blame on the bishop's shoulders, expressing to the doge of Venice her wish for the bishop's exile from Cyprus. Pope Sixtus ordered a stop to this or any such extortion, oppression, or harassment on pain of excommunication. Interestingly, the copy of this bull was compared to the original by the public notaries by imperial authority Bernard de Leonardis, canon of Limassol, and 'Alovisius Venturinus, canonicus *Leuchosiensis*', so that even in Latin the locals were then referring to the capital as Leuchosia rather than Nicosia. No wonder Pope Sixtus complained in general of the Greek bishops' usurpation of the role of their Latin superiors.⁴²³

Unlike Peter de Manatiis, however, Zucco did not resign, dying in the spring of 1479. His successor, Nicolò Donà, was not surprisingly a Venetian. In late October Pope Sixtus IV tried to improve the new bishop's position by confirming the union of his see with the monastery of St John of Montfort in Nicosia, then Benedictine, but formerly Cistercian Beaulieu Abbey, a union that had begun under Zucco and lasted until 1507.⁴²⁴ The information we have for Nicolò's reign shows that yet another problem plagued the town: relations with the archbishop. Nicolò complained to Pope Sixtus that Archbishop Victor Marcellus was interfering in the affairs of the Church of Limassol and conferring its vacant benefices. In addition, Nicolò claimed that, after Zucco's death, the archbishop had much of the late bishop's property taken away, which was especially damaging because Nicolò had to pay Zucco's creditors.⁴²⁵

During the reign of Caterina Cornaro (1474-1489) several travellers reiterated the sad state of the Latin churches in Limassol. In the summer of 1479, two German pilgrims described a cathedral and bishop's palace 'that has been somewhat laid waste by the sultan'.⁴²⁶ A French pilgrim visited the following summer and like the Germans he reported that the cathedral of Notre-Dame and the bishop's palace had been destroyed by the infidels. He adds a curious detail: once the cathedral had been destroyed, they used

⁴²³ Dalla Santa (1898: no. 2); Mas Latrie, 'Documents nouveaux', 454-5; *Cartulary*, no. 94.

⁴²⁴ Dalla Santa (1898: 175-6, note 5); *Capitula Universitatis Regni Cypri*, 11-12.

⁴²⁵ Dalla Santa (1898: nos. 3-4).

⁴²⁶ *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 35; corrected in *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 97 and notes.

its stones to build a small church. Besides this supposedly small cathedral, the only churches left were small ones served by Greek priests. The pilgrim repeats the French report of 1472 about the *Moors*' destruction or defacing of the statues and icons, adding those of Saints John and James to the list. Likewise, four chaplains still served the cathedral, but rather than a Castilian (?) as vicar and a Spaniard, an Italian, and a Burgundian, the vicar is from Languedoc and the Burgundian is replaced with someone from Picardy. Perhaps this was just a changeover of mendicants from the capital, but one senses that the French were comparing notes, as were the Germans, especially since another French report of 1480 plagiarises the 1472 description.⁴²⁷

In his account of 1482, the Franciscan Paul Walther says that there was only one 'rather solemn church' in Limassol:

This is the cathedral church, and the bishop, it is said, lives in Venice and receives the incomes. He has three friars there who are supposed to be in charge of the church and populace. The principal one is a Friar Minor, and he has a wife and sons and daughters. Another was a friar of the Order of Hermits of St Augustine, and the third was of another order. The bishop gives them a meager wage, and they live there in a horrible state.⁴²⁸

In 1483, the Dominican Felix Faber attributes the building of Latin churches in Limassol to the settlement of the three religious military orders in the town after 1191:

Within the town they built Latin churches and convents of which the ruins are still visible, but only one wretched church remains standing, without bells. Its ornaments are of the poorest kind, and they call to prayer with bits of wood. A few Latin clergy still live there, but [...] their habits are not edifying.⁴²⁹

In 1486, a German knight mentioned only two Greek churches still standing in Limassol.⁴³⁰ A year later, another German knight provides the interesting pieces of information that in the city there were 'fine churches', with a bishop and two canons.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 98-9; cf. *ibid.*, 102, 107, 110.

⁴²⁸ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 112-13; Golubovich, II, 524; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 37-9.

⁴²⁹ *Excerpta Cypria*, 36-7, 45-6; also, in *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, no. 105.

⁴³⁰ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 124; cf. *ibid.*, 128. Exactly the same information is provided by an Italian Franciscan monk: see *Excerpta Cypria*, 53.

⁴³¹ *Excerpta Cypria*, 51-2.

The decline of the Latin rite and the rise of the Greek is especially apparent in the countryside, absenteeism being the main characteristic in rural areas as it was in the city. In a document dated 15 May 1445 a 'Burchardus Junghe' is said to be the absentee prior of the church of St John the Baptist in Alaminos, in the district of Mazotos but in the diocese of Limassol ('prior ecclesie Johannis Baptiste de Lamyno Nimociensis dyocesis et capellanus serenissimi Regis Cipri').⁴³² We have seen how abbots of Benedictine Stavrovouni were charged with severe negligence in the fourteenth century. In 1394, Nicolas de Martoni gives a very gloomy picture of his pilgrimage to the monastery during a very cold December. The only accommodation he could find in a nearby village was 'a rug, upon which I slept that night with the greatest discomfort, on account of those accursed fleas which bit me incessantly'. He completed his journey to the monastery on a donkey and he complained bitterly about the inhospitable monks who refused to give him a room for the night.⁴³³ Stavrovouni was raided and looted by the Egyptian army during the 1426 invasion. An Arab chronicler gives an interesting account of the events:

General Tangrivirdi, after his victory, sent troops to the Mount of the Cross four leagues distant, to destroy a church there which was much revered by the Christians, and to rob the treasures it possessed. They returned home with immense booty, amongst which was a massive gold cross that was a veritable masterpiece. It was so cunningly made that by means of certain interior springs it was always in motion without anyone touching it.⁴³⁴

The legend of the miracle of the Cross of the Good Thief remained from earlier reports, for instance in the chapter on Cyprus in the anonymous fifteenth-century encyclopedia of geography *Les merveilles du monde, ou les secrets de l'histoire naturelle*, which, citing the thirteenth-century English writer Gervase of Tilbury, related that if a pilgrim tried to kiss the cross, it would remain still, but if one tried to touch it, it would move back and rise in the air.⁴³⁵ Some travellers, like Martoni, who also lists a

⁴³² Houben (2014: 163).

⁴³³ *Excerpta Cypria*, 27-8.

⁴³⁴ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 512; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, II, 73; *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 129. Cf. Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §695, pp. 672-3.

⁴³⁵ Van Duzer (2014: 43-4); also see *Excerpta Cypria*, 28-9. For Tilbury's account, see above.

number of other relics, still confuse the cross of the good thief with that of Jesus Christ.⁴³⁶

It is likely that Latin monks did abandon the abbey after the 1426 destruction. Benedictine Abbot Bernard of Stavrovouni resigned his post in 1441, and the care of the monastery was given to John of Cyprus, a master of theology, but an Augustinian friar, not a Benedictine monk, and in 1481 it was a Franciscan named Bartholomew. By 1450 visitors reported that Greek monks or individual hermits occupied the site, so in the end Stavrovouni was Benedictine for only about half of the Latin period.⁴³⁷

Nevertheless, some thirty years later the cross miraculously reemerges in the sources. Felix Faber's description of his visit to Stavrovouni in 1483 is much longer than that of Limassol. The priest who welcomed the pilgrims at the church knew no Latin, but 'he brought out some very old Latin books, with what else was necessary' for the visitors to proceed with the Mass. According to Faber, they then witnessed the miracle of the suspended Cross of the Good Thief, which they 'observed carefully before and behind':

The cross is fairly large, covered in front with silver-gilt plates, but on the side to the wall it is bare, of a fair and sound wood like cypress. They say it is the cross of Dysmas, the thief on the right hand to whom Jesus on the cross promised Paradise [...] St Helena [...] carried [it] whole from Jerusalem to this mountain, and here she built a large monastery of monks, and a church, in which she left the cross as a relic of rare value, and caused to be built for it near the altar a niche or shrine, and set it therein. And there it still remains, untouched, though long since the monastery was utterly destroyed by the Turks and Saracens, and the monks of St Benedict, who served the church, are scattered. Wonderful is the position or location of this cross in its place. It is in a niche dimly lighted, both its arms are sunk in recesses made in the wall, and its foot is sunk in a recess in the floor. But the recesses of the arms and the foot are large, disproportionately so to what they hold, yet does not the cross touch the wall, but it is absolutely free from any contact with it; and this is the wonderful story about the cross that it hangs in the air without support [...].

⁴³⁶ *Excerpta Cypria*, 27; the relics are: 'A large piece of S. Anne. An arm of S. Blaise. A nail fixed in the hands of Christ. A rib of S. George. A stone with which S. Stephen was stoned'.

⁴³⁷ *Acta Eugenii IV*, no. 960; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66; Schryver and Schabel (2003: 331a).

On the way back, Faber's party stopped at the village of Stavrovouni, where a Greek priest showed them more relics and explained to them that he celebrated Mass in both the Latin and the Greek church according to each rite, a confession which shocked the pilgrims!⁴³⁸

The Greek monastery of St Nicholas of the Cats takes its place as major tourist destination at this time. The first visitor to comment on St Nicholas was the pilgrim Peter Rot from Basel in 1453, but the monastery was soon to rival Stavrovouni as an attraction. The main spectacle was, of course, the multitude of cats that the monks kept to hunt and kill the many snakes that infested the Akrotiri Peninsula. A bell was used to summon the cats to the monastery for meals, but otherwise they hunted the snakes in the fields. Rot puts the number of cats at 200, a visitor in 1460 wrote 400, and by 1470 the mathematical progression had continued, reaching 600 cats allegedly hunting the serpents, with King James II providing the monastery with 350 ducats (*ca.* 2,400 bezants) annually for the cats' upkeep, including the services of a veterinarian. Another tourist that same year only reported 300 of the animals, while a third wrote 1,000. In 1472 a pilgrim estimated 1,000-1,200, but ten years later the number was again quoted as 400. Felix Faber's detailed description of the activities of the cats at the monastery of St Nicholas in 1483 is again much longer than that of Limassol itself. He says that 'daily war is waged between the cats and the snakes' as well as 'mice, dormice, and rats', providing his readers with a pseudo-scientific analysis of the feline's qualities. In around 1484 or 1485, a Flemish traveller reserves most of his remarks for St Nicholas on the Cape of Cats.⁴³⁹ In the summer of 1484 Francesco Suriano gives one of the nicest descriptions:

From the said city of Limassol up to this cape the soil produces so many snakes that men cannot till it or walk without hurt thereon. And were it not for the remedy which God has set there, in a short time these would multiply so fast that the island would be depopulated. At this place there is a Greek monastery which rears an infinite number of cats, which wage unceasing war with these snakes. It is wonderful to see them, for nearly all are maimed by the snakes: one has lost a nose, another an ear; the skin of one is torn, another is lame; one is blind of one eye, another of both. And it is a strange thing that at the hour for their food at the sound of a bell all those that are scattered in the fields collect in said monastery. And when

⁴³⁸ *Excerpta Cyprica*, 37, 38-41; also, in *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, no. 105, cf. no. 35, pp. 117-18.

⁴³⁹ *Excerpta Cyprica*, 46; *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 70, 76, 79, 81, 83-4, 86, 97, 117.

they have eaten enough, at the sound of the bell they all leave together and go fight the snakes. On this account the monastery has large revenues.⁴⁴⁰

The partially Gothic church of St Nicholas still stands today, along with a wing of the claustral buildings and foundations of other sections, about two miles east of Akrotiri village. The church seems to be a construction of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with fifteenth century reconstruction. Since the 1980s it has been used as a nunnery.⁴⁴¹

It has been suggested that St Nicholas was the same as the St Mary of Stylos discussed above for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the 'monastery of the saint of Stylos' is still mentioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, again attached to Agros. It had scribes and enjoyed, at one point, the patronage of Sir Jean de Lessy or de Laze.⁴⁴² The production of Greek manuscripts is also attested in the Limassol hinterland in this period in connection with Greek churches and monasteries in the villages of Lefkara, Alsos, Pelendri, Mallia, Kivides, and Sylikou.⁴⁴³

Writing probably in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Leontios Makhairas mentions several other Greek shrines in the Limassol diocese, burial places of saints and prelates, many of which Makhairas saw or heard of: St Therapon in Kilani, St Barnabas the Monk in Vasa, St Kassianos in Avdimou, Holy Cross in Tokhni and Stavrovouni. He also mentions the miracles that the icon of the Latin St John de Montfort worked in Limassol.⁴⁴⁴ At the close of the Lusignan period, then, although Limassol itself was largely ruined and empty, its surroundings were prosperous and full of life.

Venetian Limassol: 1489-1571

The cliché that the Venetians ran Cyprus into the ground has been labeled a myth.⁴⁴⁵ Recent research has shown that the last century of Latin rule on

⁴⁴⁰ *Excerpta Cypria*, 48.

⁴⁴¹ See *ARDA 2004*, 40, describing a recent cleaning, with photograph of the foundations in fig. 16.

⁴⁴² Suggestion in *ARDA 2004*, 40, but see Darrouzès (1956: 39-40, 49) and Lusignan, *Description*, fols. 37v, 84v. Also see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 643-4 and 503 (in a ca. 1521 report).

⁴⁴³ Darrouzès (1950: 172; 1956: 35-6, 47-50); Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 139-40, 203-5, 205-9, 222-4, 232-6.

⁴⁴⁴ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§8, 32-3, 36, 67-77, pp. 6-9, 30-7, 60-73; also, Bustron, 34.

⁴⁴⁵ Arbel (1998; 2009b).

Cyprus was instead one of demographic expansion for the island as a whole and of urban renewal for Nicosia and Famagusta. This chapter investigates whether the Venetians also revitalised the ruined city on the south coast.

Venetian Views of Limassol

The Venetians certainly took an interest in Limassol and its surroundings. Following Venice's assumption of power, for example, Cyprus naturally attracted the attention of Venetian cartographers, Venice being one of the most important centres of the industry of map making. The study of the extant charts and maps shows that, although 'Limiso' was marked in some earlier Italian portolan charts, notably in 1467 together with Episkopi ('Piscopia'), the town is generally absent from maps until the end of the fifteenth century. Only Amathus and Kourion are indicated, as in several extant manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, revived by the Byzantines and copied until the end of the fifteenth century ('Κούριον πόλις'/'Curium civitas', 'Ἀμαθοῦς'/'Amathus'). Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario* (ca. 1480) contains the map of the *Insula de Cipro*, marking the beginning of a new era for the cartography of Cyprus, in which 'Limiso' appears together with a number of places situated in its vicinity: 'El Stagno dito Limen', referring to the marshes in the Akrotiri Peninsula, 'Le Falconare', a name deriving from the high concentration of falcons in the Akrotiri area, 'C. Gavata olim Curia extrema', 'Piscopia', 'Colosu', 'Cilano', 'Silico', 'Tarso' [Arsos], 'S. Croce'. We find the first cartographical representation of the castles of Limassol and Kolossi in Henricus Martellus Germanus' manuscript version of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (ca. 1480). The pictorial image of Limassol as a walled city appears in maps dated ca. 1500. Interestingly, occasionally Limassol is not marked in important maps, like some of the those of the Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis (1522-1523), in Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* (1528), or in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographis Universalis* (1550). In 1542, apart from 'Limis(s)o', Leonida Attar includes Amathus ('Limiso vecchia'), depicted with ruined walls and buildings, and another ancient site, *Frodisia*, at Olympus, the summit of the Troodos Mountains, which he calls 'Monti de Marathasse'. Both the castle of Limassol and that of Kolossi are represented, the latter shown to be built on a river. In a Greek portolan chart dated to the mid-sixteenth century and entitled *Ἀναθύμησις τῆς Κύπρου*, some of the names of places raise questions as to the reliability of the chart: did these places actually exist, or were they wrongly copied/translated? For example, along the coast from Limassol

(‘Λεμεσός’) to Salines (‘Αλικαίς’) the following names are mentioned: ‘Ρεμεσογία’ (Yermasoyia?), ‘Παλαιά Λεμεσός’ (Old Limassol), and ‘κάστρον χαλασμένον πράσινον’ (‘a ruined verdant castle’). In Ferrandus Bertelli’s 1560/2 map, ‘Episcopia’ is cartographically shown to be bigger than ‘Limiso’. In his 1566 revival of the 1538 map by Matheo Pagano, Giovanni Francesco Camocio erroneously marks Limassol as ‘Imisso’. In his map published in 1570, when the Ottoman invasion was in full swing, Matthes Zündt included a note about the monastery of St Nicholas of the Cats below ‘C. della gatte’. In several maps, like the *ca.* 1560 one by the Cypriot chronicler Florio Bustron, both the ancient (‘Amathussa’, ‘Curium’) and the medieval tradition (‘Limisso’) of place names are attested. Florio also introduces administrative material, dividing the island into the eleven districts of the late Lusignan and Venetian periods, which include ‘Limisso’ and ‘Avdimo’.⁴⁴⁶

Administration

The new regime maintained the administrative division of the island into eleven or twelve *contrade* or districts that was introduced sometime during the late Lusignan period. Limassol formed one of these districts, but so did Avdimou, many of the villages of which belong today to the district of Limassol. According to an anonymous Venetian report datable to the early 1520s, the *contrada* of Limassol was composed of 122 villages (*casalia*), the largest number together with Nicosia, and that of Avdimou of twenty-two, the smallest. The district of Limassol included two *baliazzi* or sub-districts: Polemidia (five villages) and Pakhna (five villages); Kilani, Asomatos of Kilani, and Apano Kouka were included in the *baliazzo* of Kouklia in the district of Paphos and Lefkara in the *baliazzo* of Palaikythro in the district of the Viscontando.⁴⁴⁷ According to the Cypriot Leonida Attar’s great 1542 map of Cyprus, the district of Limassol included eighty-three settlements (three unnamed) plus the city itself and that of Avdimou twenty-one (two without name).⁴⁴⁸ A document datable to *ca.* 1550 lists

⁴⁴⁶ *Les Portulans grecs*, I, 123; *Cartography of Cyprus*, 1-59, figs. 3-10a, 11-11a, 13-13a, 15, 18, 20-2, 24, 30-3, 36, 57; Grivaud (1998a: 98-101); Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006: 49=51, figs. 36a, 37b).

⁴⁴⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 494, 507-8, 510, 541; Attar, 528; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 38, *Venetian Documents III*, 273-4, 286, 288; Grivaud (1998a: 70-3, 448-52). For the dating and reliability of the report, see Arbel (1984: 194-6), Grivaud (1988), and Aristeidou (2002; 2008a; 2008b). Cf. Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 80r and *Description*, fol. 214v.

⁴⁴⁸ Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006: 142-3).

106 settlements (forty-two *casalia* and sixty-four *prastia*) for the district of Limassol, which thus ranks fourth out of the eleven districts; Avdimou was last with twenty-one settlements (eighteen *casalia* and three *prastia*). More or less the same numbers are given in two other undated lists. A *pratico* (demographic register) from 1565 lists 112 settlements for Limassol and twenty-three for Avdimou, third and second-to-last respectively.⁴⁴⁹ According to Gilles Grivaud's study on the deserted villages of Cyprus, between the end of the twelfth and the end of the nineteenth century, sixty-six settlements disappeared, eighty survived, and eight new ones were created in the district of Limassol, while in the significantly smaller district of Avdimou, nine settlements vanished, seventeen were maintained, and two new ones appeared, although the greatest number of disappearances occurred in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.⁴⁵⁰

Under the rule of Venice, the Republic farmed out the various administrative offices, granting them to the highest bidders. The Grand Council of Nicosia elected the captain of Limassol from amongst the Cypriot nobility, and the Rectors of Nicosia ratified the election. Assisted by the *mathessep* (chief of police), the captain served for a period of two years. The same magistrate was called the *chevetain* for Avdimou. The captain's and *chevetain*'s jurisdiction included all cases of criminal law, but in civil law their purview was restricted to the burgesses and the *francomati*, since for civil cases the nobles and the *paroikoi* had to go to the Court of the Rectors in Nicosia.⁴⁵¹ Few names of these captains have survived. In 1501 Zacho de Nores sought through the intermediation of the former Queen Caterina Cornaro and received the office for his second-born son, Pietro de Nores.⁴⁵² The wealthy merchant 'Nicolo Syncriticho, noble Cypriot' and brother of the richest Cypriot of the time, Zegno Syncleitico, succeeded de Nores. Then in 1505, out of respect for the former Queen Caterina Cornaro, because his wife was a lady of her court, Odet Bibi obtained the office exceptionally for four years, although the Senate ultimately decided to cancel his appointment. In 1509, the office of the 'capitaneus Lymisso' was granted to 'the noble Cypriot knight Pietro Podocathari'. 'Anibal Paleologo', son of Philip and brother of Matthew,

⁴⁴⁹ Grivaud (1998a: 74-9).

⁴⁵⁰ Grivaud (1998a: 225-39).

⁴⁵¹ Bustron, 458-9; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 81v and *Description*, fol. 217v; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents*, I, 43, note 17, 47, 49, and passim; Arbel (1995: 464-5, 469-70, 510, and passim); Skoufari (2011: 58).

⁴⁵² ASVe, *Senato*, Mar, reg. 15, fol. 55v; Sanuto, *Diarii*, III, col. 1409. See Skoufari (2011: 59, note 64).

was granted the office of ‘la capitanearia de Limisso in 1514 as a reward for his military services to Venice. Cesare Ficardo was captain in 1559 and Sebastian Contarini held the post four years later.⁴⁵³ Étienne de Lusignan mentions Giulio Podocataro as ‘Capitaneo de Limisso’ in the 1560s and Melchior Sebba as vice-captain in September 1556.⁴⁵⁴

In order to improve administration and to avoid abuses against the people, the *proveditor general* Bernardo Sagredo, who was in Cyprus from the end of 1562 until Easter 1565, suggested in his report to the Republic that rectors be appointed for Limassol, Mesaoria, Karpasia, and Pentayia, like those already appointed for Paphos, Kyrenia, and Salines, who should be given the authority to judge criminal cases as well as disputes involving *paroikoi*.⁴⁵⁵ According to Étienne de Lusignan, two more officers were assigned to every village, the *paracivitaïn* and the *chastellain*, while Kilani had maintained the ancient right of electing twelve officers responsible for administering justice and maintaining order in the village.⁴⁵⁶ The inscription on a 1556 tombstone preserves the name of Akylina, daughter of the ‘inspector of Lefkara’ (*epoptis*, an office not attested otherwise) and wife of Frangiskos Flangis, a family that gave a Greek bishop of Lefkara.⁴⁵⁷ In a petition to the Venetian authorities dated 4 June 1557, Thomas Galathà asks to be granted one of the offices included in a long list and concerning all towns except Limassol and Paphos, which indicates that there were no important positions in Limassol, although in another petition to the *Collegio*, dated 8 June 1567, the turcopolier of Paphos complains that he earns less than his counterpart in Limassol.⁴⁵⁸

Population and Society

Scattered evidence from contemporary Cypriot narrative sources and travellers’ accounts allows a partial picture of Limassol during the

⁴⁵³ Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, no. 100 (in 1505), *Venetian Documents II*, no. 2 (in 1509); *Capitula Universitatis Regni Cypri*, 18-19; Sathas, *Documents inédits*, VI, 117; Patapiou (1998: 181; 2009: 30); Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 426.

⁴⁵⁴ ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci di rettori, Cipro*, b. 1; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 7r, 82r, 83v and *Description*, fol. 83v.

⁴⁵⁵ Zorzi (2009: 250-1, 258; 2013: 94-5). On the dating of Sagredo’s report, see Arbel (1984: 208, note 173).

⁴⁵⁶ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 17v, 81v and *Description*, fols. 34r, 217v.

⁴⁵⁷ *Lacrimae Cypriae*, no. 533; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 5v and *Description*, fol. 13r.

⁴⁵⁸ Ploumides (1985: I, 6-7, 21).

sixteenth century. Étienne de Lusignan, who served almost five years (1564-1568) as the Latin bishop's vicar and was thus in a position to know, considered the climate of Limassol to be the healthiest on the island and asserted that the town had good water in abundance. This is why, he claimed, some people lived to an advanced age, such as the Greek bishop of Limassol/Lefkara of the Flangi family, who died at the age of 125. Florio Bustron agreed with Lusignan, attributing the good water and the healthy air to the most beautiful site where the town was built.⁴⁵⁹

Nevertheless, at the beginning of Venetian rule Limassol was in a deplorable state. One severe earthquake affected the town as soon as Venice took over. Athanasios Faris, a priest from Kophinou, informs us in a manuscript note that the destructive earthquake destroyed the cupola of the Katholiki Church of the Zoodotou Cross in Limassol on Sunday 24 April 1491, which suggests that other buildings in the town, less well constructed than the main Greek church, were also destroyed. The earthquake affected a large part of the island, including Nicosia Cathedral and Stavrovouni. Two German travellers visiting Limassol later the same year also mention the earthquake, considering it to be responsible for the state of the castle.⁴⁶⁰ Significantly, one of the requests included in a petition that the representatives of Famagusta submitted to the Venetian authorities in 1491 was the unification of the Latin bishopric of Famagusta with that of Limassol. The reason given was the poor state of the two towns, especially of Limassol, which was no more than a village where the presence of a bishop was of no use. This also suggests that the Latin population of the town was very small.⁴⁶¹

It seems that after 1480 ships stopped longer in Cypriot ports, up to six days, but most visitors to Limassol continued to report the same dreary details about the city's decline, attributing it to the Egyptian attacks of the beginning of the fifteenth century, earthquakes, and various epidemics, without failing to provide other, fanciful explanations for the state of the town as well. Two French travellers visiting Cyprus in the summer of 1490 merely state that the city was 'destroyed', one of them adding that it was a 'poor city'. A German in 1491 offers the same picture, mentioning

⁴⁵⁹ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 5v, 8v and *Description*, fols. 13r, 20r; Bustron, 28.

⁴⁶⁰ Darrouzès (1958: 245-6) and *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 212; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 133, 136, cf. 157, 163; Duke Alexander of Bavaria places the earthquake on 1 May, Oberhummer and Sykoutris (1923: 345); Grivaud (1998a: 432); Stavrides (1998); Nicolaou-Konnari (2005b: 210-11); Patapiou (2006: 159-60; 2009: 21-2).

⁴⁶¹ Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 488.

the castle, the good quality fish, and the fields of carob trees. Another two Germans visiting in 1493 were also brief. One remarked that they stopped in the destroyed market-port for supplies of water, wood, bread, and other necessities, then he explained how a king of England had done the damage on account of his sister. The other more accurately attributed the ruin of the old city to the sultan some time past, although recently earthquakes had been the menace, even destroying the town's strong castle, but he added that locally produced oranges, pears, olives, cheese, and good and strong wine could be found in the market, as well as medicaments. That same year a Czech pilgrim spent the night anchored in the harbour, where he bought food and other supplies. He merely describes Limassol as a 'ruined city', attributing the destruction of what was 'once a great city' to Richard's 1191 conquest and devoting more than a page to the tale. In 1497 two German pilgrims visited Limassol on the way to and from Jaffa and were impressed by the fields of carob trees in the district.⁴⁶²

Of all the travellers visiting Cyprus before the Ottoman conquest, however, the Milanese Pietro Casola left the most complete description of Limassol. Casola came to Cyprus on pilgrimage in the summer of 1494. His remarks about Limassol are worth quoting at length, since they present a valuable testimony and a comprehensive picture of the life of the town and its people in the late fifteenth-century. Travelling from Rhodes, he says:⁴⁶³

On Friday, the 11th of July, we arrived near Limassol at sundown, and the sails being lowered, we approached a certain place where preparations were made for taking a supply of wood and of fresh water. This water is obtained almost from the impossible. That night the men dug several trenches some distance from the seashore. In the morning they were so many beautiful springs flowing into the sea, and all the galley was furnished with that water [...]. On Saturday, the 12th of July, when the sun had risen, the magnificent captain made the port and ordered the anchor to be cast off the shore of Limassol – an ancient city of the island of Cyprus – because there is no harbour there. All the pilgrims left the galley, thinking to refresh themselves with something good, for they were excessively afflicted by the heat which they had endured on the galley during the preceding days. But they were all disappointed in their expectations, not having found on the journey so far a more arid place than Limassol. I can assure you that everything was lacking there, so that it was necessary for those who wished to dine on land to get supplies at once from the galley. As both the magnificent captain and the venerable Friar Francesco went

⁴⁶² *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 23, 130, 132-3, 135-7, 139-141, 163; Flourentzos, 3-5.

⁴⁶³ *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 40-3; *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 145-9.

ashore, I determined to go with them, fearing I should remain hungry if I went elsewhere, as in truth would have been the case. When we landed from the galley we went immediately, as was fitting, to the cathedral, which is indeed still upright, but which is on the point of tumbling down. It is enough to say that it has a good revenue, from what I could hear. For the service of the said church there is no one but a certain poor priest from Mantua who has learnt to speak Greek.

After Mass and after dinner, taken in a certain house near the quay facing the sea, which appeared to me a warehouse – a storehouse for merchandise, because there were many bales of cotton and boxes of sugar there, which also served the company in the lack of other beds – I went to see this city or remains of a city. I saw from the ruins and beautiful walls that it must have been a large and beautiful place, but there is not a single good house in the whole city. I saw the said church reposefully, because in all Limassol there was not a place so suited for repose on account of the shade there. I saw nothing worth mentioning except the high altar. There is a beautiful alter-piece with certain figures in gilded wood, and the tomb of one of our Milanese named Friar de Corte, which has a Pietà painted above. All the other churches are in ruins.

I saw that in the said city the inhabitants do not spend very much money in covering their dwellings, because they are covered with green boughs or with straw. If it rained there as often as it does in Lombardy perhaps they would adopt another system of roofing. It never rains there. I went to the castle, which is guarded by a soldier. Certainly it must have been a fine strong place. Nevertheless, it is also tumbling down, and nothing is being done to repair it. What little remains standing is a notable sight, and within, there is the best water to be found in that country [...].

When I asked the cause of the destruction of such a great city, I received various explanations. Some said it was due to the earthquakes, others attributed it to the many incursions of the Moors. The captain told me, when I spoke to him on the subject, that it had been thus destroyed by a king of England to avenge a niece who was oppressed by a king of Cyprus on the way from the Sepulchre. When I asked why the Signoria did not seek to repopulate it, standing as it does on the sea, he told me that people do not care to settle there on account of the earthquakes, and also because it is a very unhealthy place. There all appear to be ill. True, there are only a few of them.

During his first stay, Casola encountered another staple of Limassol life: the threat of piracy. The Venetian consul in Tripoli sent word to Cyprus that several pirate vessels were waiting to plunder the pilgrims' galley. The captain was concerned to secure an escort of Venetian galleys. Casola reveals other details in his description of the affair. Not all of the pilgrims heard the news at first, because they 'dispersed here and there among the ruins in order to remain in the shade'. Then, 'on Sunday, the

13th of July, having heard Mass in the chief church, because there were no others, our magnificent captain, through the interpreter whom he had taken at Rhodes, as was the custom, summoned all the pilgrims before the door of the church and told them what he thought and asked their opinion'. After some disagreement, things were settled. 'Thus, at the hour of Vespers, the trumpet was sounded among those ruins to give notice to the pilgrims and to the *galeotti* who were outside with their goods to sell, that all must be on board the galley that evening'. On 14 Monday they weighed anchor and sailed a few miles to gather wood. Casola commented on the monastery of St Nicholas, calling it a 'hospital' that no longer existed, where formerly cats destroyed the many serpents to make the place habitable.

On Casola's return journey, the galley landed at Larnaca on 31 August. The captain warned the pilgrims not to go to Nicosia because of the plague. Some 'impatient Germans' decided to explore, since the captain was to stay for a time in port. While Casola remained on board in Larnaca out of fear, some other pilgrims decided to travel to Limassol on land and wait for the galley there. Progress was slow, however, and on 2 September more left the ship to proceed to Limassol. Finally the crew rowed the galley into Limassol harbour on 3 September, again dropping anchor:

[...] because there is no port there to which the cables could be attached, but only the seashore. Every man went on land, where, however, provisions were not to be found to refresh the company as we had hoped. There was nothing but bread and a few grapes. The dearth was due to the fact that a few days before a Venetian galley, one of those of the guard, had put in there because the greater number of those on board were ill, and the *galeotti* had so harried the peasants – taking away their goods and refusing to pay them – that they were afraid to show themselves. Nevertheless, on our arrival they were somewhat reassured and began to come with some things to sell, and bought some of the merchandise carried on land by the *galeotti*, though not as much as we had thought. [...] Although the captain had decided to depart that same day, he was unable to do so, because the supply of biscuits and the cattle he had ordered were not ready in time, so he was obliged to wait until the following day.

It was again slow going, however, and it took two weeks to get to Rhodes, where at first they could not disembark, because ships arriving earlier had reported that the plague was in Cyprus and especially in Limassol.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 45-7; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 149-2, 156. For more travellers visiting Limassol in 1495, 1496, 1497, 1506-1507, see *ibid.*, 157, 161-3 and Calvelli (2009: 86-7).

Jacques le Saige (or Lesage), a silk merchant from Douai, landed in Limassol on 21 July 1519 for a three-day sojourn. In his account, he describes the town as a village close to the sea, without a harbour. He says that the castle is rather strong, perhaps indicating that some reconstruction work had been undertaken, and those who visited it claimed to have seen 'the brazen head which spoke to Valentine, the brother of Orson', a reference to two brothers in a medieval tale attached to a Carolingian Cycle that survived in a late fifteenth-century French romance and later versions in a number of languages. Le Saige adds that Limassol itself was once walled and large, but was ruined by the English 'to avenge themselves on the king of Cyprus, who debauched the sister of the king of England'. Le Saige also comments on the anything but alluring accommodations:

They sold us wine pretty cheap, but it tasted of pitch, for they put their wine in a large jar pitched within, and draw it thence. It is so hot by day in the summer that we dared not leave our houses [...]. Later we thought to return all of us to sleep in our ship, but our sailors were detained and we were obliged to return to the houses, and we were even lucky to find such.⁴⁶⁵

The Swiss Ludwig Tschudi von Glarus travelled to the Holy Land in 1519 and visited Limassol on his way there. Although his account repeats older stories rather confusingly, it is worth quoting it at length as it is relatively unknown. On 21 July, the pilgrims left the port of Paphos:

We continued to sail along the Cypriot coast to the destroyed coastal city of Piscopia, in former times known as Curias, where today one finds only a village and a small place for boats. It is said that in former times a king of England destroyed the city, because on her way back from a visit to the Holy Sepulchre his sister was violently harmed in her honour by the king of Cyprus in his kingdom. She informed her brother, the king of England, about this. The latter mustered a considerable army and sent it to the isle of Cyprus so that they ravaged the entire country and totally destroyed the said city of Piscopia, where his sister had been dishonoured. In the vicinity of this city, a river called Lycus flows into the sea. We kept on sailing and on Thursday, at midnight, we came to the port of the destroyed city of Limiso, which was formerly called Amathus and which was destroyed by a sultan many years ago. It is about 50 miles from Bapho and is an episcopal [city]. We dropped anchor and landed there, and early the next morning,

⁴⁶⁵ *Excerpta Cypria*, 56; Lesage, *Voyage*, 183-9.

Friday 22 July, the eve of St Mary Magdalene, we went in a skiff to the already mentioned city of Limiso, which nowadays is a village.

If one digs in the area of this city on the coast, one finds a lot of drinkable water. In former times the city was big, as can still be seen today. Not far away from this town there is a spot that is so full of unhealthy snakes that nobody was able to live there. A monastery was built there, and the monks have a lot of cats that run around the meadows and hunt the snakes every day. They have their own bell in the monastery and every day, at lunchtime, the monks ring the bell, which is used only for them. Thus, all the cats head immediately towards the monastery to eat their food. Afterwards they go back again to the fields.

We stayed at Limiso, since we had no tailwind. From the city of Candia to the city of Limiso in Cyprus there is a distance of 600 Italian miles, as is said, or rather more. On Saturday 23 July, the day of St Mary Magdalene, we left Limiso sailing along the southern coastline of the Kingdom of Cyprus, which we had been following since we left Bapho [...].⁴⁶⁶

In October 1527, the German traveller Gabriel von Rattenberg describes Limassol as a city in ruins with some houses and churches, the revenues of which went to a cardinal from Rome. He may be identified with Cardinal Marco Corner (†1524), Caterina Cornaro's nephew, who was named bishop of Limassol on 4 April 1514, although he had been dead for three years when Rattenberg visited the island.⁴⁶⁷

The decline of the town that the aforementioned travellers so eloquently describe is further reflected in the complete absence of local opportunities for education. In 1490, following a petition of the *Università* of Cyprus, the Republic granted the four Latin bishoprics of the island, including 'el vescovato de Limisso', the right to appoint a 'gramaticcho' to teach the deacons and other clerics who officiated. But it is not clear from the wording of either this or the 1491 petition of the city of Famagusta whether the Republic paid the salary of a teacher for Limassol as it did for Nicosia and Famagusta.⁴⁶⁸ When in the 1520s Venice decided to establish state schools on the island, Nicosia and Famagusta received them, of course, but Limassol was passed over for Kyrenia. Similarly, the authorities accepted to pay the salary of a medical doctor for Kyrenia, while Limassol was not even mentioned.⁴⁶⁹ Accordingly, in the second

⁴⁶⁶ Tschudi, 93-4.

⁴⁶⁷ BSB, MS Germ. 1274, fol. 80v; Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 407. On the cardinal, see below.

⁴⁶⁸ Mas Latrie, 'Documents nouveaux', 531, 538-9; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 491.

⁴⁶⁹ *Capitula Universitatis Regni Cypri*, 69-70.

quarter of the sixteenth century Solomon Rodinos from the village of Potamiou in Limassol had to go to Famagusta for schooling, while Manolis, son of the priest Michael tou Lleastou, characteristically says in a manuscript note that he spent five years at the monastery of Ayio Anaryiroi (near Trooditissa) in order to receive an education, but 'I did not learn anything well'.⁴⁷⁰ In 1559 the Council of Nicosia asked the Venetian authorities to make available an annual sum from the income of the archbishop and the bishops of Limassol and Paphos for the salary of one or two teachers, who would presumably be based in the capital.⁴⁷¹

Moreover, no written record survives of a town council (*università*) of Limassol, like the ones that existed for Nicosia, Famagusta, and Kyrenia and often sent representatives with petitions to Venice, which also indicates Limassol's lack of influence. The town was at least represented by the Council of Nicosia, in which dignitaries from the other towns participated, 'il civitanato de Limisso' paying an annual contribution of ten ducats in 1521 and the town's Latin bishopric eight.⁴⁷² Despite Limassol's sorry state, some aristocrats kept houses in the town. At the end of July 1516, Alvise Contarini, on his way to the Holy Land, was received at the house of Jacomo Corner in Limassol and in 1508 a Tyrolese pilgrim, Martin von Baumgarten, lodged in the Latin bishop's house.⁴⁷³

Later travellers' accounts provide interesting information about everyday life in the town and suggest that conditions had improved slightly. After mentioning that St Nicholas of the Cats, if it had ever shut down, was again 'a fine Greek monastery' that provided bread, wine, and lodging to visitors, Denis Possot, a priest from Coulomniers in Brie whose ship docked at Limassol on 22 June 1533, describes how he and his travelling companions ate 'in the shade of nine olive and five fig trees' and slept on shore in a town with cotton all around. True, he stressed that the city had 'several fine churches that were ruined long ago', a castle that was 'destroyed' but 'still habitable' with a commandant, and 'several fine buildings' that seemed to him to have been palaces – including one with what he thought were the arms of the late duke of Savoy, king in the mid-fifteenth century, probably referring to Queen Charlotte of Lusignan's

⁴⁷⁰ Rodinos (1659: 48); Darrouzès (1959: 33-4). See generally Grivaud (2009b: 36, 221-2, 269-70) and Kitromilides (2002: 232) for Solomon and Jeffery (1918: 291) for the monastery.

⁴⁷¹ Patapiou (2009: 25).

⁴⁷² ASVe, *Senato*, Mar, reg. 19, fol. 206r-v (*olim* 193r-v). See Skoufari (2013b: 77, note 53) and generally Arbel (1986).

⁴⁷³ BNM, MS Ital., VI, 179 (=6350), fol. 1v; *Excerpta Cypria*, 54.

second husband, Louis of Savoy (†1482), who reigned from 1458/9 to 1464. Yet his remark that there were functioning Greek *churches* plural hints at some increase in town population. On the feast of St John the Baptist, 24 June, Possot even saw a tournament on the seashore, including jousting and fencing: ‘There came many horsemen and tilted at the ring on the seashore; they were the deftest tilters I ever saw, and had horses like the Turks, very well trained. An Albanian gained the prize. After this they had a fencing-bout, with all kinds of sticks, for prizes, in the presence of the magnates of the town’. The passage suggests that both the Latin and the Greek population had begun to recover.⁴⁷⁴

The town’s appearance, however, did not change much. In his report to the Council of Ten dated 15 juillet 1534, the *luogotenete* Marc’Antonio Trevisan says that ‘la città de Limisò’ was simply a small settlement (‘con le case solamente in forma di borgo’).⁴⁷⁵ Oldrich Prefat of Vlkánov, from Prague, who joined a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1546 and left us one of the most detailed descriptions of Cyprus in general and of Limassol in particular, makes similar remarks.⁴⁷⁶

On Wednesday morning all pilgrims who wanted to visit the port got into the boat and went into town. We were unlucky, because we did not find much food supplies except for eggs, wine, bread, and grapes, because the galleys that had remained anchored there for a long time had exhausted almost all the food. But we stayed in the city all day until the evening. The city of Limassol is poorly built along the length of the shore, without walls or defensive works, as if it were a village [...]. In the middle of town there is a structure of limestone ashlar. Now is it rather ruinous, but one section is still standing. Perhaps it was a castle, an indication that the city was once well fortified. The city has three Greek churches. Greeks inhabit Limassol and all of the island, speaking the Greek language, but many Italians live among them as well. I noticed that many of the Greeks of Cyprus speak good Italian.

Prefat then goes on to describe the intolerable heat in August in Cyprus. He adds that on 6 August the Latin archbishop of Cyprus (Livio Podocataro) arrived in Limassol and embarked on the pilgrims’ ship to go to the Holy Land with them.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁴ *Excerpta Cypria*, 66. The arms on the house are a pallet between two fleurs-de-llys and a cross.

⁴⁷⁵ ASVe, *Consiglio dei Dieci, Comune*, reg. 9, fol. 170v, quoted by Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006: 46, notes 144-5).

⁴⁷⁶ Flourentzos, 6.

⁴⁷⁷ Flourentzos, 9-11

In July 1548, the Frenchman Pierre Le Boucq visited Limassol escorted by the priest David Willart. In his account of his pilgrimage, taken down by Willart, he repeats the general statement that Limassol used to be a beautiful town but now was just a large village, the once beautiful and strong castle having been burnt down during Turkish raids. He also gives a long description of products and provisions he found in Cyprus, which he probably saw in Limassol.⁴⁷⁸ In 1551, a German traveller mentions the death of a pilgrim in Limassol.⁴⁷⁹ An Englishman named John Locke spent two days in Limassol in the summer of 1553, among other things visiting a Greek church to experience the complete and very lengthy liturgy. Not wanting to tire his reader, Locke only noted the main differences from his rite: no one ever knelt, there were no statues but only icons and other paintings with lamps lit for almost every one, and ‘their women are alwayes separated from the men and generally they are at the lower end of the church’. As usual Locke described the town as ruined, but mentioned a new factor for its decline: a plague of locusts.⁴⁸⁰ At the end of April 1555 the town suffered the raid of the Spanish corsair Giovan di Barga o Varras, a Hospitaller; the affected citizens were recompensed with cattle from the Hospital’s villages in Cyprus.⁴⁸¹

Travellers who visited the town in the 1560s, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, reiterate the story of destruction and neglect. According to Jacob Wormbser, a German who was in Limassol with a group of pilgrims in mid-August 1561, a bearded monk (probably Greek) guided them through the town, which he describes as a village with many poor people, and led them to a widow’s house; the widow treated the travellers very well, giving them food, and in return they paid her. In March 1565, a Portuguese stopping in the town asserts that it had no more than 200 to 300 inhabitants, mostly Greeks and some Venetians, and that the houses were in ruins because the town had been destroyed a few years before by corsairs. In August of the same year, the German Johann Helffrich also describes Limassol as a small town with few inhabitants, asserting that the Jews constituted the largest community (!). Although this was the port of call for the Holy Land, the houses and the buildings were

⁴⁷⁸ Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 489, fols. 32v-33r. See *Europäische Reiseberichte*, II, 185-6.

⁴⁷⁹ Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 422.

⁴⁸⁰ *Excerpta Cypria*, 68-9, 72.

⁴⁸¹ ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci*, filza 1, Nicosia 10 May 1555 and 22 September 1556. See Skoufari (2011: 175-6). The Venetian Alessandro Magno, in Paphos 1557-1559, visited Limassol in 1558, without writing much: Magno, 614-17; see Calvelli (2009: 110-12).

small and miserable, but one could buy large quantities of provisions at very good prices. Christophorus Fürer, another German pilgrim, visiting Cyprus in the spring of 1566, states that Limassol was ‘a considerable village, with a castle of which the ruins are visible’. Finally, in August 1569 Johann von Hirnheim portrays Limassol as a disgusting village, where many dirty poor people dwelled. He lodged at the hostel of a widow (the same mentioned in 1561?), where wine was served. The decline seems to have been accompanied by criminality, as indicated by a 1568 letter by a conscribed man in Kilani.⁴⁸²

The Venetian administration made earnest efforts to reverse the deteriorating situation of the previous century and to confront natural disasters and raids. For example, on his visit to Limassol in 1553 John Locke described the effective administrative system intended to face locust attacks: a statute ordered that each year every farmer or serf had to bring to the market a certain amount of locust eggs according to the size of land he held or tilled. The officer in charge received the eggs, wrote the name of the payer in his records, and stored the eggs in a warehouse until a specific amount had been accumulated, at which point the eggs were ground to powder and thrown into the sea.⁴⁸³ In general, the relative peace of the Venetian period together with the Republic’s policy of repopulation, effective administration, and sanitary measures contributed to a rise of the demographic trend on the island, already perceived by the 1520s.⁴⁸⁴ The town of Limassol itself, however, did not recover. As Benjamin Arbel asserts on the basis of demographic data, ‘In Venetian Cyprus there were only two cities worthy of this name’, and Limassol was not one of them. Estimates for the 1540s and 1550s raise the population of the town to merely 500-600 inhabitants. The Venetian census of 1563 records a population of 800.⁴⁸⁵

The picture continued to be much brighter in the countryside, now with a dramatic increase in population under Venetian rule. According to the report from the early 1520s, there were at the time 9,913 *paroikoi* and 3,265 *francomati* in the district of Limassol and 2,932 *francomati* and 1,331 *paroikoi* in that of Avdimou. If these numbers are correct, then

⁴⁸² Wormbser, fol. 217v; Mestre Afonso, 286-7; Helffrich, fol. 378v; *Excerpta Cypria*, 79; Hirnheim, 30-1; Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 452, 454; Ploumides (1985: I, 24).

⁴⁸³ *Excerpta Cypria*, 68-9.

⁴⁸⁴ Arbel (1984: 184-90); Grivaud (1998a: 277-80).

⁴⁸⁵ Arbel (1984: 196, 204, tables I and VII); Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 87. Étienne de Lusignan even claims that Lapithos was in his time more populous than Limassol, Famagusta, or Paphos: Lusignan, *Description*, fol. 28r.

Limassol housed the second largest number of *paroikoi* and the fourth smallest number of *francomati* and Avdimou the fewest *francomati*.⁴⁸⁶ In another demographic account datable to 1558/62, the population of the region of Limassol presents a remarkable increase in relation to the early 1520s, reaching a total of 22,851 peasants (a rise of 73%), 15% of the island's peasant population. The numbers of both the *paroikoi* (17,470) and the *francomati* (5,381) rose, without, however, a significant change in the population proportion between the two social classes (3/4 to 1/4). A quarter of the peasant population of Limassol lived on estates that were part of the royal domain, another fourth on those of the secular and regular Latin Church, 11% on those of fief holders, and 37% on land that belonged to various persons (probably rented or granted to individuals or non-Latin religious institutions). Avdimou's population presents a considerable rise too; it reached 6,626 souls (up 55%), or 4.5% of the total peasant population, with 4,497 *paroikoi* and 2,129 *francomati*. Half of the peasant population lived and worked on the royal domain, about a tenth each on fiefs and on church land, and 28% on land that belonged to various persons.⁴⁸⁷ According to the 1565 *pratico*, the number of adult male *francomati* (above approximately 15) was 4,186 for Limassol and 1,733 for Avdimou.⁴⁸⁸ Some of the rural centres were quite important. According to Étienne de Lusignan, the villages of Pelendri, Kilani, Episkopi, Kolossi, Lefkara, Ayios Konstantinos, Limnati, Sylikou, Arsos, and Omodos in the district of Limassol were very large villages, the first three of a population of 1,000 families each. As Benjamin Arbel says, one of the main reasons for the high population numbers of these villages may be the availability of water; in the case of Lefkara, being the see of the Greek bishop of the Limassol diocese was another positive factor.⁴⁸⁹

Interestingly, some of the *casalia* were farmed out to families of Greek or Syrian Orthodox origin who had risen to noble status. For example, Venice confiscated Doros in 1474 and then returned it to Sir Philip Podocataro. Syrkati/Sergiati, a settlement northeast of Pano Lefkara, was granted to Jason Bustron in 1523 for 1,000 ducats. In 1524 the Council of Ten bestowed Pissouri in Avdimou on Badin Flatro for more than 1,145 gold ducats. In 1529 the Council of Ten examined Piero Flatro's

⁴⁸⁶ Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 493-6; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents III*, 273-5.

⁴⁸⁷ Grivaud (1986: 258, 261-4 and tables).

⁴⁸⁸ Grivaud (1998a: 448-52).

⁴⁸⁹ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fols. 17r, 19r and *Description*, fols. 33v-34r, 36v; although the last four villages are omitted from his improved *Description*, this does not necessarily mean that they were not important rural communities. See Arbel (1984: 203-4).

application to buy Palamida (Paramytha?), a small village to the north of Limassol, near Limnatis. In 1529 the Council of Ten farmed out Pentakomon to ‘Madona Helena, daughter of the late Cypriot knight misser Jano Podocatharo’, Sklinitzia (‘Schinila’), a small village near Pakhna, to Giacomo Sinclitico and Diego Goneme, and Yerovasa (‘Gerouasa’) – probably Vasa, since it is to the west of Limassol – to the same Giacomo Sinclitico and Diego Goneme.⁴⁹⁰

When in 1489 the Venetian authorities rewarded Giorgio Corner with the Grand Commandery of Kolossi with hereditary right for helping persuade his sister Caterina to abdicate, the branch of the family henceforth being known as ‘Corner della Regina’. The Hospitallers, the last remaining Latin religious order with property in the Limassol diocese, had consented, but it is not clear what rights they continued to have on their old estates. In 1508, the Commandery passed to Giorgio’s son Cardinal Marco Corner. In the early 1520s, the Commandery included 41 *casalia*. The important town council (*Università*) of Nicosia complained to the Venetian authorities in 1521 that Episkopi and Kolossi were offering refuge, and one might assume better conditions, to fugitive *paroikoi*. In his 1528 report, however, the Syndic and Provveditor Giovanni Alvise Navagero informs the Council of Ten that, while in Cyprus, a number of *paroikoi* approached him asserting that the late Giorgio Corner had seized many vineyards that they had cultivated. More serious incidents occurred in 1547 and 1551 and will be discussed at length below. In a dispatch from Nicosia dated 22 October 1564, the *luogotenente* David Trevisan states that, according to an act drawn up in Venice in 1560, the Grand Commandery was farmed out to Zuan Antonio Bragadin and his uterine brother Zuan Filippo Milano.⁴⁹¹

Economy and Trade

Despite Limassol’s decline and the rise of Larnaca as a salt trade centre and a military port, which must have had a negative effect on Limassol’s maritime traffic, Limassol seems to have been a regular stop for food and other supplies on shipping lanes to and from the Holy Land, as the accounts of travellers repeatedly mention. In his 1565 report, Bernardo

⁴⁹⁰ Bustron, 451; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents III*, nos. 77, 88, 125, 129-30.

⁴⁹¹ Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, no. 11, p. 202, *Venetian Documents II*, no. 68, p. 147, *Venetian Documents III*, no. 117 and pp. 281-2, *Venetian Documents IV*, no. 60; Luttrell (1995b: 753-7); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 502-3; ASVe, *Senato*, Mar, reg. 19, fols. 201r-v (*olim* 188r-v); ASVe, *Senato*, *Dispacci di rettori*, Cipro, b. 3.

Sagredo speaks of the ‘fontegho’ of Limassol, the warehouse where food supplies were stored.⁴⁹² The Cypriot Florio Bustron underlines the fact that the harbour of Limassol, which could accommodate many vessels, was the one best situated with respect to the Palestinian coast and Alexandria in Egypt. Florio also describes the little port of Amathus and its sizeable beach, which today has disappeared through erosion. His contemporary Étienne de Lusignan adds that the bay of Avdimou could be used as an anchorage, as could the one near Akrotiri Lake. Both writers agree that Limassol harbour was used for loading products that were mainly produced in the district of Limassol (such as cotton and sugar) on ships bound for Venice, which also bought in Limassol supplies of water, wine, and wood; their testimony is corroborated by other sources adding carobs to the products.⁴⁹³ It seems that the harbour was not provided with any anchorage or building facilities, however, which is why both Pietro Casola in 1494 and Jacques le Saige in 1519 state that the town had no harbour, while Sagredo underlines that Limassol, Salines, and Paphos could not accommodate galleys.⁴⁹⁴ Indeed, the iconographic symbols that the Cypriot Leonida Attar uses for the island’s ports in his 1542 map of Cyprus indicate that the one in Limassol did not provide any facilities to ships for loading or unloading merchandise, in contrast to those of Famagusta, Kyrenia, Paphos, and Salines. At the same time, the depiction of two ships moored in Limassol Bay suggests commercial activities, while the lake of Limassol is clearly shown to be open to the sea, thus corroborating Lusignan. The open lake connecting to the sea and ships moored in Limassol Bay are cartographic representations also found in important later maps, such as the one by Giovanni Francesco Camocio in 1566 and Abraham Ortelius in several recensions from 1570 to 1601.⁴⁹⁵

The length and perils of the sea journey to Cyprus do not show any improvement from previous centuries: in the summer of 1546, it took a Czech traveller seven days from Crete and five days from Rhodes with contrary winds; the same traveller sailed from Larnaca early in the morning and anchored in the harbour of Limassol late in the evening of the same day.⁴⁹⁶ On the other hand, land communication was very poor and

⁴⁹² *Excerpta Cypria*, 54, 56, 65-6, 68, 72; Zorzi (2013: 106).

⁴⁹³ Bustron, 16, 28; Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fols. 5r, 7r-v, 8v-9r and *Description*, fols. 9r, 17v, 18v; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents IV*, no. 151, p. 295 (in 1540); Flourentzos, 31 (in 1546).

⁴⁹⁴ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 146; *Excerpta Cypria*, 56; Zorzi (2013: 90, 104).

⁴⁹⁵ Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006: 44-5, 47, figs. 23a, 25); Stylianou and Stylianou (1980: figs. 36, 67-75).

⁴⁹⁶ Flourentzos, 8-9, 31.

maps show no roads at all. Most of the travellers complain about the pitiful state of the roads and prefer coastal communication, which was both safer and faster: sailing from Larnaca and Famagusta to Limassol took one day, as opposed to two to four inland by carriage, and sailing from Limassol to Kyrenia took three days. In other words, travel and trade routes depended more on the sea than on land, which is probably why Venice neglected the road system, despite a Cypriot oral tradition, surviving until the first half of the twentieth century, according to which the Venetians built the road linking the wine villages of Limassol with the Pitsilia area. Nevertheless, a Czech traveller does mention a road to Troodos in 1598.⁴⁹⁷

Thanks to the Venetian bureaucracy, relatively ample information survives concerning the extent and nature of agricultural production around Limassol. On 12 September 1509, the ‘massario dela Camera’ informed the Council of Ten that the stock of crops in the district of Limassol was 31,868 *moza*, the district ranking eighth out of the nine districts mentioned, the second smallest after Famagusta, owning 4.7% of the total stock on the island. In the early 1520s, the district of Limassol produced 51,219 *moza* of grain and 31,442 *moza* of barley and Avdimou 20,650 *moza* of grain and 7,700 *moza* of barley; Avdimou produced the smallest quantity of both barley and grain of all eleven districts and Limassol the fourth smallest quantity of barley and the third smallest of grain. The Corner della Piscopia are attested in documentary sources demanding permission to export 20,000 *moza* of barley from their estate of Episkopi in 1513 and the same quantity the following year; similarly, the Corner della Regina asked permission to export 6,000 *moza* of barley from their estate of Kolossi in 1513 and 4,000 *stara* of grain and 4,000 *stara* of barley in 1526. When Badin Flatro bought Pissouri in 1524, he accepted to pay the largest part of the rent in kind, including grain and barley. In the early 1520s, the district of Limassol produced 1,989 *moza* of vegetables, the fourth largest quantity, and Avdimou eleven *moza*, the smallest. There were 1,500 cattle in Limassol, the sixth largest number, and 569 in Avdimou, the smallest number.⁴⁹⁸

In the middle of the century, the *gabelle* (a tax on the circulation of goods, levied when the products entered a town, and on services) of Limassol was levied on wax, wine, bread, meat, and carobs as well as on the *camutes* (taverns).⁴⁹⁹ Revenues received by the *camera real* in 1548

⁴⁹⁷ Grivaud (1998a: 19-20) citing Tenreyro, fol. 58r, J. Helffrich, fol. 377v, and post-1571 travellers; Klerides (1954: 90); Flourentzos, 42.

⁴⁹⁸ Mas Latrè, *Histoire*, III, 493-6; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents II*, nos. 12, 68-9, 76 and *Venetian Documents III*, nos. 88, 109 and pp. 273-5.

⁴⁹⁹ Grivaud (1998b: 396, note 86).

and labelled ‘dicii di Lemisso’ amounted to 1,240 bezants; in 1559, the ‘gabella di Limisso’ brought 2,010 bezants into the public coffers.⁵⁰⁰ The *casal* of Episkopi continued to be one of the richest fiefs in Cyprus; in the early 1520s, the annual revenues of the ‘magnifici Corneri d’Episcopia’ were 2,500 ducats, which made them the third richest family in Cyprus.⁵⁰¹ There survive many documents in the Venetian archives that demonstrate the efforts of the Corner della Piscopia to secure more rights from the Venetian authorities or to solve disputes between themselves and the Venetian administration.⁵⁰² Thanks to his income from the Grand Commandery of Kolossi, in the early 1520s Giorgio Corner was the richest man in Cyprus, with revenues of 7,000 ducats a year, while the forty-one villages included in the Commandery had revenues of 8,000 ducats. In 1526, Alvise Corner paid 1,400 ducats for tithes for the year 1524-1525 for the Commandery. Other villages too seem to have been quite rich: in 1522 Pentakomon was farmed out to a person who is not named for 500 ducats while for the previous thirty-five years it had never been rented for more than fifty-sixty ducats, with the exception of the year 1512 when, because of high competition, it had brought ninety ducats and recently one hundred.⁵⁰³

Travel and narrative accounts provide interesting information about the economy of the Limassol region. During his 1494 visit, Pietro Casola says that he had heard much about the sugar, cotton, and other products of Cyprus, and he thus visited Episkopi:⁵⁰⁴

I can only speak of a great farm not far from Limassol, which belongs to a certain Don Federico Cornaro, a patrician of Venice, and is called Episcopia, where they make so much sugar that, in my judgement, it sufficeth for all the world. Indeed it is said to be the best which goes to Venice, and the quantity sold is always increasing. It seems to me that no one ought to die there. It is very interesting to see how they make the sugar – both the fine and the coarse – and so many people at work. There were not less than 400 persons there, all employed, some in one way, some in

⁵⁰⁰ BNM, MSS Ital. VII, 377 (=8663), fol. 33v and Ital. VI, 80 (=5767), fol. 180v.

⁵⁰¹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 498; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents III*, 277.

⁵⁰² Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, no. 37 (in 1499); Sanuto, *Diarii*, V, col. 525 and Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, no. 56 (in 1503); *ibid.*, nos. 63, 77, 79 (in 1504), 96 (in 1505); *Venetian Documents II*, nos. 69 (in 1513), 76 (in 1514), 79 (in 1514), 84 (in 1514), 149 (in 1515), 151 (in 1515); *Venetian Documents III*, no. 24 (in 1519).

⁵⁰³ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 498, 502-3; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents III*, nos. 65, 108 and pp. 277, 281-2.

⁵⁰⁴ *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 40-3; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 145-9.

another. It was interesting, too, to see such a number of utensils. It was like another world to me. There were cauldrons of such a size that if I described them no one would believe me. One of the factors of the aforesaid Don Federico told me that every man was paid every Saturday. The said factor was an Italian, but he knew Greek.

Casola then goes on to describe the surrounding area of Episkopi and Limassol:

There was also a great quantity of cotton in the fields, but it was not yet ripe for gathering. It was a great pleasure to see so many trees in the woods, loaded with carob beans, *bazane ultramarine*, as we call them. They were still green, and the taste was bitter. When they are ripe they are sweet. Everything in that island pleased me, except that they make their wine with resin, and I could not drink it. I did not see any other people of the island save certain peasants living in the neighbourhood of Limassol who came to sell their fruits, which, however, were few, and to buy some of the things which that *galeotti* had brought to sell – cloths and other goods. They speak Greek. I know little about the island, because I was afraid of endangering my life.

He does notice, however, that ‘there was an abundance of melons good for the teeth of old folks, not after the Lombard fashion where they like them hard; there you could eat them with a spoon’. He is impressed by the size of the carob trade and by the warehouses gathering the produce of the surrounding area for export:

The quantity of carobs or ultramarine beans was almost incalculable. A great trade was done in them, and the quantity brought on board the galley was stupendous. Whoever could find a place for them in the galley was lucky: a sack of *moggio* was sold for three *marcelli*. I did not buy any, because I do not care for that fruit. It seemed to me that the carobs brought on the galley were sufficient to supply all the world, but after seeing the quantity held by the agents of certain Venetian merchants who live there and which was all to be sent to Venice I changed my opinion. I can assure you that the trade in this fruit is of immense importance and value, and I can say the same of the sugar I saw there.

In March 1508 Martin von Baumgarten arrived by land from Larnaca and, after buying some provisions, his ship sailed from Limassol by Kolossi, ‘remarkable for its great plenty of sugar’, and ‘Piscopia’.⁵⁰⁵ In 1519 Jacques Le Saige comments on the capers he saw growing and, of course,

⁵⁰⁵ *Excerpta Cypria*, 54-5.

the cotton, which had become something of a tourist attraction.⁵⁰⁶ 'Towards evening we went to see cotton growing; there was a large expanse of it. The twigs are as high as a turnip plant, the pods are as big as the head of a wild poppy, and when the cotton is ripe the head opens and one sees the cotton'.

When he visited the town in August 1546, Oldrich Prefat noticed many palm trees growing in and around the city, but at that time the dates had not yet ripened. Around the city he also saw gardens and cotton fields. He was impressed by an irrigation method that he saw the inhabitants of Limassol using to water their orchards: a donkey turning round a wheel with buckets in large, square wells (*alakati*). On his return trip from Palestine, Prefat's ship again stopped in Limassol, accompanied by another galley. They spent one whole day there because, even though it was Sunday, they loaded sacks of carobs bound for Venice.⁵⁰⁷ In 1550, Friedrich Rehlinger also describes an *alakati*, saying that, as there was no river in Limassol, water was obtained from deep wells with wheels pulled by oxen. He adds that he saw in the town and generally on the island carobs, figs, pomegranates, oranges, cotton, oil, sugar, and melons.⁵⁰⁸ In 1553, John Locke also speaks of Venetian ships loading wine, vinegar, and carobs at the harbour of Limassol and gives a long description of the cultures he saw in the city, used for cleaning the countryside from dead beasts and for hunting.⁵⁰⁹ In 1565, a Portuguese traveller reiterates that very strong wines, cotton, and sugar were loaded on the ships anchored in Limassol,⁵¹⁰ although it should be noted that sugar was in decline, gradually being replaced with cotton, in Episkopi and elsewhere on the island, as a result of the discovery of the New World. By the end of the century local sugar cultivation would be abandoned completely, disappearing not long after the Venetians themselves.⁵¹¹

Most sixteenth-century travellers describe salt as one of the main products of Cyprus. After local demands were satisfied, large quantities were exported. In 1562 Ascanio Savorgnan reports that seventy ships loaded with salt left Cyprus annually, while in *ca.* 1565 Bernardo Sagredo gives a slightly smaller number, fifty to sixty ships. The salt collected from the lake in Larnaca/Salines, however, continued to be of superior

⁵⁰⁶ *Excerpta Cypria*, 56.

⁵⁰⁷ Flourentzos, 10, 31.

⁵⁰⁸ BSB, MS Germ. 1273, fol. 6r; Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 409.

⁵⁰⁹ *Excerpta Cypria*, 72.

⁵¹⁰ Mestre Afonso, 286-7.

⁵¹¹ Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 122-3; Coureas (2005: *passim*, esp. 109-12).

quality.⁵¹² All villagers above the age of fifteen paid a tax of one bezant a year and were entitled to a certain amount of salt. One of the demands that the *università* of Nicosia submitted to the Venetian authorities in 1521 was for the restitution of Limassol, together with Paphos, as a place for the distribution of salt, since villagers had to travel to Salines for the delivery.⁵¹³ Salt remained a state monopoly, but the Republic rented the exploitation of the lake of Akrotiri with great profit. With a document dated 28 July 1516, the Council of Ten granted the exploitation of the ‘lago de Limisso’ to the highest bidders, Alexandro di Thomasi and Chiriaco de Andronico Pizapulli, who offered 680 ducats per year, a considerable amount.⁵¹⁴ Leonardo Donà, who visited the lake in 1557, remarks that it was farmed out to the Corner family at the time.⁵¹⁵ Florio Bustron and Étienne de Lusignan specifically mention the fish caught in abundance in the lake of Akrotiri, called ‘dorade’ [daurade] by the French and ‘grusaphide’ [chrysophrys] by the Greeks, ‘the best in Cyprus’.⁵¹⁶

One should give the last word to these two Cypriot authors, who each wrote an account of the products of the Limassol region on the eve of the Ottoman conquest. Florio Bustron describes Episkopi as a very beautiful and fertile place, specifying that both the Episkopi and the Kolossi sugar and cotton plantations used the water of the Kouris River. Florio also includes wine and oil amongst the products of Limassol, adding that all sorts of animals were raised on its soil for their meat. He particularly praises dog or falcon hunting in the area of Limassol. Limassol, Florio asserts, also provided wood, most probably the forests of the Troodos Mountains, which he remarks were called ‘Triodos’ or ‘Chionodes’ (‘thus called because there is always snow on its summit, Chionodes in Greek meaning *full of snow*’), that which correspond to modern-day Troodos and Chionistra. He also claims that there was an inscription in Greek on a piece of marble that said ‘mountain summit, refuge of the snow, and confluence of waters’.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹² *Excerpta Cypria*, 54, 60, 64, 69; Savorgnan, 23; Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 554 and Zorzi (2013: 91). Generally, Hocquet (1968: 228-31) and Aristeidou (2009: 108, 111-12).

⁵¹³ ASVe, *Senato*, Mar, reg. 19, fol. 222v (*olim* 209v).

⁵¹⁴ Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents II*, no. 175.

⁵¹⁵ Donà, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, *Fondo Donà dalle Rose*, no. 45, fol. 149r.

⁵¹⁶ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 7v and *Description*, fol. 18v; Bustron, 28. On the lake generally see Patapiou (2009: 25-7).

⁵¹⁷ Bustron, 15-16, 28-30, 33.

Étienne de Lusignan describes Episkopi as ‘one of the largest and most beautiful small towns’ in Cyprus, well populated and with beautiful gardens. Its plantations produced cotton and sugar in abundance, but also citrus fruits and bananas (called by the Greeks ‘pommès de Paradis’ and by the French ‘mouses’).⁵¹⁸ Lusignan praises the wine produced in abundance in the village of Limnati, which he identifies with Strabo’s ‘Liminea’, and in the villages of Pelendri (ancient ‘Palaia’) and Kilani (ancient ‘Corineum’). He describes Lefkara (the third ancient town of Cyprus that bore the name of Arsinoe) as a village that produced large quantities of cotton, sugar, wheat, and fruit. Lusignan mentions amongst the mineral resources of the island ‘the wonderful stone called *Amiande*’ that was extracted from the mountains, referring to asbestos, mined until recently in the area of Troodos Mountains, where a settlement was built to house the miners and their families and whose name Amiantos derived from this fibrous mineral. He also says that on the site of the ancient town of Amathus one could find even in his time rich veins of minerals and coral in the sea nearby. A Greek monk from the monastery of Agros even told him that he found emeralds in the Troodos Mountains.⁵¹⁹

The Church

Just as after the Great Schism of the West in 1378 the Latin dioceses of Cyprus (except for Genoese Famagusta) came under the jurisdiction of the crown to a certain extent, the Venetian administration had control over Cypriot ecclesiastical affairs after 1489, only more so. Thus our main sources for church history in this period come not from the papal archives, but from those of Venice, and they indicate that the state of the Latin diocese of Limassol reflected the town’s circumstances. The fact that around 1560 a quarter of the rural population of the Limassol district lived on the estates of the Latin Church is misleading, insofar as the statistic includes the lands of the Hospitallers and perhaps other orders, even if they no longer enjoyed all the revenues. Thus a report of the early 1520s affirms that the Latin bishopric of Limassol held only three villages as fiefs, with the bishop receiving annual revenues of 1,500 ducats, as opposed to the archbishopric of Nicosia’s nine *casalia* and 6,000 ducats in income for the prelate, while the bishops of Paphos and Famagusta earned 2,000 and 1,000 ducats respectively from their rural holdings. Except for

⁵¹⁸ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 7v, 86v and *Description*, fols. 18r, 223r-v.

⁵¹⁹ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols 17r-v (Limnati, Pelendri, and Kilani), 17v (Amiantos) and *Description*, fols. 33v (Limnati), 33v-34r (Pelendri), 28v (Lefkara), 224v-225r (‘*Amiande*’), 224v (Amathus), 225r (emeralds).

the archbishop, whose relative income had increased, this is the same ratio as in the 1350s and 1360s, although in 1529 it was reported that the bishop of Limassol received only 1,000 ducats and that of Famagusta a mere 800. Visitors affirm that the bishopric of Limassol had revenues of 3,000 or 4,000 ducats from the 1560s, of which half went to the bishop himself. Accordingly, at the time one of the three estates was farmed out to the half-brothers Zuan Antonio Bragadin and Zuan Filippo Milano for 900 ducats per year.⁵²⁰

With such a tiny Latin population in his town and district, however, the Latin bishop of Limassol probably had little other income from such sources as pious donations, which was certainly not the case for Nicosia and Famagusta, whose residents had many opportunities to transfer funds to the cathedrals. The Limassol bishopric was poor enough and so devoid of Latins that in 1491 the representatives of Famagusta asked the Venetian authorities to unify the diocese of Limassol to that of Famagusta: they claimed, perhaps quite rightly, that Limassol was just a village with no need for the presence of a Latin bishop. The Republic answered that they did not wish to ask the Holy See something they could not obtain, because they knew how difficult this would be in view of the loss of papal revenues that the unification of ancient sees would bring about. To lessen its burden, in 1507 the Venetian Senate agreed to respect the privileges granted to Church of Limassol, as well as those of Nicosia and Paphos, concerning its exemption from the *angaria* (forced labour performed by their serfs), and in 1524, more pertinent to Limassol, the Council of Ten exempted Bishop Paul Borgasi from paying the 130 ducats tax he owed annually to the *Camera* of Cyprus.⁵²¹

With such a small flock, it is little wonder that the Latin bishops of Limassol resided in Nicosia, assigning a vicar to perform their tasks, usually if not always a member of the mendicant orders. Yet even these vicars probably spent little time in the town. For example, Bishop Andrew Zentani, who occupied the see in 1539 and never lived in Limassol, assigned the Augustinian Hermit Ambrogio Cavalli of Milano as vicar. Ambrogio gained some notoriety as a controversial preacher, but these activities were carried out in the capital, not the seaside town, and belong to the history of Nicosia. In the 1560s the absentee Bishop Andrea Mocenigo

⁵²⁰ Grivaud (1986: 262-3 and tables III-IV); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 502; Wormbser, fol. 217v; *Excerpta Cypria*, 79; ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci di rettori, Cipro*, b. 3; Skoufari (2011: 101).

⁵²¹ *Capitula Universitatis Regni Cypri*, 30; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 488, 502, 504; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents III*, no. 94; Skoufari (2011: 80, 114).

chose as his vicar the Dominican Étienne de Lusignan, and the famous Cypriot author did not care much for his parish.⁵²²

Naturally there were no episcopal elections to speak of: Venetian nobles submitted their candidacy to the Senate, which approved or voted for the new bishops, and the pope was only involved formally when the doge ‘suggested’ a winning candidate. In 1559 the Venetians explained to the papal curia the political necessity of the new bishop of Limassol’s being a Venetian subject. The Venetian administration in Nicosia controlled all lesser posts as well, selecting candidates who were either Cypriot or people from Venetian territories who had lived in Cyprus for five consecutive years, although money often changed hands, simony being rampant. The Limassol cathedral staff had dwindled to about a half-dozen clerics, mostly just mendicants assigned from the capital. In 1519 Jacques Le Saige did claim that five canons served the cathedral, but this probably means that five people received the incomes of canons, or perhaps that five priests served the church. Thus when Dennis Possot celebrated Mass in the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Limassol in 1533, he inventoried the staff of seven: four priests – a Franciscan, who was in charge, a Dominican, and two seculars, – along with a clerk (a deacon?) and two acolytes. In 1548, Pierre Le Boucq reported that the cathedral had two canons and four chaplains. In 1561, Jacob Wormbser remarked that the cathedral structure itself was in a very bad state and was not worth more than 1,000 ducats.⁵²³

Étienne de Lusignan mentions that in his time, in addition to the Latin cathedral, Limassol hosted convents of the four mendicant orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites), the churches of the Templars and the Hospitallers, and other Latin churches. It is doubtful that these structures were functioning, however, given Jacques Le Saige’s statement of 1519, referring to the cathedral, that ‘there is in Limassol a church where they sing after our rite’, and Jacob Wormbser’s remark of 1561 that he saw Greek churches and a Latin cathedral in the town. When in 1548 Pierre Le Boucq described the pilgrims’ graffiti in the Franciscan church on the square, he could easily have been referring to a ruin, probably the same church whose walls full of entertaining graffiti the Proveditor General Bernardo Sagredo discussed in a report of around 1565. Thus in 1550 Friedrich Rehlinger related that the town’s churches and monasteries had been burnt and lay in ruins since the 1536 (*read*

⁵²² Arbel (2009a: 378); Ambrosini (2013: 14-18); Mas Latrîe, *Histoire*, III, 543.

⁵²³ *Excerpta Cypria*, 56, 66; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 489, fols. 32v-33r; Wormbser, fol. 217v; Skoufari (2011: 111-13).

1539) Turkish raid. Perhaps this is why the 1542 Attar map depicts the town without a cathedral, although at least some of the damage seems to have been repaired by Étienne de Lusignan's time in the 1560s.⁵²⁴

It was the Greek churches that served the bulk of the urban population, small as it was. Even after the Turkish attack of 1539, Prefat saw three functioning Greek churches in Limassol in 1546, and in 1561 Jacob Wormbser repeated that there were Greek *churches* plural in the town. Perhaps they were among the 'beautiful churches' that Pierre Le Boucq saw in 1548, although this was a matter of taste, since on the eve of the Ottoman conquest Johann von Hirnheim thought Limassol's main Greek church to be as ugly as the town. In the 1520s the Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis even recorded a church to the east of Limassol dedicated to St Athanasius.⁵²⁵

By the Venetian period the selection of the Greek bishops of Cyprus was probably no longer in the hands of the local Greeks and the salaries were eventually set by the state, at a fraction of those of the Latin counterparts, 10-20% in the case of Limassol/Lefkara. Although the procedure evolved, simony remained just as much a factor as it was for the position of Latin bishop. As of 1490, the Venetian rectors on the island would first choose three candidates for each post, either Cypriots or people from areas of Venetian domination who had spent at least five years in a row on the island. The list was then submitted to the *Collegio*, with the final decision resting with the Signoria, which perhaps simply took over the role of the Royal Council in deciding on the new prelate. In 1507 the *Università* of Nicosia was given the right to choose from the candidates presented, and the Venetian Senate merely confirmed the choice as a formality. As time passed, the Nicosia nobility increased its control, so that laymen and not clerics made the decisions. In 1567, 254 members of the Council selected John de Sur, *oikonomos* of the Greek cathedral of the Hodegetria in Nicosia, from among twenty-four candidates who were presented.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 8r-v and *Description*, fols. 19r-20r; *Excerpta Cypria*, 56; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 489, fols. 32v-33r; BSB, MS Germ. 1273, fol. 6r; Wormbser, fol. 217v; Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006: 46 and fig. 23a); Zorzi (2013: 96); Mas Latrè, *Histoire*, III, 543 and note 2, where the French scholar regrets not having knowledge about the graffiti Sagredo mentions prior to his visit to the island in 1845-1846.

⁵²⁵ Flourentzos, 10; Hirnheim, 30-1; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 489, fols. 32v-33r; Michael (2001: 431-2) and Zachariadou (2014: 100).

⁵²⁶ Arbel (2009a: 375-8); Skoufari (2011: 111-12).

The contrasting situation of the Latin Church of Limassol and of the Greek clergy of the town and diocese just before the Ottoman conquest is illustrated in the consecration of the new bishop of Lefkara in the early 1560s, described by Étienne de Lusignan, the vicar of the Latin bishop, Andrea Mocenigo, who was absent at the Council of Trent. Once the candidate had been submitted to Venice for approval, the bishop-elect occupied his position provisionally because of the length of the journey. When confirmation was received from Venice, the consecration could go forward. In what everyone must have known to be a dim reflection of reality by then, the Greeks then submitted the document of the 'election' procedure to the Latin bishop of Limassol or his vicar, showing that the election was canonical. The Latin bishop then went to the cathedral of Lefkara, entered the sanctuary, and summoned the clerics of the bishopric, numbering twenty-nine, since non-tonsured Greeks could not enter the sanctuary. Afterwards the procedure was as follows:

When these twenty-nine have entered, the Latin bishop calls them secretly one by one and makes them swear on the open Holy Gospels, asking them if they know any fault of their future bishop and also asking if they believe that the bishop is able to perform his task and if they recognise him as their bishop. At the same time the chancellor on the other side of the altar notes everything down. After everyone is finished, then the [Latin] bishop calls the [bishop-]elect inside and makes him swear to be obedient to the Roman Church. And the elect swears as follows: 'I, bishop, swear on these Holy Gospels to you, Latin monsignor, or his representative, to be faithful, catholic, and orthodox. And I swear that I will educate my people with that spirit that the Lord will grant me in the catholic and orthodox faith. And I swear to be obedient to the Supreme Pontiff and to you, right reverend, and to your successors, except for my right, that is, except for the Greek rite in which I am and to which I am committed'. After that, the Latin bishop has the chancellor read his licence aloud, having not found any fault or obstacle. So the new bishop is confirmed and given all the customary authority that is given to a person of his rank. And the chancellor lists all the privileges to him. After that the Latin bishop takes the Greek's hand and guides him to the episcopal throne, and then the Greek priests start to sing. And when they are finished the Latin bishop and the Greek bishop kiss with the holy kiss, and then the Latin clergy and the Greek clergy who were in attendance in the ceremony, along with the congregation, kiss his hand. Then the new bishop is consecrated by the three other Greek bishops. And if there are just two of them, the abbot of the monastery of Andreion has to replace the one who is absent.

Then the Greek bishop offers gifts to the Latin bishop and the chapter in recognition of what the Greek receives from his priests and deacons and

subordinate churches. The amount of gifts is fixed, examples being specific quantities of rose water, figs, walnuts, almonds, and so on.⁵²⁷

Scattered archival evidence allows us to trace some of the names of the Greek bishops of Lefkara, but nomenclature is unsystematic. Moreover, while we know that the Greek bishops of Solea, Karpasia, and Arsinoe had churches and residences in Nicosia, Famagusta, and Paphos respectively, it is not possible to tell where the Greek bishop of Lefkara made his primary residence, whether in Lefkara, in Limassol, or both. Significantly, Florio Bustron ignores Lefkara when he says that ‘the Greek bishop of Limisso’ still used in his time the title of ‘Cureon, Amathunda, and of the Greeks of Limisso’.⁵²⁸ ‘Ioannes episcopo greco di questa citta’ ordained Philotheos, the future hegumen of the monastery of St Nicholas in Akrotiri, in 1491 or a little later.⁵²⁹ In *ca.* 1495, ‘Singriticho episcopus grecorum Limisso’ was an unsuccessful candidate for the see of Solia/Nicosia.⁵³⁰ A certain ‘Iorghi’, *oikonomos* of the Church of Panayia Eleousa, was appointed bishop of Lefkara in 1504.⁵³¹ Piero Generin, *protopapas* of the cathedral of the Hodegetria in Nicosia, was elected bishop in 1533; ‘Petro vescovo d’Amathonda’ is the writer of a letter dated 12 August 1537 and sent ‘dal casal Leucara’ to the rectors in Nicosia.⁵³² John Smerlinos (‘reverendo Papa Ioannes Smerlino’) succeeded him in 1546 as bishop of ‘Leucara et di Limiso’,⁵³³ and was followed by Stephen Flangi (son of John Flangi, ‘Greek bishop of Nicosia’) from 1548 to 1566. In 1557, Bishop Stephen ‘of Limissò’ applied to the Venetian authorities in order to acquire the status of burgess.⁵³⁴ In 1567, Laurence Bustron, a Greek monk from the monastery of Mangana in Nicosia, whose exact family links with the historiographer and administrator Florio Bustron are hard to establish, claimed the title of the bishop of Lefkara (interestingly, the following year another member of the family, Neophytos, a Greek monk from St Nicholas

⁵²⁷ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 31v-32r; slightly modified English translation from Lusignan, *Chorography*, 42-3; see also Darrouzès (1959: 31).

⁵²⁸ Bustron, 16, 53.

⁵²⁹ ASVe, *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Dispacci (lettere) di rettori e pubblici rappresentanti*, b. 289, nos. 174 and 178.

⁵³⁰ ASVe, *Collegio*, Notatorio, reg. 14, fol. 122v; Cenci (1968: 324) reports his name as Antonio, although the document is not clear.

⁵³¹ Skoufari (2011: 112, note 84).

⁵³² Sanuto, *Diarii*, LVIII, col. 598; ASVe, *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Dispacci (lettere) di rettori e pubblici rappresentanti*, b. 289, nos. 170 and 177.

⁵³³ ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni*, Mar, reg. 29, fol. 43v (*olim* 22v); Arbel (2009a: 377).

⁵³⁴ ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni*, Mar, reg. 29, fol. 198r (*olim* 177r); Ploumidis (1985: I, 4).

in Akrotiri, claimed the title of the bishop of Solia),⁵³⁵ but on 12 September 1567 John de Sur, as we have seen, was made ‘bishop of Limisso’, dying around 1570.⁵³⁶

One incident reveals a bit more personal information. In a dispatch from Nicosia dated 5 January 1569, *Luogotenente* Nicolo Dandolo refers to the affair of John Flangi (‘Gioanne Flangino’), son of the obviously uncelibate Bishop Stephen Flangi, most probably the ‘Greek bishop of Limisso/Nemosie’ who, according to Lusignan, served as King James II’s falconer in the early 1470s and died at the age of 125 in the late 1560s! The Latin archbishop of Nicosia persecuted John Flangi, because he consecrated a church while he was only a *protopapas*. The new Greek bishop of Limassol/Lefkara, no doubt John de Sur, who had just succeeded Flangi’s father, refused to consider the case.⁵³⁷

The lack of clerical control over Latin and Greek ecclesiastical affairs may be linked to the evidence of religious syncretism between Greeks and Latins in the Limassol town and diocese. In 1519 Jacques Le Saige remarked that he ‘went to see a small church [in Limassol] where I found a Greek priest who was robing himself to say Mass, but as he put on each vestment he made it catch the fumes of the censer. I saw him say Mass right through, but it was wonderful to see the ceremonies he performed’. In 1550, Friedrich Rehlinger was shown the exact location in a church in Limassol where a great miracle took place: an icon of the Virgin Mary that had escaped the flames in 1539, probably in one of the Greek churches. Outside the town, in 1520 a Byzantine icon of the Virgin and Child, carrying the family arms of Fr. Jacques de Gastineau, was probably commissioned by him for the Greek church of the Hospitaller village of Eftagonia.⁵³⁸

Religious syncretism is evident at the main pilgrimage site of the diocese, Stavrovouni. Recall that the Benedictine monks had abandoned the monastery in 1426 or shortly thereafter, the administration was turned over to mendicant friars, and several decrees issued by the Venetian Senate in the 1540s-1550s show that the authorities were trying to solve

⁵³⁵ Grivaud (1989: 535, 537).

⁵³⁶ Arbel (2009a: 377); Skoufari (2011: 106).

⁵³⁷ ASVe, *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Dispacci (lettere) di rettori e pubblici rappresentanti*, b. 290, fol. 250; Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 5v (where most of the information about the old bishop is given) and *Description*, fol. 13r; Skoufari (2011: 106 and note 57).

⁵³⁸ *Excerpta Cypria*, 56; BSB, MS Germ. 1273, fol. 6r; Vaivre (1999: 649-55, 666-8); Luttrell (2011: lxxi).

the perennial problem of vacancies by appointing abbots *in commenda*.⁵³⁹ Greek monks were occupying the site in the late fifteenth century, however, and in 1534 a French traveller ascended the mountain of Stavrovouni, where he says that he found a monastery of Greek monks.⁵⁴⁰ Nevertheless, when Prefat visited Cyprus in 1546, he found two communities of monks, both Greeks and Latins:

Greek and Latin monks live together at the monastery. The Greeks perform the liturgy in the right-hand chapel and the Latins in the left. The monks have their cells next to the church, each one his own. We met two Greeks there and one Italian, who gave us a tour and took us to his cell where he treated us to wine, cheese, bread, and onions.⁵⁴¹

It is probable that the Latins were Augustinian Hermits, sent there to care for the Latin pilgrims, as was the case at Ayia Napa, for when Prefat arrived there an Augustinian provided bread and wine and the tourist noted that ‘Greek Orthodox monks perform the liturgy in the chapel where the icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary is found, while in the area of the church that is more toward the front Catholic monks of the Order of St Augustine do the services’.⁵⁴² Stavrovouni remained a popular pilgrimage to the end, and Étienne de Lusignan proudly lists the precious relics kept there.⁵⁴³

Evidence suggests that the existence of a sizeable population of monks in most Greek monasteries known from the Lusignan period allowed the survival of these monasteries throughout the Venetian period, sometimes fiercely independent. In 1537, for example, the Venetian authorities in Cyprus informed the Council of Ten in Venice that the abbots of St Nicholas in Akrotiri and of the Enkleistra in Paphos refused to obey to their corresponding bishops and, instead, wanted to recognise as their superior either the patriarch of Jerusalem or that of Antioch, to whom they sent envoys.⁵⁴⁴ Étienne de Lusignan, who appreciated the religious diversity of his native island despite his membership in the Dominican Order, reports that the community of monks of the monastery of St Nicholas in Akrotiri continued to maintain cats, more than forty, thus

⁵³⁹ Mas Latrie, ‘Documents nouveaux’, 588-90.

⁵⁴⁰ *Excerpta Cypria*, 67.

⁵⁴¹ Flourentzos, 14-15.

⁵⁴² Flourentzos, 27-8.

⁵⁴³ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fols. 9v-10r.

⁵⁴⁴ ASVe, *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Dispacci (lettere) di rettori e pubblici rappresentanti*, b. 289, no. 184; Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents IV*, no. 124; Skoufari (2011: 101-2).

keeping alive the legend that St Helena brought the cats to Cyprus to rid the island of the snakes (called by the Greeks ‘cuffi’). He actually relates that the *protopapas* of Yermasoyia told him that he had killed one of those poisonous serpents that was horned!⁵⁴⁵

The Ottoman Threat

The growing Ottoman threat and the occasional attacks of the Turkish fleet hindered any potential return to Limassol’s status before the Genoese invasion. The Venetian defence plan involved guarding the shore with *stradioti*, a light cavalry chiefly composed of Hellenised Albanian mercenaries, and lighting fires to signal an imminent raid. In 1560 the cavalry responsible for protecting Limassol amounted to fifty persons led by Captain Demetrio Manesi from Nafplion, Andrea Rondacchi or Rondakis guarded the coast of Limassol with twenty-nine horsemen, Andrea Cortese that of Avdimou with twenty-seven, and Condo Rondacchi the Vasilopotamos area with nineteen. In 1533, Dennis Possot marvelled at the jousting skills of the *stradioti* in Limassol, an Albanian winning the tournament. In 1546, the Czech Oldrich Prefat, who also mentions the Albanian mercenaries, saw from his ship anchored off Limassol that each day the villagers lit fires on the hilltops, or every six miles or so along the coast, when they saw ships.⁵⁴⁶ In 1558 the Venetian authorities organised a militia of 500 men in each of the five main districts (Nicosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, Limassol, and Paphos), the *cernide*, recruited amongst the free Greek villagers, the *francomati*, and the following year they increased the number, assigning to each of the eleven districts 300 troops. In the second half of 1568, the new proveditor general of Cyprus Lorenzo Bembo visited Limassol and other towns on the island in order to review the horse power of the fief holders and organise the defence. We happen to know the identity of the captain of the *cernide* of Avdimou around that time: the Famagustan Tomà Stani.⁵⁴⁷ The feudal nobility who held rich estates in the district of Limassol seem to have been negligent regarding their military obligations: the ‘Magnifici Corner della Piscopia’ and ‘Misser Zorzi Flatro da Trachoni’ were conspicuously absent from musters in 1557 and 1560.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁵ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 7v-8r and *Description*, fol. 19r-v; Kyprianos (1788: 32).

⁵⁴⁶ Patapiou (1998: passim and esp. 190, 200, 203-4; 2006: 162; 2009: 28-9); *Excerpta Cypria*, 66; Flourentzos, 9-10.

⁵⁴⁷ Valderio, 36, 37, 58, 100-1.

⁵⁴⁸ Grivaud and Papadaki (1984-1987: 517, 527, 529).

As we have seen, by the end of the fifteenth century most travellers mentioned the ruinous state of the castle as a result of earthquakes and raids. In 1519, however, Jacques le Saige described the castle as powerful, which might suggest that some reconstruction had been undertaken by the Venetian authorities. Piri Reis also recorded the town's ruined castle in 1521.⁵⁴⁹ But the raid on 14 May 1539 was particularly destructive. Florio Bustron writes that ten Turkish galleys arrived in Limassol and found no resistance, the castle guard consisting of the castellan and his wife and daughter. According to Étienne de Lusignan, after taking the town and its castle, the Turks destroyed it to its foundations,⁵⁵⁰ and travellers visiting Limassol after the raid described the poor but still habitable state of the castle. The German Friedrich Rehlinger, who visited in July 1550, records that Limassol was destroyed by the Turks in 1536 (*sic*), but the castle remained strong.⁵⁵¹ In 1553, John Locke attributes the destruction of the castle, some of the walls of which had tumbled down, to a Turkish raid by a squadron of galleys that had taken place ten or twelve years before.⁵⁵²

Regardless of these amateur descriptions, the castle was useless for new techniques of warfare, as the captain of Famagusta, Troylo Malipiero, commented in 1500. In 1534 the *luogotenente* Marc'Antonio Trevisan, remarking that Limassol had no walls, labeled the castle old and of minor importance. In the 1542 Attar map, in which the town is depicted without walls, there is but a small castle on the shore, next to the residential area, the insignificance of which is all the more remarkable given that Attar not only includes Kolossi Castle, but also the tower of Pirgo in the Troodos Mountains, the location and size of which suggest that this was a mere watch tower.⁵⁵³ Following the 1539 Turkish raid, the Venetian authorities decided to slight Limassol Castle, demolishing parts of it so that it could not be used by the enemy. In 1557 Leonardo Donà comments that the castle was partly destroyed, and both the reliable Florio Bustron and Étienne de Lusignan confirm that the castle had been slighted soon after a

⁵⁴⁹ *Excerpta Cypria*, 56; Michael (2001: 430); Zachariadou (2014: 100).

⁵⁵⁰ Bustron, 24 (he gives the year 1538); Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 8v (he gives the year 1538) and *Description*, fols. 20r (he gives the year 1537), 210v-211r. See Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents IV*, 13, note 12 and Skoufari (2011: 180 and note 107) with archival sources giving the year 1539, Patapiou (2009: 22-3), and the chapter by Michalis Olympios.

⁵⁵¹ BSB, MS Germ. 1273, fol. 6r.

⁵⁵² *Excerpta Cypria*, 68.

⁵⁵³ Sanuto, *Diarii*, III, col. 1118; ASVe, *Consiglio dei Dieci*, Comune, reg. 9, fol. 170v, quoted by Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud (2006: 46, notes 144-5); *ibid.*, 46-7 and figs. 23a, 25, 30b.

Turkish raid in 1539. Florio specifies that the Proveditor General Francesco Bragadin and the rectors made the decision concerning the neglected and poorly guarded castle, formerly big and strong. Both Cypriot authors considered Kolossi Castle more significant. Florio describes Kolossi's tall tower and drawbridge, ideal for hand-to-hand combat, in addition to its well and cistern, which meant that it could provide refuge for many persons. Lusignan less accurately adds that Kolossi Castle was impregnable without the use of artillery and neither Emperor Frederick II, nor the Genoese, nor the Muslims managed to take it. Both writers mention minor fortifications in Amathus, with Lusignan claiming the same for Episkopi.⁵⁵⁴

In 1540, after Limassol Castle had been slighted, the Venetian Senate authorised Alvise del Ponte to investigate the possibility of constructing a large fortress in the Limassol area. In 1558 the renowned military engineer Giangirolamo Sanmicheli drew up plans for a three-mile enceinte with twelve bastions around the town of Limassol, but the estimated cost of 100,000 ducats probably prevented the materialisation of the project; Sanmicheli also provided fortification plans for the Akrotiri Peninsula. In the 1560s, facing the imminent Ottoman attack, Venice undertook the impressive reconstruction of the fortifications of Nicosia, Famagusta, and Kyrenia according to the latest techniques of military engineering for defence in artillery warfare, but it chose to leave Limassol undefended. Although the engineer Giulio Savorgnan was given the authority to choose the site of a new fortification amongst several possibilities, including Akrotiri and Limassol, the insistence of the Cypriot nobility, who offered to pay for the works, made Nicosia the obvious choice. In a report to the Venetian authorities dated 19 November 1563, the captain of Famagusta Pandolfo Guero (or Guoro) discusses the military qualities of various locations on the island and specifically states that he 'does not like' the Cape of the Cats and Limassol. Étienne de Lusignan, who claims that the Venetian Senate and the Cypriot nobles wanted to rebuild and fortify the ancient town of Kourion, asserts that the Senate considered fortifying Limassol after the works in Nicosia had finished, but this came to nothing, as the authorities finally decided to concentrate on the defence of Nicosia and Famagusta.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ Donà, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, Fondo Donà dalle Rose, no. 45, fol. 149r; Bustron, 16, 24-5; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 7v, 8v, 17v-18r and *Description*, fols. 20r, 35r, 210v-211r. See Patapiou (2006: 157; 2009: 23).

⁵⁵⁵ Patapiou (2006: 162; 2009: 30); Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 52-62; Grivaud (2014: 107, 115); Guero, 'Relation', 142; Lusignan, *Description*, fols. 18v, 20r.

By focusing its defence strategy on the three fortified towns, Venice left the town and district of Limassol easy prey to Turkish aggression, for example in May 1559, when the Turkish garrison of Rhodes attacked the Avdimou area.⁵⁵⁶ Pietro Valderio claims that, on the eve of the invasion, all available animals and people were recruited to carry provisions to the capital, leaving Limassol and Famagusta without provisions. Even the contingent of 300 men under the captain of Limassol Bourignon del'Abruze had gone to Nicosia. In other words, when the Turkish armada arrived off the coast of Limassol, the town and its countryside were ill-equipped to defend themselves, lacking both fortifications and manpower.⁵⁵⁷

Until the eve of the Ottoman conquest, the Venetian authorities refused to manumit the servile rural Greek population, the *paroikoi*, who were burdened with heavy obligations. Some historians have linked the conditions of the *paroikoi* not only to politically charged social disturbances in late Venetian rule, but also to the peasantry's alleged collaborative attitude during the Ottoman invasion.⁵⁵⁸ When the Corner failed to respect privileges concerning *corvées* (forced labour performed by the serfs on the lord's estate) that Kings John II and James II had granted to the *paroikoi* of the Grand Commandery of Kolossi, which Caterina Cornaro ratified, the estate's serfs sent an envoy, the Cypriot Alvisè Spagnoli (a.k.a Aloisio Costa or Saffiri Costa), who lived on Hospitaller land, to the Grand Master in Malta in *ca.* 1547, but to no avail. Reasoning that, after the Turks captured Hospitaller Rhodes in 1522, the Grand Commandery in Cyprus fell under the jurisdiction of the sultan, the leader of the estate's community of *paroikoi*, Giorgi Culli, took more drastic measures in 1551: promising a substantial reward in case of success, he sent the same envoy to the sultan in Constantinople to request his help in liberating themselves from the oppressive rule of the Venetians. The Turks apparently did not give much credit to the petitioners, however, and handed Alvisè to the Venetian *bailli*. Interrogated by the *bailli* before his death in prison, Alvisè revealed the names of some of the peasants involved in the conspiracy: fifty-one persons (including eleven priests) from thirteen villages are mentioned, with Kolossi, Anoyira, Yermasoyia,

⁵⁵⁶ ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci*, filza 1, Avdimou 11 May 1559. See Skoufari (2011: 180, note 107).

⁵⁵⁷ Valderio, 38. See generally Grivaud (2009a).

⁵⁵⁸ There survive only a few isolated cases of enfranchisement of *paroikoi* from the Limassol district: in 1504, the Council of Ten granted Caterina Cornaro's petition to free two *paroikoi* from Lefkara, Kyriakos and Maria Pancalo, children of Zuanne; see Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, no. 78, cf. no. 75.

Ayios Konstantinos, Mallia, and Apsiou identified. What the episode shows, apart from the peasants' naiveté, is the fact that they were organised in a community and they could afford the cost of an envoy.⁵⁵⁹

The War of Cyprus

The Ottoman invasion in 1570 marked the beginning of one of the most turbulent chapters of the island's history. The War of Cyprus (1570-1571) lasted approximately thirteen months; it was mainly a siege war around the walls of Nicosia and then around those of Famagusta, but it was extremely destructive in terms of human and material losses, both towns given over to butchery and pillage after their fall. The dramatic details and painful souvenir of the *Bellum Cyprium* had a great impact on the European societies of the time and survived in an important number and variety of contemporary and later sources, which include eyewitness memoirs and printed news-sheets that circulated in Europe and were translated into various languages.⁵⁶⁰

The events that concern the arrival of the Ottomans in Limassol survive in a number of contemporary and later sources, which diverge mainly in the exact date of the landing and in some minor details, allowing the following historical outline. The Ottoman fleet arrived in the bay of Episkopi on 2 July 1570 and the Turkish troops landed without facing any resistance from the Venetian soldiers, who had all gathered in the three fortified towns (Nicosia, Famagusta, and Kyrenia). The Turks then attacked Episkopi, the Akrotiri Peninsula, St Nicholas of the Cats, and Limassol and its area up to Polemidia in the north. It seems that only a small portion of the Turkish army engaged in these first reconnoitering expeditions, intended more to assess the Venetian military capacity than to effectively occupy and control Limassol. The Limassol cavalry (eighty *stradioti*) and the contingent under the command of Pietro Rondacchi (fifty *stradioti*) thus easily drove the Ottomans back to their ships, and they proceeded to Salines. The diverging sources give a more vivid picture of the events, however.⁵⁶¹

One of the witnesses present in Cyprus during the events, Pietro Valderio, in Famagusta at the time, claims that the invasion was foretold

⁵⁵⁹ Lamansky, *Secrets d'État de Venise*, 024-025; Luttrell (1995b: 755); Aristeidou (2001: 588-9, 594-5); Apostolopoulos (2001).

⁵⁶⁰ Grivaud (2011: 2-31).

⁵⁶¹ Romanin (1853-1861: VI, 291-293); Hill (1940-1952: III, 958-9); Grivaud (2009a: 197; 2011: 59).

by an earthquake that affected Nicosia and Limassol on 26 June 1570.⁵⁶² Another one, Friar Angelo Calepio, in Nicosia at the time, relates that the Turks pillaged, ravaged, and burnt the town and area of Limassol from Akrotiri in the southwest to Polemidia in the north, but they were defeated by the vice captain of Paphos, Vincenzo Malipiero, who had come to help Pietro Rondacchi, the captain of the *stradioti*. Malipiero's men forced the enemy back to their ships, killing many Turks and taking their severed heads (the equivalent of the charge of two mules!) and two prisoners with them.⁵⁶³ Valderio, who describes Rondacchi as acting 'valorosamente', specifies that when the Turks arrived in Salines on 10 July, they had transported with them 200 loads of wine from Limassol, which they drank, but the Christians did not take advantage of the situation when the Turks had all fallen asleep.⁵⁶⁴

Amongst the Western historians who used the first- or second-hand testimonies of eyewitnesses, one should mention Antonio Maria Graziani, later bishop of Amelia in Umbria, who attributes the victory over the small Turkish contingent to the Albanian cavalry guarding the coast. According to Graziani, when Kyrenia surrendered after the fall of Nicosia, the Turks sent its inhabitants to Paphos, Limassol, and Salines. Giovanni Pietro Contarini asserts that the Turks enslaved many of the inhabitants of Limassol during their initial landing.⁵⁶⁵

Historians have often employed the story of Lefkara's surrender to the Turkish army and its subsequent destruction by the Venetian authorities as evidence for the treacherous attitude of the rural Greek population during the Ottoman invasion. One must take into account the fear that the defenceless villagers felt before the invading Turkish army. Because of its importance and wealth, Lefkara was an obvious target for the Turkish troops, led there by a Greek priest, and it was attacked several times after 4 July. The villagers, after much suffering and without hope for relief from the Venetians, decided to submit. In return, Lâla Mustafâ Pacha promised to respect the villagers' personal liberty and their right to free possession

⁵⁶² Valderio, 42; Grivaud (2011: 58).

⁵⁶³ Calepio, fol. 248r; he is followed faithfully by Kyprianos (1788: 421), who places the landing in Limassol on 3 July; Mariti, 82 places the landing on 2 July.

⁵⁶⁴ Valderio, 43, 45, 109-12. Other sources that mention the Limassol events include *Threnos tis Kyprou*, 18; Falier, *Relationi*, fol. 1v; Membre, 24; *Kibris Seferi*, 83, 87; Philippou (1934: 163).

⁵⁶⁵ Graziani (1642: 150-1, 198-9); Contarini, fol. 9v; Diedo, 90. Lusignan, *Description*, fol. 20v, who was not in Cyprus during the events, praises the heroic resistance of the Cypriot cavalry in Limassol and regrets that Salines was not defended too.

of their lands and other property. When the news of the surrender of Lefkara reached Nicosia, the Venetian authorities decided to make an example of the village, in an attempt to prevent similar behaviour in other village communities. The night of 8 to 9 July, they dispatched a punitive expedition led by Demetrios Lascaris Megadoukas and composed of one hundred mounted *stradioti* and 600 militia soldiers (*cernide*). The Venetians carefully selected the men of the militia to include only those whose families had found refuge in Nicosia, and they were not told the purpose of the expedition until the last moment. The expedition arrived in Lefkara at dawn on 9 July, attacked the village, burnt the houses down, killed some 400 men, took the women and children to Nicosia as prisoners, and then dispersed them in the countryside to make known their punishment.⁵⁶⁶

Indeed, their example seems to have profoundly affected the rural population and dissuaded them from submitting to the enemy. In the mountainous hinterland around Limassol, in particular, whether the town's *cernide* retreated with other soldiers following the Ottomans' arrival, there was no instance of defection. In July 1570, the sources mention some 48,000 men in the mountains under the command of Pier Paolo Singlitico, Scipio Caraffa, and Zuanne Singlitico (who was at the village of Ayios Konstantinos in August 1570), but, apparently, most of them were poorly trained and equipped and the militia only resisted the Turkish attacks until September 1570.⁵⁶⁷

After the fall of Nicosia on 9 September 1570, amongst the noblemen who surrendered to and collaborated with the Ottoman army one finds 'Mutio Sinclitico', who received as a reward the monastery of St Nicholas in Akrotiri.⁵⁶⁸ During the siege of Famagusta (end of September 1570 to August 1571), villagers were sent as far as Limassol to find provisions for

⁵⁶⁶ The sources on the affair of Lefkara include Falier, *Relationi*, fol. 3r-v; Calepio, fol. 248v; Sylvestrani Brenzone, 41-2, and Foglieta, col. 973 (who say that the leader of the expedition was Cesare Piovene); *Threnos tis Kyprou*, 23-6. Venetian historiographers naturally considered the affair to be 'a treason', mainly following the testimony of Calepio; see Graziani (1642: 158-61); Paruta (1645: 23-4); Morosini (1719: 305); Romanin (1853-1861: VI, 293); also, Hill (1940-1952: III, 961-2). For a more lenient attitude, see Kyprianos (1788: 422); Papadopoulos (1980: 13, 23-5); Arbel (1989b: 139-40); Grivaud (2009a: 198-9; 2011: 64-5).

⁵⁶⁷ Valderio, 44-5, 111; Falier, *Relationi*, fol. 17r; Calepio, fol. 262v; Darrouzès (1959: 32); generally Hill (1940-1952: III, 985) and Grivaud (2009a: 199; 2011: 62).

⁵⁶⁸ Collenberg (1983a: 34), citing a letter by Giovanni Sozomeno in BAV, MS Vat. Urb. Lat. 816, fol. 137r-v.

the besieged. An eminent person related to Limassol distinguished himself during the city's siege. The Latin bishop of Limassol, the Dominican Seraphim Fortibraccia from Milan, was present on the walls with the defenders during all the Turkish assaults, encouraging the soldiers, giving them food and water, and inspiring hatred of the enemy. When the Turks entered the town they looked for him, but he had already fallen.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁹ Valderio, 76; Calepio, fol. 279r; Fra Agostino, 102, 103.

Appendices

1. Latin Bishops of Limassol, 1196-1588

We know the names of many of the Latin bishops of Limassol throughout the Frankish and Venetian periods. Michel Le Quien's *Oriens christianus* (1740), vol. III contains a first try. Louis de Mas Latrie seems to have been the first to attempt a comprehensive list, but it is still unpublished; see the autograph manuscript BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, MS 6797, 'Papiers du Comte L. de Mas-Latrie V: Chypre, évêques de Chypre, documents Contarini, grands officiers du royaume de Chypre, abbayes de Chypre. Volume de 368 feuillets, 27 fevrier 1899'; the bishops of Limassol, without notes on sources, are listed on fols. 83-122. Other sources are Dalla Santa (1898), Hackett (1901), Eubel *et al.* (1913-1978), Fedalto (1976), Collenberg (1979), Schabel (2004), Claverie (2005a), *Bullarium Cyprium*, vols. I-III.

- T.: bp. in 1200, 1203, perhaps same as in 1196
 Fulk of Montaigu: bp. in 1211, 1215, 1219
 R.: bp. in 1220, 1221, 1222
 T.: bp. in 1230, 1231; in Acre in 1236
 G.: bp. in 1249
 Bartholomew of Braganza, OP: admin. as patriarch of Jerusalem 1252-1255
 Opizo dei Fiechi: admin. as patriarch of Antioch 1256-by 1280
 Hubert: appointed 1280-by 1288
 Berard, OP: by 1288-1300 (after spring of 1299)
 Anthony of Saurano: bp.-elect in 1300-1301, not confirmed
 Peter Erlant: 1301-by 1313
 Hugh of Béduin: bp. in 1314
 Fr. John: bp. in 1315, 1319, 1320
 William, O.Carm.: bp.-elect in 1322 when see given to Peter, transferred 1324
 Peter of Genouillac: admin. as patriarch of Jerusalem 1322, died by March 1324
 Raymond Béguin, OP: admin. as patriarch of Jerusalem 1324-1328
 Bartholomew: bp.-elect on 16 Feb. 1329, not confirmed
 Peter de la Palud, OP: admin. as patriarch of Jerusalem 1329-1337
 Lambertino Baldoino della Cecca: 1337, transferred 1344
 Itier of Nabinaux, OFM: 1344, transferred to Famagusta 1346
 Francis of Arezzo, OP: 1346-1351
 Léger of Nabinaux: 1351-1353
 Elias of Chamberlhac: 1353, transferred to Paphos 1357

Guy of Ibelin, OP: 1357-1367
 Adhémar de la Voulte: 1367, transferred 1374
 Thomas de Amanatis: 1374, transferred 1379
 John Stinus, OFM: 1380-1403 (Avignon)
 Francis: 1380-1389 (Rome)
 Stephen I Governus, OFM: 1389, transferred 1390 (Rome)
 Bartholomew Gay, OFM: 1390-*post* 1393 (Rome)
 William Scarbotti, OESA: 1403-1406/7 (Avignon)
 William Gralli: 1407-1411 (Avignon)
 Anthony, OSB: 1411-*post* 1417 (Avignon)
 Lancelot of Lusignan: bp. in 1434
 Galesius of Montolif: 1438, transferred to Nicosia 1442
 James Badini de Nores: bp. in 1443
 Galesius of Montolif: bp. in 1447, dies 1456/7
 Peter de Manatiis: 1456/7-1460
 Anthony de Zucco: 1460-1479
 Nicholas Donà: 1479-1493
 Nicholas Dolce: 1493-1514
 Cardinal Mark: held *in commenda* 1514
 Paul Borgasi: 1516, bp. in 1524
 Andrew Zentani: 1539, at Trent 1546
 Andrew Mocenigo: 1560, at Trent, bp. in 1567, 1568
 Seraphim Fortibraccia, OP: 1569
 Étienne de Lusignan, OP: named 1588

2. Greek Bishops of Lefkara, 1260-1570

Matthew: bp. in 1260, 1287, 1291, 1295
 Olvianos: elected 1300 or 1301, bp. in 1307, 1313, 1318, 1321
 Clement: bp. in 1340
 John Japhoun: elected 1455
 Nicholas: bp. (of Kourion, at least) in 1468
 John: bp. in 1491
 Antonios Syngretikos: bp. in *ca.* 1495
 George: elected 1504
 Peter Generin: elected 1533
 John Smerlinos: succeeds Peter 1546
 Stephen Flangi: succeeds John, 1548-1566
 (Laurence Bustron: claims title in 1567)
 John de Sur: succeeds Stephen September 1567, dies *ca.* 1570

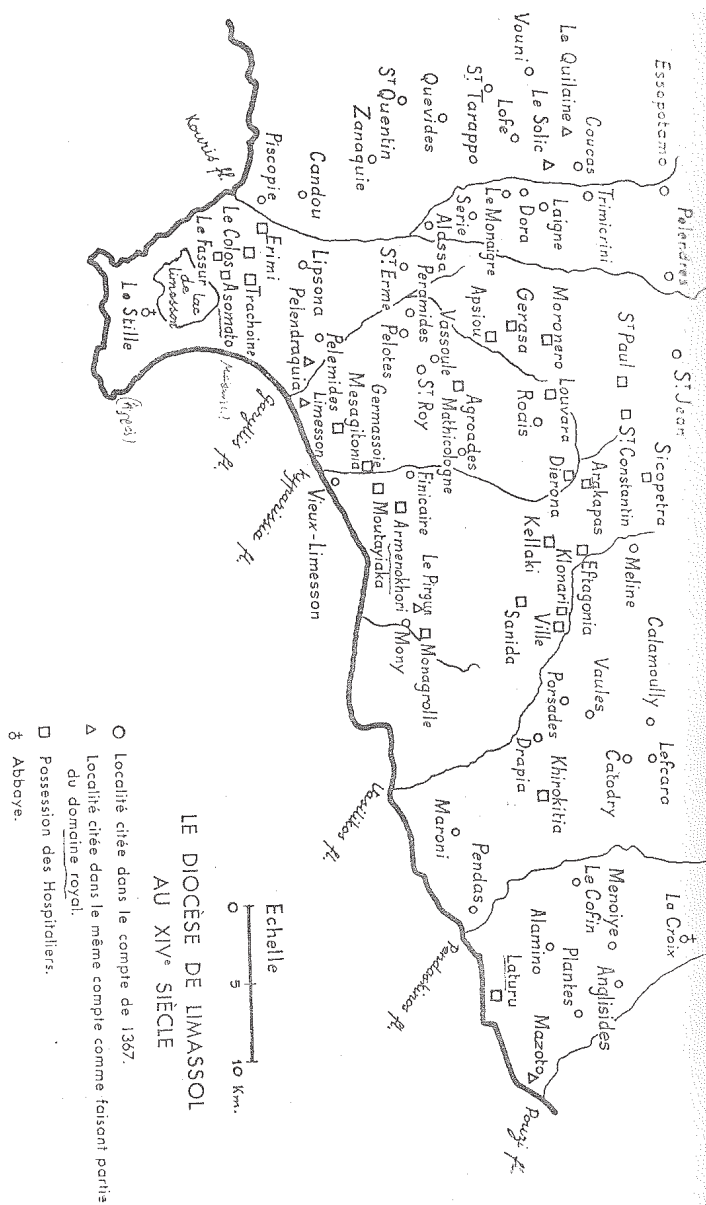


Fig. 1: The Latin diocese of Limassol in the fourteenth century [Documents chypriotes, 71].

RUMMAGING THROUGH RUINS:
ARCHITECTURE IN LIMASSOL
IN THE LUSIGNAN AND VENETIAN PERIODS

MICHALIS OLYMPIOS*

In April 1486, Konrad Grünenberg, scion of a patrician house of Constance, embarked on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Like so many of his fellow pilgrims, he left a lively account of his journey, painting a vivid picture of the sights, people and customs he encountered at the places he visited, from Venice to the Holy Land and back again. In relating his experiences to his readership, Konrad went further than most of his contemporaries in providing ‘visual aids’ in the form of miniatures, often executed with astounding attention to detail. Both contemporary manuscripts of the text are lavishly illustrated: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32 contains thirty-two miniatures, while Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Cod. Chart. A 541 as many as forty-eight. According to the latest research on these miniatures, whereas the ones in the Gotha codex were certainly the work of a trained illuminator, the ones in the Karlsruhe codex could conceivably be by Konrad’s own hand. What is more, the bird’s-eye views of cities and towns featuring in his itinerary have been hailed as topographically exact snapshots thereof, giving a sense of the size, shape and overall impression of the urban tissue, as organised around prominently displayed major landmarks. Although the

* Discussing issues pertaining to medieval Limassol with Tassos Papacostas and Yiannis Violaris has been a sheer pleasure, and I should like to take this opportunity to formally thank both of them for making themselves and their research available to me, as well as for numerous other kindnesses. Yiannis Violaris, in particular, has shared much unpublished information on recent archaeological work at the heart of the medieval settlement, for which he is once more to be thanked and duly credited. James Petre allowed me to avail myself of his gazetteer entries for Limassol Castle and Kolossi, drawn from his (then) forthcoming book on medieval Cypriot fortifications, and for that I am in his debt. I am, of course, entirely to blame for any blunders. This study is dedicated to my maternal grandmother, to whom Limassol has been a home away from Home.

accuracy of detail in these depictions should not be overstated, they nevertheless represent a useful tool for the architectural historian intent on researching the topography of the Mediterranean coastal settlements at which Konrad put in on his journey, that of the other places he visited, as well as the history of their major monuments.¹

The description of the town of Limassol, in the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus, would surely not have been considered by its author among his journey's highlights. Konrad only spares a few lines to evoke the overall decrepit state of the town's fabric, the bishopric, the castle and a couple of Greek churches still standing amidst the ruins.² Fortunately, the accompanying miniature is much more eloquent: the version in the Karlsruhe codex portrays a barren coastal plateau on which two major landmarks can be discerned, the castle near the seafront and the Latin cathedral further inland (fig. 1).³ Two or three centrally planned, domed buildings, probably Greek churches, can be seen further in the distance, whilst what looks like a four-storeyed round tower occupies the upper right corner. The rest of the built environment consists of loose clusters of seemingly humble, plain dwellings with flat roofs, some of them ruined. Indeed, despite the apparent robustness and solid masonry of the fortress, the feeling of desolation is inescapable. The fragmentary walls, caved-in roofs and the presence of what appears to be building debris alongside the narrow, winding roads running through the sparsely built and populated settlement are a far cry from the bustling, densely packed townscapes of the Dalmatian cities, Corfu, Modon, Candia, Rhodes, Famagusta, or Jerusalem.⁴ At first, the Gotha version looks like an attempt at alleviating this sense of lingering doom and gloom through bright colours, the insertion of figures of town-dwellers going about their everyday business

¹ For the most recent edition and discussion of this text and its accompanying images, see *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, esp. 32-92 (for the author), 222-68 (for the illustrations). For the exactness of the *Stadtvedute*, see *ibid.*, 233: 'Sie stellen keine idealisierten oder idealtypischen Ansichten der Städte dar, sondern sind individuelle Stadtbilder mit topographisch exakten Angaben und Zeichnungen'. KBL, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32 has been digitised in its entirety and is available for download at the library's website: <<http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/7061>> (last accessed 12 May 2015). For additional colour reproductions of miniatures from the Gotha manuscript, see *Von Nürnberg nach Jerusalem*, passim.

² *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, 356-8.

³ KBL, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, fol. 23v.

⁴ KBL, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, fols. 8v-10r, 11v, 12v, 13v-14r, 15v-16r, 17v-18r, 19v-21r, 26v-27r, 35v-36r.

and the proliferation of buildings (fig. 2).⁵ As this version is evidently an elaboration of that in the Karlsruhe codex, most of the items depicted have been touched upon and amplified – even the ruins. The uplifting colouration and the injection of human activity hardly divert the eye from the forlorn ruinous structures littering both foreground and background.

The Ruins of Prosperity

Limassol, the once magnificent and noble town turned post-apocalyptic wasteland is a *leitmotiv* in pilgrim travelogues of the late Middle Ages.⁶ It was often described as having been reduced to the state of a village, with few inhabitants living on the ruins of its past glory. The reasons proffered by the locals to dumbstruck foreign pilgrims as explanation for the town's condition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ranged the gamut from the devastation wrought by the attacks of Genoese (1370s-1400s) and Mamluk troops (1420s) to the results of frequent earthquake activity and flash floods. Given that reports of grand-scale destruction caused by floods and relentless quakes already emerged in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, thus predating the depredations of the Genoese and Muslims by more than a generation, by the latter period a tradition of justifying the ruins must have begun being developed.⁷ By the 1480s, little more than half a century after the last Mamluk raid, the destruction of Limassol (and, occasionally, also that of Paphos, Salines/Larnaca and Salamis/Constantia) was oftentimes being attributed to the vengeful disposition of an English king, the mythical alter ego of Richard I the Lionheart (*reg.* 1189-1199).⁸ Chronological distance bred fanciful myth,

⁵ Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Cod. Chart. A 541, fols. 36v-37r.

⁶ For a representative selection of travellers' texts addressing the matter, see *Excerpta Cypria*, 19, 28, 48, 53, 55-6, 66, 68, 79; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66, 90, 97-9, 107, 113, 116-17, 133, 136, 139-40, 147-8, 157; *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, I, 35, 38-41, III, 142; *Reyssbuch dess Heyligen Lands*, fols. 38r, 217v, 244v, 352r; Von Breydenbach, 34 (for the Italian translation – the Latin original is unpaginated); Antonio da Crema, 84 (1486); Anonymous, *Die Reise*, 172 (1494); Enríquez de Rivera, fol. 97r (1518-1520); Dom Loupvent, 89; Von Seydlitz, chapter III (no foliation) (1556).

⁷ For the earliest invocation of floods and earthquakes as justification for the ruin, see the account of Ludolph von Suchen in *Excerpta Cypria*, 19 (1330s).

⁸ For the genesis of the legend of Richard's merciless treatment of Limassol (and/or other Cypriot towns) in order to avenge insults done to him by the island's renegade governor, Isaac Komnenos, see Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 93-4). For a few examples of this story being applied to the other towns, see *Excerpta Cypria*,

exciting the foreign travellers' imagination, who waxed almost melancholic about the downfall of this once splendid city.⁹ Romanticising the derelict to such a degree could be ascribed to emerging Renaissance attitudes towards ancient (particularly Roman) ruins; it should not be forgotten that Limassol's misfortunes were often conflated with those of Paphos, the literary tradition for which goes back to the writings of the Venerable Bede, St Jerome and even Seneca.¹⁰ Yet contemporary documents and architectural/archaeological material may allow us to peek past the literary trope and assess the character of the late medieval town, as well as reconstruct something of its 'antediluvian' aspect.

51, 64 (several towns), 59 (Nicosia!), 61 (Paphos); *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 79, 130, 157 (Paphos), 136-7 (several towns); Von Seydlitz, chapter III (Salines/Larnaca). See also *The Pylgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, 15, wherein it is claimed that in 1506 Richard's revenge 'is yet in memorye and in rype remembraunce comenly with every man and woman of the same yle'.

⁹ Passages in these travelogues show that myth-making (as regards the island's early and more recent history) could sometimes run rampant. Hans Schürpf claimed in 1497 that Limassol had been destroyed thrice, successively by the French, the king of Hungary and that of England; see *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 163. In the account of Gaudenz von Kirchberg (1470), Salines/Larnaca is construed as having been torn down by a mysterious race of merfolk ('die aber durch mörwunder, die halb Fisch Unnd halb Menntsch gewösen, ganntz Zerstört, Unnd Zerprochen ist'), an instance indicative of the thick layer of myth which developed on the early history of the Cypriot towns in the late Middle Ages; see *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 80 (the text of the citation follows the edition in *Tagebuch der Heilig Land-Reise*, 287).

¹⁰ For a thought-provoking analysis of the theme of destroyed cities in art and literature, see Koller (2002: 45-58). For the rising interest in ruins and destroyed cities during the Renaissance, when the emergence of historical consciousness contributed to putting past things (including ruins) into perspective, see Forero-Mendoza (2002: 9-13, 59). Mortier (1974: 9-35) and Forero-Mendoza (2002: 11-12) argue that, for a ruin to function as a sign of recollection, one must distance oneself from it and its historical era, viewing the latter as things of the past; the former author also identifies more of a moral than an aesthetic dimension to early interest in ruins. The implications of their observations regarding the Cypriots' internalisation of the devastation of Limassol and its occasional moral undertones (Richard's righteous revenge on the island's governor) are interesting. For Paphos' devastation by earthquakes as a literary *topos*, see Calvelli (2009: 40-1). On Paphos suffering a fate similar to that of Limassol, consult note 9 above and *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 79 (destruction by English royalty) and Ariosto, 34 (destruction by sultan).

History and Topography: The Textual Record

Prior to the meteoric rise of Famagusta's fortunes as the kingdom's busiest harbour from the latter half of the thirteenth century, Limassol had virtually no contender for the title on the island.¹¹ Since at least the twelfth century, and definitely before Richard I's capture of Cyprus, the town had been fully integrated into the Eastern Mediterranean maritime trade networks, while a substantial community of Venetian merchants conducted business and even lived on the island with their families. At the time of the Third Crusade, the Limassol Latins were organised into a vibrant community in possession of at least two churches within the town, a baptistery, a hospice for the poor, a bath, stores, houses, etc. The situation changed drastically following the establishment of the Lusignan regime in 1192, when many of the aforementioned Venetian properties are known to have changed hands. The Latin bishopric established in 1196 needed an imposing cathedral building, and the Venetians' main church of St Mark may have fulfilled that requirement, as we shall see later.¹² The Genoese and Pisans also established a permanent presence in the town relatively early on, and specific individuals appear to have been beneficiaries of erstwhile Venetian property. In 1232, King Henry I (*reg.* 1218-1253) granted the Genoese certain houses formerly in private hands and a tower close to the seafront, between the main thoroughfare ('*via publica*') and the royal customs house ('*domus commercii*'). The Genoese must have established their *loggia* in the vicinity of the tower, next to the *commercium*, and both these buildings were damaged in a Venetian attack in 1293. The *loggia* of the Pisans (whose consul continued to reside in the town after 1291) lay also in the immediate vicinity of the customs house, and all these structures should have been standing near the town's natural haven, probably not far to the south/southeast of the castle.¹³ All four major mendicant orders – the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Augustinian Hermits – had established convents in the town by the middle

¹¹ Generally Jacoby (1984; 1995), Balard (1985a; 1985b), Coureas (2005).

¹² Marsilio Zorzi, 184-8 *passim* and Papadopoulou (1983: 309-13); Papacostas (1999a: 484-500); Jacoby (2009b: 59-63). See also Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

¹³ The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, 258; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 54, 93-4; Marsilio Zorzi, 185.23, 187.14-15 and Papadopoulou (1983: 310, §16, 312, §§41, 56); Otten-Froux (1986: 129-30, 133, 137-8; 2006: esp. 281-5, 293-4); Grivaud (1993: 134-5); Balard (2007b: 13-19); Papacostas (1999a: 487-8). A Genoese consul was still to be found in Limassol in 1435; see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 25.

of the fourteenth century.¹⁴ The evidence of retrieved tombstones shows that members of the aristocracy, not least a member of the ruling dynasty, chose to be interred there, some certainly in the friars' churches.¹⁵ The military orders maintained houses there in the thirteenth century and, for a brief period between the fall of Acre in 1291 and the early fourteenth century (suppression of the Templars in 1312, relocation of the Hospitaller headquarters to Rhodes after 1309), Limassol was their main base.¹⁶ The Dominican Felix Fabri, in Cyprus in 1483, claimed that the Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights built and fortified the town with walls and towers after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, but the friar is clearly exaggerating the orders' involvement in construction work in Limassol.¹⁷ Apparently, their edifices were still visible in the 1330s, but their subsequent fate is unknown.¹⁸ Many dwellings, 'palaces', churches and towers are described by pilgrims of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as in a horrid state of preservation (witness, in this respect, the crumbling tower in the Limassol miniature in both copies of Grünemberg's

¹⁴ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 32r-33v and *Description*, fols. 89r-90r; Golubovich, II, 524-5; Béraud (1987: 142-4); Coureas (1997a: 208, 212-13, 215; 2010: 325, 345, 368-9, 376, 379-80). Also, Collenberg (1982b: 645, 682) mentions a papal privilege of 1384, by which John Stinus, bishop of Limassol, is allowed to receive the revenues of the town's Augustinian house; however, this document may actually refer to the house in the possession of the prior and chapter of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Limassol diocese, who were Augustinian canons. Parenthetically, the Hermits of St Augustine did not possess a *casale* in this diocese, as erroneously claimed in Coureas (2010: 379-80), because the village mentioned in the correspondence of Innocent VI in 1353 concerned a property of the aforementioned prior and chapter of the church of the Holy Sepulchre; see *Bullarium Cyprium*, III, u-16.

¹⁵ Mas Latrie (1879: 390-2); Enlart (1899: II, 450-6; 1987: 341-5); Petrides (1965: 23); *Lacrimae Cypriae*, I, 215-17, 291-7, 341-3. Despite Mas Latrie's assertion that the site of the Panayia Katholiki (where medieval tomb-slabs were to be seen at the time and where more were found in the 1950s-1960s) should be identified with that of the Franciscans, and Enlart's suggestion that the latter be identified with that of Frangoklissia, in the area of Polemidia, there is no conclusive evidence for either hypothesis. See also Sergides (2006: 175, 178).

¹⁶ Luttrell (1972); Edbury (1994: 191, 193-5); Claverie (2005b: I: 328); Burgtorf (2008: 129-37), who argues that the evidence about the Templars' headquarters in this period is very unclear, advocating Nicosia as well as Limassol, or perhaps both, as likely sites; Luttrell (2011: lxxi); Riley-Smith (2012: 180 and *passim*). See also the chapter by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel in the present volume.

¹⁷ *Excerpta Cypria*, 45-6.

¹⁸ *Excerpta Cypria*, 19.

account), but rarely, if ever, are any specifics given. In fact, apart from the two or, at most, three edifices that recurrently crop up in the travelogues, namely the castle, the Latin and, much more sporadically, the Greek cathedral, we practically read next to nothing about the architectural landscape of medieval Limassol.¹⁹

History and Topography: The Archaeological Record

Of course, the unhelpfulness of texts could easily have been circumvented if the town had been well served by archaeology, but this is not the case. Besides the castle itself, little else survives above ground to help anchor textual references or provide visual or topographical vantage points from which even a basic reconstruction of the townscape could be attempted. The finds of small-scale rescue excavations and investigation pits, sunk during construction works in the area within and in the vicinity of the castle from the 1940s to the 1960s, were recorded by Limassol District Museum employee Nicos Petrides.²⁰ Later, in the 1990s, work on the city's sewage system led to the rediscovery and limited exploration by the Department of Antiquities of an important ecclesiastical edifice on the site of Limassol's Great Mosque (Cami Kebir/Eski Cami).²¹ In 2010, the scheduled redevelopment of the area surrounding the castle brought to light some fascinating new data regarding topography, architecture, and life at the heart of the medieval settlement.²² The limited, fragmentary scope of these investigations and the fact that the more recent work has yet to become the subject of extensive scholarly publication means that, even in the more intensively investigated area of the castle, the precise plan of the medieval town remains elusive. Nevertheless, we are now in a better position to broach the issue of Limassol's urban development than we were even a few years ago, employing a combination of historical, art historical, and archaeological evidence. Needless to say, many of the following thoughts and conclusions should only be considered preliminary in nature, as doubtlessly the meticulous study of the excavated finds and current and future fieldwork will help clarify or disprove at least some of the points made here.

Given the absence of any secure textual and material evidence for the existence of walls, gauging the extent of the medieval town proves

¹⁹ For the information given by travellers, see note 7 above.

²⁰ Petrides (1965).

²¹ Procopiou (1997a; 2006a: 116).

²² Violaris (2011); Nestoros (2012a; 2012b).

difficult.²³ Almost all of the recorded finds allegedly dating from the Lusignan and the Venetian periods pertain to the wider area surrounding the castle (fig. 3): at the western end, in 1961 a hoard of 439 ‘Lusignan coins’ was discovered on the eastern bank of the Garyllis River, to the north of Cami Cedid. Evkaf Street has yielded the remains of a number of domestic structures, dated to the thirteenth century, and a vaulted well full of medieval (and early modern?) pottery and other contemporary items. Undefined architectural vestiges and more medieval and later pottery were found on Ankyras Street, directly to the north. To the east of the fort, a church was discovered under the Cami Kebir in 1906 and partly excavated in 1993, while at the corner with Genethliou Mitella Street architectural fragments (including a well), medieval pottery, metal objects, and a burial were unearthed in 1956. On the adjacent Demetri Mitropoulou Street, part of a medieval wall furnished with arrow-loops and traces of vaulted structures are still extant. Not far from there, at the Spyrou Araouzou Parking Lot, both the Lusignan and Venetian phases were attested. During laying the foundations for the new church of Panayia Katholiki in 1957, and again during construction work in the 1960s, medieval tombs and tomb-slabs were found. Further east, at Saripolou Street and below the building of the Bank of Cyprus, remains of what was identified as a medieval church came to light in 1958, together with ceramics, glass and other objects. To the south of the castle, at Syntagmatos Square, at the site of the present Amathus Building, medieval pottery was uncovered in 1955 (along with the remnants of a ‘Late Byzantine’ building and an inscription). What was identified as the castle’s stables was partly investigated in 1963, 42m to the north of the castle itself.²⁴

²³ For the fortifications of pre-Lusignan Limassol, or the absence thereof, see Tassos Papacostas’ chapter in this volume. A circuit of walls is almost nowhere mentioned in late Lusignan and Venetian sources (yet see *Excerpta Cypria*, 45, 56, where the authors claim that the town had been enclosed by walls in the past, although apparently not at the time). In fact, some commentators went out of their way to note that Limassol had no walls: *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 98 (Barbatre, 1480); *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, III, 142 (Meggen, 1542). On this point, see also Molin (2001: 102). For the existence or not of a royal castle in the town prior to the fifteenth century, see below.

²⁴ For all this data, see Petrides (1965: 20-3), Procopiou (1997a; 2006a: 116), Violaris (2011), and Nestoros (2012a; 2012b). At the junction of Koumandarias and Vyzantiou or Genethliou Mitella Streets, the northwest corner of a monumental ashlar-built medieval structure came to light in 1995, but attempts at dating it more precisely have been thwarted by insufficient data; see Procopiou (1997a: 295, note 46).

In the miniatures illustrating the work of Konrad Grünemberg, Limassol Castle appears to rise isolated on all sides by a moat, while a jumble of humble tenements lie to the east, linked to the fort's drawbridge by a meek-looking path (figs. 1-2). No matter how representative this image was for 1486, and how much artistic licence the painter took, new archaeological evidence suggests that the area in the castle's immediate vicinity was, in fact, crowded with buildings. Recent excavations at Tsianakkale, Vasilissis, and Richardou kai Verengarias Streets, all around the castle, have revealed architectural remains dating from the twelfth century to the later Middle Ages. In this spectrum, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are better represented, by monumental edifices adorned with Gothic sculpture no less. Part of the medieval street network was also laid bare, and its relation to the castle itself poses some very intriguing questions concerning the design and layout of the site, as we shall see presently.²⁵ Before moving on to examine the site and the architecture of the fort in greater detail, we should observe that, during Limassol's heyday in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the site lay right in the middle of a busy urban quarter, close to the harbour.

The Castle

The site of Limassol Castle has had a long and convoluted history, and its study has turned up more than a few surprises (figs. 4-5).²⁶ In the late 1930s, the District Antiquities Committee petitioned the Colonial Government to turn the castle from a dark, squalid, and unhygienic detention centre into a district museum. The prison closed down in 1940 and, after a brief occupation by the military on account of World War II, the building was turned over to the Department of Antiquities in 1942.²⁷ The conversion and adaptation process that ensued necessitated major consolidation work and restructuring of the interior (completed in 1951)

²⁵ Violaris (2011).

²⁶ For the history and architecture of Limassol Castle in general, see Enlart (1899: II, 673-83; 1987: 488-94); Jeffery (1918: 368-9); Gunnis (1936: 135); Hill (1940-1952: II, 15-16); Megaw (1977: 198-9); Perbellini (1985: 206); Corvisier and Faucherre (2000); Molin (2001: 95-6, 105); Corvisier (2006b); Procopiou (2006b); Petre (2012: 273-98).

²⁷ CSA, SA1/1096/24, 4, 10, 13-14, 26-7, 37-9 (for the correspondence and medical reports regarding the prison's unsanitary character, period 1924-1926), 44-46, 57, 61, 63-4, 66-7, 69, 73 (for the move to convert the castle into a museum, period 1936-1942).

and thus provided an unprecedented opportunity for close inspection of the masonry and foundations.²⁸

Peter Megaw, Director of Antiquities during the final decades of the British period (1936-1959), and his staff were well placed to be the first to discover that the site of the castle had not had a military vocation since the dawn of the Middle Ages. Investigations within the central part of the body of the castle brought forth a marble capital, marble columns, bases and plinths and, perhaps, traces of a mosaic floor.²⁹ These vestiges are thought to have belonged to a modest Early Christian basilica, a suggestion reinforced by the approximate depth in which these elements were found, evidently less than *ca.* 3-4m below present street level (the latter varies in the castle's periphery). Other coeval remains excavated nearby (Cami Kebir on Zig-zag Street, Spyrou Araouzou parking lot), on a more or less flat stretch of land, lay *ca.* 2m below present street level.³⁰

A Middle Byzantine phase (tenth-eleventh centuries) is sometimes conjectured on the slim evidence of a floor probed between the late antique level and the castle's floor, but its existence (or not) is a matter of interpretation: Nicos Petrides merely stated that two floor layers had been traced below the then floor level in trial trenches at the eastern part of the castle, and he then went on to identify the floor immediately below that of the castle as that of the 'Templars' Chapel', presumably implying that the lower (earlier) floor could be that of the late antique basilica.³¹ To my knowledge, this is the earliest mention of a Templar chapel on the site, the germ of the idea later put forward by Christian Corvisier and Nicholas Faucherre in their architectural analysis of the castle. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether Petrides' 'Templars' Chapel' refers to the thirteenth-century church assimilated within the castle (see below) or to some other structure on the site. Megaw, with whom Petrides had collaborated closely on these and other works, clearly dissociated at first the thirteenth-century church on the site from the Templars, whose house, he claimed, lay somewhere else.³² One is left to wonder how the remains

²⁸ *ARDA* 1949, 7, 11; *ARDA* 1950, 6; *ARDA* 1951, 6, 11. Discoveries continued in the following years, as the demolition of the prison buildings progressed; see *ARDA* 1953, 10.

²⁹ Petrides (1965: 19, 22-3), who notes that a marble capital similar to that found in the castle and a column were found at the harbour opposite; Procopiou (1997a: 293, note 38); Procopiou (2006b: 185-6).

³⁰ Procopiou (1997a: 289); Violaris (2011).

³¹ Petrides (1965: 22-23). Procopiou (1997a: 293, note 38; 2006b: 185).

³² Megaw (1977: 198-9). Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that this scholar apparently confided in others about his belief that the castle in question had grown

of a large semicircular apse spanning almost the entire internal breadth of the castle and lying just below the plinths of the thirteenth-century shafts factor into the story (fig. 6). This apse, discovered in 1977 and still undated, is usually assumed to postdate the Early Christian edifice – but could it be associated with a putative Middle Byzantine phase?³³ Until further archaeological work at the castle and its yard is undertaken and published, these questions should remain open.

Intensive restoration, consolidation and rearrangement work in the castle during the 1940s and early 1950s led to further intriguing discoveries. Even though Camille Enlart, the scholar who put Gothic and Renaissance Cyprus in the international limelight, had suspected that the eastern portion of the building could have developed from the fabric of a chapel, Megaw was evidently the first to realise that the present castle had grown within the disembowelled carcass of a thirteenth-century church. However, his relevant published comments were frustratingly laconic, unsupported by specific evidence and, as a result, did not leave much of a mark in subsequent scholarship.³⁴ The true nature of the castle's origins was not rediscovered until the 1990s, when Christian Corvisier and Nicholas Faucherre undertook a painstaking analysis of its masonry. Their study, published in 2000, constitutes the most authoritative account of the architectural development of the standing remains. It employs the methodology of the *archéologie du bâti* in order to tease out a relative chronology, although, as the authors readily admit, the latter will have to be correlated with the evidence drawn from the written record to furnish firmer dates.³⁵

According to the findings of Corvisier and Faucherre, what succeeded the ill-defined pre-Lusignan structures was a single-nave rib-vaulted church (figs. 7-8). The exterior wall, with its substantial thickness (*ca.* 2m), obviated the need for buttressing between the three squarish bays of the nave and concealed the internally five-sided plan of the apse, at the east end, behind a flat surface. A staircase turret attached to the southwest

out of a Templar church. See, for instance, Luttrell (1972: 169). Vaivre (2006b: 53-4) also claimed that Megaw believed the site to be that of the Templar or Hospitaller establishment, and again gives no reference for this other than the author's discussions with the former Antiquities Director in 1999. See also Boase (1977: 181).

³³ *ARDA* 1977, 14; *ARDA* 1980, 15. These reports take for granted the existence of a fortification on this site throughout our period, and hence refer to these remains as the foundations of an elliptical earlier tower.

³⁴ Enlart (1899: II, 678-9, 682; 1987: 490, 493); Megaw (1977: 199).

³⁵ Corvisier and Faucherre (2000). Summary in Corvisier (2006b).

angle of the nave must have originally served the terrace above the vaults. Access to the interior was accomplished through a door on the west front and, probably, at least one lateral doorway on the north wall of the second nave bay (counting from the west).³⁶ A moulded string-course bisected the interior surfaces longitudinally at the height of the crown of the western doorway, while responds inserted at the interstices between bays carried the transverse arches and ribs of the vaults. Each nave bay was pierced with a single, narrow lancet window on both its northern and southern sides. The form of the window(s) on the west front and their arrangement in the apse have been obscured by later accretions. The lower parts of the apse, on the other hand, free of obstructions, preserve two deep, barrel-vaulted aumbreys on either side of the axial bay, which is furnished with a plain credence. Traces of two colonette bases aligned north-south opposite the apse's axial bay may represent vestiges of the church's high altar.

The overall format of this ecclesiastical edifice, with its simple, single-nave plan, flat exterior walls unarticulated by buttresses and its apse inscribed within a flat eastern termination, recalls twelfth-century precedents in the Crusader mainland: the church of St Mary (now St Mark) in Jerusalem, the Orthodox church of St Porphyrius in Gaza, the parish church at Dabburiya, the chapel of the Saviour at Quoubba, the Cistercian abbey church of Belmont (with a flat east end externally) and the castle chapels at Crac des Chevaliers and Margat (also with a flat east end) (figs. 9-10). Single-nave plans had been extremely popular in Christian Syria and Palestine in the twelfth century, and carried on being reproduced in new churches into the thirteenth, most notably at the tower chapel of the Sea Castle, Sidon or the far more 'Gothic' town church at ^cAtlit (fig. 11).³⁷ Another link to building traditions in Latin Syria is provided by the treatment of the church's external veneer of ashlar masonry, wherever this is visible through the later reinforcements. Individual stones are marginally drafted, a unique occurrence in a Latin ecclesiastical building anywhere on the island and an interesting parallel to the employment of this technique for entire exteriors on the mainland by the thirteenth century

³⁶ Petrides (1965: 22-3) notes the discovery of a door and steps (?) next to a tomb at the western end of the southern chamber of the cellars, namely at the eastern part of the second nave bay of the church. If this is meant to refer to a doorway in the south wall (it is nowhere specified), then northern and southern doors would not have been set opposite each other across the same bay.

³⁷ Enlart (1925-1928: I, 40, II, 50-5, 113, 205, 325-6); Pringle (1993-2009: I, 75-80, 192-4, 216-19, II, 323-8, III, 322-6; 2004: 29-30, 32-3, 38); Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 364-5, 370-1); Corvisier (2006b: 399); Olympios (2010: I, 113-16).

(fig. 12).³⁸ Marginal drafting of the stonework is only securely attested on the island in one other structure datable to the Lusignan period, i.e., the castle of Saranda Kolones at Kato Paphos, its construction dated by the excavators to *ca.* 1200 and its collapse by earthquake to 1222 (fig. 13). Saranda Kolones has been considered the Lusignan response to a possible naval threat from Byzantium, which dissipated after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Its design has been paralleled to Crusader concentric fortifications on the mainland, particularly Hospitaller Belvoir in Galilee, and consequently must have been conceived by a master mason trained in the Crusader States and executed, at least in part, by masons from the same region.³⁹

The chapel at Limassol Castle is the earliest surviving example of a building type that became *de rigueur* for Latin churches and chapels on the island by the early fourteenth century.⁴⁰ Despite its nods to Syro-Palestinian Romanesque tradition, however, the individual elements of the edifice's design are characteristic of early-thirteenth-century Cypriot Gothic. The clerestory windows, their lancet openings once framed by slender *en délit* colonettes carrying elaborately moulded arches, resemble those in the lateral chapels and sacristy flanking the chevet of Nicosia Cathedral (*ca.* 1209-*ca.* 1228) and those in the west front, clerestory and chevet of the church at the abbey of Episcopia/Bellapais (*ca.* 1210s-1230s) (figs. 14-15). Furthermore, the detailing of the four-sided plinths, spurred Attic bases, crocket capitals of the colonettes and the roll-and-hollow section of the framing arches, as well as the general proportions, are virtually identical to those of their Bellapais counterparts (figs. 16-19). The evidence of the plinths in the cellars indicates that the wall responds also conformed to the precepts established at the two aforementioned *chantiers*: single shafts for the turning bays of the apse, a combination of a single thick axial shaft applied on a dosseret and thinner shafts lodged in the angles between dosseret and wall for the straight bays (figs. 20-1). The arrangement of the plinths shows that the bases (and presumably the capital abaci) of these lateral shafts, destined to carry the vaults' diagonal ribs, were positioned at a 45° angle to the wall, as at the eastern parts of St Sophia and the eastern responds of the crossing at Bellapais (fig. 22). The profile of the base in the staircase turret (at ground level) and the form of the vault ribs and transverse arches points in the same direction (figs. 23-4).

³⁸ Ellenblum (1992: 171); Boas (1999: 219-20; 2010: 40).

³⁹ Megaw (1994); Rosser (1987; 2007; 2010).

⁴⁰ Olympios (2009c: 110-11).

All these comparisons with local Gothic work of the first quarter of the thirteenth century would ultimately suggest a double pedigree for the Limassol Chapel: while, in its main lines, it remained true to Levantine Romanesque traditions, in its details it betrays knowledge of the latest developments in high-profile Gothic in the capital and the kingdom's foremost royal monastery. In essence, this is a Crusader Romanesque chapel updated for the thirteenth century by means of smart state-of-the-art ornament, in a way that had practically no bearing on the design's structural or spatial sophistication (witness how, despite the use of rib vaults, the walls remain thick and the windows small). The indebtedness of the design exclusively to Levantine and Cypriot prototypes, without quantifiable input from the French models that informed both Nicosia Cathedral and Bellapais Abbey church, suggests Limassol as a derivative and purely local product. Consequently, it can be dated slightly later than Bellapais, probably in the 1220s or 1230s, and ascribed to the Levantine/French architectural *mélange* disseminated from Nicosia to the rest of the kingdom in these very years.⁴¹

If the Limassol Chapel was erected in the first third of the thirteenth century, for whom would it have been erected? Corvisier and Faucherre (and, before them, eventually Megaw) had suggested that the building may have belonged to the Knights Templar.⁴² This hypothesis was based on a passage in the sixteenth-century chronicle of Florio Bustron, according to which the Templars had possessed a strong castle in Limassol, which became public (that is, royal) property after the order's dissolution and which had been later dismantled by the Venetians at great cost.⁴³ There is no doubt that this last comment refers to the present castle, in a section of Bustron's work devoted to some of the island's fortifications still extant in his day. This statement is not as innocent as it may initially seem, though, for several reasons.

For one, nowhere else are the knights attributed a 'castle' in Limassol – the relevant source material refers only to a 'house', 'palace' or

⁴¹ Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 364-5, 370-1); Corvisier (2006b: 399); Olympios (2010: I, 115-16). For the principal analyses of the architecture of the Nicosia Cathedral chevet and the Bellapais Abbey church, see Enlart (1899: I, 90-101, 209-21; 1987: 90-8, 130, 179-87), Plagnieux and Soulard (2006: 130-45, 193-202), and Olympios (2010: I, 67-95, 100-13).

⁴² Petrides (1965: 22-3); Luttrell (1972: 169); Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 370-1); Corvisier (2006b: 399).

⁴³ Bustron, 24.

‘monastery’ there.⁴⁴ It is not unlikely that the order would have had some kind of *donjon* or fortified tower on their monastery’s grounds, as was certainly the case with the Hospitallers, whose tower was requisitioned by Emperor Frederick II in 1228 for his quarters and for the incarceration of the sons of the lord of Beirut.⁴⁵ The information culled from the written record does not preclude the survival of early-thirteenth-century buildings at the Limassol Temple down to the end of the century. Although the narrative sources present a spiteful Hugh III (*reg.* 1267-1284) demolishing the order’s houses on the island in 1279, the king’s representative at the papal curia claimed that, unlike the castles held by the knights, their houses were spared.⁴⁶ Furthermore, almost all of the property of the Templars had passed to the Hospitallers in 1313, not to the crown; in 1319, the ‘former Limassol house of the Knights Templar’ had been in the Hospital’s hands.⁴⁷ If Anthony Luttrell is correct in his supposition that, eventually, the Knights of St John would have lost both the Templars’ and their own establishment in Limassol to the king, who would not tolerate the orders’ occupying fortified places in his kingdom, then Bustron’s claim may not be unfounded.⁴⁸ Perhaps, as Luttrell suggests, Bustron would have been aware of a vague Templar origin for the Limassol Castle, even though he evidently erred about its having been a *castello*.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, it could also be argued that the Templar connection might have been pure mythopoeia – the military orders had left their mark on the memory of the town, and already in the 1480s Felix Fabri asserted that the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights had constructed Limassol’s defences, including the castle itself, as well as Latin churches and convents (including the cathedral) after fleeing Saladin’s conquest of Jerusalem.⁵⁰ It is now impossible to evaluate how widespread such beliefs would have been in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, when Bustron was writing, but their possible influence should be taken into

⁴⁴ See references in Luttrell (1972: 169) and Burgtorf (2008: 133-6) as well as the documents cited in the notes to this paragraph.

⁴⁵ Philip of Novara, *Guerra*, 96, 236; ‘Amadi’, 130; Bustron, 69.

⁴⁶ The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca*, 150; ‘Amadi’, 214; Bustron, 116; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 108-9; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, 456-7; Edbury (1994: 193); Claverie (2005b: I, 91-2, III, 188-9), who takes the pope’s decision to condemn Hugh’s actions against the knights as proof against the king’s side of the story.

⁴⁷ *Documents chypriotes*, 111-13, 115-17; Luttrell (1972: 169-71); Edbury (1994: 191).

⁴⁸ Luttrell (2011: lxxi).

⁴⁹ Luttrell (1972: 169).

⁵⁰ *Excerpta Cypria*, 45-6.

account.⁵¹ Furthermore, we know that the Limassol Temple was occupying former Venetian property by the early 1240s (when our Gothic chapel would have been complete), which apparently did not contain any churches, Venetian or otherwise, and the buildings of which (seemingly still extant in the century's second quarter) were the work of the erstwhile Venetian proprietors.⁵² This evidence does not tally well either with Bustron's allegation or the hypotheses of modern scholars about a Templar provenance for the chapel within Limassol Castle. The Hospital, the tower of which is known to have lain close to the sea and the harbour, could even be a better candidate for the position of the present castle/chapel, even though the approximate location of the Templars' headquarters remains obscure.⁵³ There was no shortage of fortified sites at Limassol in the thirteenth century (besides the Hospital's and, perhaps, the Temple's towers, that of the Genoese – also near the port – has already been mentioned), but the present castle need not have been established on any one of them. After all, it was a church that was transmogrified into the fort, not any sort of military installation.

Unfortunately, the architecture of the church itself does not provide any obvious clues as to the identity of its patron(s), and besides, research has shown that the churches of the military orders in the Latin East lack representational attributes (for example, the round naves so characteristic of Templar and Hospitalier ecclesiastical architecture in Europe) and hence cannot be distinguished from parish churches or those of other institutions.⁵⁴ For the reasons outlined above, it would be prudent not to take Bustron's statement at face value. In other words, the chronicler's story cannot be conclusively proven or disproven at the moment and more concrete evidence needs to be procured for the purposes of a final attribution of the church to the Templars, or anybody else.

In their study, Corvisier and Faucherre trace the church's gradual transformation into Limassol Castle (fig. 7). They show that the

⁵¹ For Bustron as a writer and his work, see Grivaud (2009b: 257-69).

⁵² Marsilio Zorzi, 184.23-4 and Papadopoulou (1983: 309, §4): 'Item habitatio tota Templariorum Nimis civitatis fuit Leonardi Fuscarini et Marci Lazari et Angeli, qui omnia fieri fecerunt'.

⁵³ Some houses formerly belonging to Marcus Lazarus and situated 'iusta mare in oriente', Marsilio Zorzi, 187.1-2 and Papadopoulou (1983: 311, §34), had been in Templar hands by the 1240s, and of course Marcus owned part of the site where the Temple lay. However, this does not necessarily imply that the two tracts of land previously in Marcus' hands were contiguous and that, therefore, the knights' house was located close to the shore.

⁵⁴ Pringle (2004: 38-9).

westernmost bay of the nave was first segregated from the rest of the building by means of a transverse wall, and a series of *archères* (arrow-slits) furnished with *coussièges* for the archers was punched through the upper part of the bay's north, south and west walls. Access to these *archères* was via the southwest angle staircase (modified for the purpose) and a wooden floor, which would have been inserted at about mid-height, just below the sill of the *archères*. Thus, this space assumed a fortified character and was termed a *réduit* (keep, fortified site) by the authors. At a later stage, it acquired a Gothic veneer through the reconstruction of its vaulting system, which entailed the execution of four rib vaults carried on voluminous responds lodged in the angles and the middle of the space's four walls, as well as on a central pier. The wooden floor dividing the room into two stories was reinstated, to give access to the *archères* of the previous phase, or at least to those which had not been blocked and decommissioned when the wall responds were added. At about the same time, the rest of the church, perhaps in ruins or getting there, was also modified by the construction of the cellars at the lower level, their roof reaching at about the height of the wooden floor in the western bay. These were longitudinal intercommunicating barrel-vaulted storage spaces, accessible via the church's south doorway, as was the *réduit* of the western bay. The parts above the roof of these cellars, where the clerestory of the thirteenth-century church was probably still intact, were thought by these scholars to have remained open to the elements after the collapse of the vaults and until the final large-scale alteration to the building. The latter phase, dated by Corvisier and Faucherre to the end of the sixteenth century, namely to the Ottoman period, comprised the construction of the two stories of prison cells above the cellars and on either side of a narrow open courtyard; the removal of the central pier in the western bay, the reconstruction of its vault and the creation of an upper story carried on a reinforced eastern wall; the addition of a pendant to this 'tower' at the eastern end of the edifice; and the enveloping of the entire chapel by a 3m thick exterior skin without apertures (except for an access to the exterior at the southwest angle). This latter modification hid completely any remnants of the chapel's walls and clerestory, doing for the exterior what the construction of cells had done for the interior. It is thus that the castle acquired more or less its present form, even though relatively minor alterations continued to be effected until the twentieth century.⁵⁵ The

⁵⁵ For all this, see Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: esp. the chronology at 363-70) and Corvisier (2006b: 397-9). Note that the two narrow lancet windows on the western wall lighting the interior of the *réduit* were opened under Curator of Ancient Monuments George Jeffery in 1913, according to Pilides (2009: I, 150, II,

castellologists' analysis deserves major credit for tackling head-on the monument's dauntingly multi-layered fabric and for making sense of its main lines. Nevertheless, the dates they proposed for the various stages in the castle's history were merely indicative and provisional, as they would have to be checked against the testimony of the written sources. In the following paragraphs, the available documentary evidence for the castle will be reviewed and an attempt will be made to match the information drawn thence with the architectural evidence of the fabric, culled from Corvisier's, Faucherre's, and this author's observations.

Tassos Papacostas has convincingly argued against the existence of any fortifications worth the name in Limassol before Richard I's conquest.⁵⁶ The latter represented no watershed, and the town seems to have remained largely unprotected against attack from both land and sea, save for the various towers already referred to. The castle often thought to have existed in the early thirteenth century is no more than a phantom ripe to be exorcised. It was born of Enlart's misreading of the passage in Philip of Novara's and Bustron's work referring to the Hospitaller tower which was occupied by Frederick II in 1228, and thereafter endlessly repeated in the literature.⁵⁷ In fact, there exists no unequivocal reference to a royal castle in the town before the fifteenth century. In 1373, the Genoese mounted an assault on Limassol, which was lightly guarded, and burned down many houses, but there is no mention of the castle in any of the accounts of the incident.⁵⁸ And whereas the fort is almost always

453). The masonry of their embrasures and arches does not course with that of the surrounding wall, in contrast to the 'window'/exterior access in the southwest angle after which they are modelled.

⁵⁶ See Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume. Lusignan mentions a castle in Limassol, allegedly erected by Guy of Lusignan (*reg.* 1192-1194), for which his is the only (very late) testimony; given that the friar also ascribes to Guy the town's rebuilding and its churches and other edifices, he is probably projecting later developments onto this early period; see Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 8v and *Description*, fol. 123r. At any rate, since in the early 1210s the town was described as 'weakly fortified', *Excerpta Cypria*, 14, this 'castle', if it ever existed, cannot have been substantial. See also Perbellini (1985: 206), Molin (2001: 96, 101, 106), and Boas (2006: 42), who remains non-committal between the theory about Guy having built the castle and Bustron's claim regarding Limassol Castle having had a Templar past.

⁵⁷ Enlart (1899: II, 673; 1987: 488). The sources that this author interpreted to refer to a castle at Limassol in the thirteenth century can be found in note 46 above. For the 'afterlife' of Enlart's ghost castle, browse the literature in note 26.

⁵⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §377 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 276; 'Amadi', 444; Bustron, 300-1.

described, or at least mentioned, by pilgrims as one of the town's major landmarks from the fifteenth century onwards, in 1395/6 the lord of Anglure did not yet acknowledge its existence.⁵⁹ The earliest known reference to the castle concerns the failed Genoese siege of 1408, when the castle could not withstand the force of the offensive due to its having been unprepared for battle.⁶⁰ It could thus be argued that the castle was built (or begun) in the years on either side of 1400. The fifteenth-century chronicler Leontios Makhairas gives King Janus (*reg.* 1398-1432) as patron of the work, whose reign's date range would tally very well with the argument proffered above.⁶¹

The accounts of the Mamluk raids on Limassol in the 1420s are a goldmine of information regarding the building. In the course of the first expedition (1424), the raiders defeated the royal troops they came up against in Limassol and availed themselves of the bountiful plunder to be found in the part of the town where they had free reign. Although they considered storming the castle, in the end they decided against it, for they were not prepared for a long siege. Capturing the fort was one of the objectives of the second expedition (1425) and, as both Cypriot and Muslim sources note, it was expedited by the building's incomplete state. The Mamluk troops entered the castle through a window blocked in a makeshift manner, with stone and mud, and brought to their attention by Saracen slaves working there. Despite the valiant defense put up by the garrison, the castle fell. It was subsequently set alight and its upper part destroyed, but the Egyptians withdrew from Cyprus soon thereafter. Almost a year later (1426), Sultan Barsbay's forces resolved to attack Limassol again, but were surprised to find the castle fully repaired, fortified and furnished with a new deep moat. They nevertheless did not balk: they scaled the rampart, slew the few soldiers of the garrison, who had been boiling tar to foil attempts at escalade, and occupied the tower. The Mamluks then had their way with the castle and the town for six days,

⁵⁹ *Excerpta Cypria*, 28.

⁶⁰ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §635 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 426; 'Amadi', 498; Bustron, 355.

⁶¹ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §672 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 444. The Italian translation of Makhairas' chronicle gives James I (*reg.* 1382-1398), Janus' father, as the patron; see 'Strambali', 277; perhaps this is a slip on the part of the sixteenth-century translator. For the so-called 'Chronicle of Diomedes Strambal(d)i' and its relationship to its Greek prototype, see Nicolaou-Konnari (2002) and Grivaud (2009b: 250-2).

looting and laying waste.⁶² The fort, if seriously affected, must have been repaired within the following decade, and in 1435 Counts Albrecht and Johannes von Brandenburg and their retinue were cordially received there in the name of the king.⁶³

In the early 1450s, the Genoese launched a military campaign against the Cypriot king for not paying his outstanding debts, capturing Limassol Castle, which had been very poorly garrisoned. The Genoese occupied the site between 1452 and after 1460/1, and the organisation of the new garrison was left to the Genoese authorities of Famagusta, who drew up a set of statutes for the purpose in 1455. The retention of control of Limassol Castle was considered a powerful bargaining chip in the relations between Genoa and the Lusignans, and thus the Genoese spared no expense in manning, provisioning and maintaining the place. Strict measures were taken to ensure that the garrison and its captain would be almost constantly quartered in the castle, as their comings and goings were scrupulously monitored and regulated.⁶⁴ Of course, such fastidiousness about vigilance in enemy territory would have gone to waste had the fabric of the castle not been properly kept up. In 1459, we learn that Paolo Grimaldi, member of the *Officium Monete*, had been designated in charge of the repairs to Limassol Castle.⁶⁵ The nature of these repairs is unknown; whether they were actually carried out or not is also unclear, given that in 1464 Famagusta was reintegrated into the Lusignan kingdom and therefore the Genoese occupation of the castle at Limassol should have ended then, if not before.

⁶² For the Mamluk attacks on the castle, see Makhairas, *Chronicle*, I, §§652, 657, 672 and *Diplomatic Edition*, 432-3, 434-5, 444-5; Enguerrand de Monstrelet, IV, 180, 260; 'Amadi', 499-502, 504; Bustron, 356-8, 361-2; Ziada (1933: 93-4, 97, 101); Irwin (1995: 167, 170, 172); *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 85, 96-7, 103, 108, 121-2, 128-9; Grivaud (2001: 325-6) with further bibliography. See also Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

⁶³ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 55.

⁶⁴ For all this, consult Otten-Froux (2001) and Balard (2007b: 63-4, 77); see also Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter. Other roles may have been envisioned for Genoese Limassol too. In 1455 the community of Genoese merchants resident in Rhodes expressed their approval of the occupation of Limassol and asserted that 'many good things could come out of it in the future' ('Quin ex eo in future multa bona oriri possent'); for this document, see Jona (1935: 114).

⁶⁵ *Sindicamentum*, 216, note 12. See also the references to the castle in *ibid.*, 214, note 4, 216, note 15, 254-7.

During the 1470s and 1480s Limassol Castle was still described as strong (if a little battered), its garrison headed by a Venetian in 1486.⁶⁶ Despite its sturdy appearance, it did not escape collapse on the occasion of the devastating earthquake of 1491, which levelled to the ground large swathes of residential and ecclesiastical buildings in the Cypriot towns and the countryside. A document drawn from the Archivio di Stato of Milan and compiled immediately after the quake reveals that the ‘tower and fortress of Limassol Castle’ (‘lo toriono et forteza de Limisso castello’) on the harbour, along with all the houses and churches, were in ruins.⁶⁷ This is confirmed by the travellers who found themselves on the island in the aftermath of the tremor, and who remarked on the thoroughness of the destruction. Among the most informative, Dietrich von Schachten saw the castle later in 1491, observing that part of it had fallen down on account of the earthquake; in 1493 Reinhard von Bemmberg divulged similar information. In 1494 Pietro Casola was impressed by the robustness of the castle’s ruins, which were guarded by a soldier, and expressed surprise at there having been no attempt to repair them. A year later, Count Palatine Alexander von Zweibrücken was gazing at a town wholly razed by the fatal earthquake.⁶⁸ In a letter dated September 1500, the *capitano* of Famagusta, Troylo Malipiero, mused that the ‘tower of Limassol’ (‘la torre di Limissò’) and the one at Paphos were useless as fortresses, but they were both kept to survey the portuary areas.⁶⁹ Over the next thirty-odd years, the castle remained in this state of limbo, not entirely functional yet not totally derelict, and was still manned by a garrison. In 1531, Nicolas Loupvent witnessed reconstruction work under way, but after 1538/9, when Turkish marauders assailed and captured the castle (allegedly ‘garrisoned’ at the time solely by the castellan, his wife and their daughters), the Venetian government decided to dismantle it, in order to avoid its future occupation by enemy troops. According to Bustron, decommissioning the castle was a very expensive exercise, when with few additional funds they could have rendered the site impregnable.⁷⁰ The future doge Leonardo Donà, who visited Cyprus at a young age in 1556-1557, testified to the building’s dismantling, all the while noting the site’s

⁶⁶ *Excerpta Cypria*, 45-6; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 90, 98; Konrad Grünemberg’s *Pilgerreise*, 356-7.

⁶⁷ Stavrides (1998: 126, 133-5).

⁶⁸ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 133, 136, 140, 147, 157; Anonymous, *Die Reise*, 172.

⁶⁹ Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents I*, 59 and note 31.

⁷⁰ *Excerpta Cypria*, 56, 66; *Dom Loupvent*, 89; Bustron, 24; Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 8v and *Description*, fol. 20v.

lesser importance for defense purposes.⁷¹ Henceforth, the castle was consistently qualified as ruined. In 1561, Jacob Wormbser related that the ‘beautiful masonry’ of the old royal castle was being carted away by the townspeople to serve as building material.⁷² Its condition probably deteriorated up until the 1590s, when a janissary garrison was installed together with cannons for defending the coastline against pirates.⁷³

The above *excursus*, documenting the rise and fall of Limassol Castle in the late Lusignan and Venetian periods, highlights three principal instances of repair/reconstruction campaigns in the building’s life, following its creation under King Janus in *ca.* 1400. The first instance (1425/6) followed the ravaging and burning of the upper part of the castle by the Mamluks and entailed improvements, such as the addition (or reconfiguration) of the moat. The second instance must have followed Mamluk depredations in 1426. The repairs alluded to at the time of the Genoese interlude (in the 1450s), although difficult to assess at present, remain a possibility. These three instances were then followed by the dramatic overhaul usually dated to the early Ottoman period, necessitated by the ruination of 1491 and the dismantling of the late 1530s. In almost every case, one is not told explicitly which parts of the structure had been demolished or which had collapsed, and likewise what the repairs entailed can only be a matter of speculation. Given the complexity of what is thought to be the medieval interventions, the as yet almost entirely undocumented Ottoman history of the site and the radical (and often not too methodically recorded or published) transformations and masonry reconditionings of the twentieth century, disentangling all but the major phases of work could become something of a trainspotter’s holy grail.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Donà, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, *Fondo Donà dalle Rose*, no. 45, fol. 149r. I owe this reference to Tassos Papacostas.

⁷² Feyerabend, fol. 217v: ‘Nachgehends in ein alt Burgstall, von schönen steinen gemacht, aber man lefts gar abgehen, denn wenn ein Bürger ein Marck bauen wil, so nemmen sie Stein darvon, ist solches Schloss vor Jaren ein königlich Haus gewesen, Unnd wie der alte König auß Cypern gestorten ist, haben die Venediger die Königin mit Practicken an diesem ort hinweg gen Venedig geführt, und das Königreich Cypern also eyngenommen’. See also *Excerpta Cypria*, 68, 79.

⁷³ *Excerpta Cypria*, 174, 189. For the castle of Limassol under the Ottomans, see indicatively *Spanish Documents*, 90 (detailed report of Turkish military forces on the island, 1613); Hill (1940-1952: IV, 110-11) (the 1808 siege of the castle, which had been made into the lair of a corrupt Turkish officer leading pillaging raids into the surrounding countryside).

⁷⁴ Recorded repairs to the masonry since 1949: *ARDA 1949*, 11 (entrance section and two stories of cells on the interior, rebuilding of western wall of lower storey of cells and lower part of southwest newel staircase); *ARDA 1951*, 11 (masonry

With these caveats in mind, it is time to revisit the fabric of the edifice and attempt to tease out a working chronology.

One of the most striking features of the interior masonry of the castle is the unmistakable effect of fire action, especially on the lower storey of cells (fig. 25). Extensive spalling, flaking and stone discolouration may be observed on almost all the walls and vaults of the cells at this level, and they are particularly visible on the disfigured, warped masonry of the doorways of all the cells (figs. 26-7).⁷⁵ In some doorways, such signs are not immediately discernible until one looks at the lower masonry courses; in their upper parts, the crispness of the carving, the colour of the stone and the omission of the chamfer on the outer edge, the presence of which is typical of all the (still legible) fire-damaged doorways, betray the work of later restorers (figs. 28-9). Identical marks are to be observed in other areas of the castle, such as the vestibule between the cells and the *réduit* on the same level (fig. 30). On the upper storey of cells, fire-action effects are visible only in the two easternmost couple of cells (figs. 31-3). Besides fire damage, the easternmost couple of cells shares a particular design for the doorways, comprised of chamfered jambs crowned by simple round arches. The doorways of the cells further west (which are devoid of traces of fire action) all display unchamfered jambs crowned by lowered arches (*arcs en anse de panier*) (fig. 34). Again, the two types are not strictly separated, as parts of chamfered jambs have been incorporated in doorways of the second type (with unchamfered jambs and lowered arches) at both ends of the hall (second cell from the east on the north side

and vaulting of the *réduit*); *ARDA 1953*, 10 (exterior angles); *ARDA 1976*, 15 (south wall 'extensively repaired', *réduit* paved and interior masonry grouted and pointed); *ARDA 1978*, 14 (further repairs to the south wall and the roof); *ARDA 1980*, 15 (repairs to the south wall completed); *ARDA 1981*, 15 (repair of cellars and the staircase leading down to them); *ARDA 1982*, 17 (repairs to the basement and staircases leading down to it, part of the walls grouted and pointed); *ARDA 1984*, 18 (minor repairs in the *réduit*); *ARDA 1985*, 19 (repairs to the roof of upper cell level, staircase leading from the entrance area down to the *réduit* floor); *ARDA 1986*, 20 (minor repairs and new staircase for the upper floor constructed); *ARDA 1987*, 21 (cellars repaved, repairs to the two 'towers' or vaulted chambers on the castle's roof begun); *ARDA 1988*, 22 (repairs to chambers on the roof completed, roof of the custodian's office repaired); *ARDA 1992*, 24 (repairs to the masonry); *ARDA 1996*, 22 (eroded stones replaced, roof-gutters restored); *ARDA 1999*, 27 (masonry was restored). The castle's external masonry is currently being restored once again (2012).

⁷⁵ For the effects of fire damage on historic masonry, see Chakrabarti *et al.* (1996), Hajpál (2002; 2006), and Dionísio (2007).

– cell in southwest angle) (fig. 35). Clearly, once again, the second type must belong to a rebuilding/restoration campaign.

The distribution of the effects of thermal decay on the building's stonework indicates that it had been consumed by a sizable conflagration and subsequently restored. In the easternmost cell of the upper storey on the south side, the earlier fire-affected masonry of the right-hand wall was later sheathed in a new ashlar epidermis, now partly removed to expose the 'raw scar tissue' underneath (fig. 36). It is, therefore, clear that the structure of the cells is not all of one date, and comprises at least two clearly distinct phases. It may even be that the two stories of cells were not built together, as the detailing on the early doorways on the two stories differs (lower storey: chamfered jambs are crowned by an unchamfered pointed arch; upper storey: chamfered jambs are crowned by an unchamfered round arch) (figs. 37-8). Since the decorative details of the doorways affected by the fire all bear traits that could be considered 'medieval' (angle chamfer), and since the only known fire to have affected the castle and especially its upper part is that caused by the Mamluk assault of 1425, perhaps this year could be considered a *terminus ante quem* for the decayed stonework.⁷⁶ But could we talk of two pre-1425 phases for the cells, one hot on the heels of the other? Is it possible that the fire damage could have been caused by an unrecorded later conflagration, perhaps brought about by a severe earthquake such as that of 1491? If either hypothesis is true, then the cells would not have been an Ottoman addition to the castle, as Corvisier and Faucherre contended. After all, the castle was used in 1486 for the incarceration of two of Konrad Grünemberg's fellow travellers – although whether these were detained in the cells or in some other part of the fort is anyone's guess. In my view, 1425 as the *terminus a quo* for the great fire which consumed the stonework is much the likelier hypothesis, making the construction of the cells and, by extension, that of the cellars, contemporary with the conversion of the thirteenth-century church into a fortified site.⁷⁷

Another problematic aspect of the cell range is the division into stories and the means by which these stories were covered. Following Enlart's description of the castle's interior at the time of his visit in the mid-1890s,

⁷⁶ Note also that the doorway type of the first storey of cells recalls some of the doorways at the keep and outbuildings of Hospitaller Kolossi, for which see below. The round-headed doorways of the second storey are similar to the ones through which the three barrel-vaulted spaces of the cellars communicate with each other.

⁷⁷ Leonardo Donà's description of the castle from the 1550s refers to the existence there of 'cavern-like' chambers dedicated to various uses: Donà, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, Fondo Donà dalle Rose, no. 45, fol. 149r.

Corvisier and Faucherre suggested that the two rows of cells along the northern and southern walls looked across each other towards an open-air internal courtyard. Circulation in front of the upper level of cells was achieved through narrow timber galleries, also mentioned by Enlart.⁷⁸ They were certainly correct in deducing the absence of intermediate floor between the two levels of cells at the end of the nineteenth century, as the 1950 report enumerating the steps taken to convert the penitentiary into a museum clearly states that ‘the unsightly wooden galleries were removed and two main exhibition rooms were provided by restoring the floor between the two stories of cells’.⁷⁹ What is interesting to note is that this last account speaks of a *restoration* of the floor between stories, implying that traces of an earlier floor had been discovered or were still visible at the time. The masonry of the upper part of the walls of the corridor between the rows of cells of the lower storey is now difficult to read (especially owing to relatively recent interventions, such as the enlargement of the cells’ ventilation apertures in the 1920s) and the new flat ceiling may have obscured pertinent evidence.⁸⁰ In any case, it would not be unreasonable to reconstruct an original disposition with a wooden floor between the two stories. However, the upper floor of the cells was probably vaulted originally at about the height of the present terrace. The remnants of a longitudinal pointed barrel vault are still to be seen at the east end of the corridor, directly above the supporting arch inserted to carry the western wall of the roof chambers above (fig. 39). Once again, precise dates for this vaulting scheme are not forthcoming, and given the textual evidence for the fort’s collapse and demolition, it could certainly be argued that this incarnation of the building’s vaulting might date from as late as the Ottoman period. On the other hand, considering the wide use of longitudinal barrel vaulting in parts of the edifice that have long been considered medieval (like the cellars), an original barrel-vaulted scheme would not seem out of place in this context. Furthermore, the door opening into the eastern roof chambers at the level of the terrace (and which, incidentally, is characterised by unchamfered jambs crowned by a lowered arch, like those in most of the upper level cells) was undoubtedly meant to be accessed from the terrace, over the vaulting of the upper cell level (fig. 40). The present makeshift arrangement, with the door overhanging the void just above the aforementioned vestiges of the longitudinal barrel vault

⁷⁸ Enlart (1899: II, 682; 1987: 493); Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 352, 367-8); Corvisier (2006b: 399).

⁷⁹ *ARDA* 1949, 7.

⁸⁰ For the enlargement of the ventilation openings above the doors of the cells see CSA, SA 1/1096/24, 4 (4 January 1926), 13-14 (26 January 1926).

and the corbelled-out balcony leading to it from the terrace cannot be original. If the eastern roof chamber is of Ottoman date, as seems the case and as argued by Corvisier and Faucherre, it would mean that there was no 'open-air courtyard' at the time, nor was one being planned. The current arrangement, with the light, 'garden shed' construction raised above the remains of the barrel vault, postdated the latter's collapse or removal.

The *réduit* at the western end of the structure is the part more intensively studied by modern researchers, possibly due to its more self-contained nature and its more pronounced 'Gothic' elements (fig. 41). As already discussed, Corvisier and Faucherre identified three distinct phases in the life of this part of the monument: first, the western bay of the church was walled off, divided into two stories by a wooden floor and furnished with *archères* on the upper level; later on rib-vaulting was introduced, springing from new wall responds (which ended up blocking some of the *archères*) and a central pier, while the storey division was retained; in a third phase, the central pier was removed and the vaults modified to conform to this new reality. Of these three stages, the one most likely to offer some useful clues as to the chronology of the building would be the 'Gothicisation' operation, that is, the middle stage.

Scholars have compared the form of the responds, with their plain, undecorated capital bells, to those in Famagusta Cathedral, as well as the ones on the ground storey of the north wing of the citadel in the same town, both datable to the early part of the fourteenth century (figs. 42-3).⁸¹ These comparisons are surely valid and they could be extended in an attempt to narrow down the date. Embedded angle-shafts, like those in the corners of the Limassol responds, were much commoner on the exterior of churches since the 1320s, when they first appeared in the porch of Nicosia Cathedral. No absolute *terminus ante quem* exists for exterior angle-shafts, which continued in use down to the Venetian period (Sts Peter and Paul and St George of the Greeks in Famagusta; Renaissance façade at the convent of the Augustinian Hermits/Omerye Mosque, north front of the Greek cathedral of the Hodegetria/*Bedestan*, Stavros tou Missericou/Araplar Mosque, and Büyük Hamam in Nicosia; Latin chapel in the church at Ayia Napa, to name but a few examples). Conversely, the thin shafts embedded in the angles of the Limassol responds recall the much slenderer ones employed to carry the arch of the piscina in St George of the Latins in Famagusta (first quarter of fourteenth century) or those carrying the former framing the front arch of the semidomes of Sts Peter and Paul

⁸¹ Enlart (1899: II, 681-2; 1987: 492); Jeffery (1918: 368-9); Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 367).

and St George of the Greeks in the same town (1360s), which apparently were not widely disseminated (fig. 44).

The roll-and-fillet abaci, non-descript bases of the responds, together with the prismatic profile of the ribs and transverse arches and the undulating foliage on the vault keystones (wherever legible) were too generic by the fourteenth century to elicit any meaningful comment (figs. 45-6). The round plinths of the respond shaft bases are something of an aberration in a Cypriot context, since they are normally not found outside staircase turrets: see, for instance, the thirteenth-century base of the newel staircase nearby, or that of the northwest winding staircase of Nicosia Cathedral. The sole instances I know of round plinths beyond staircases are those of the central mullion in the western window at the north tower of Nicosia Cathedral (second quarter of fourteenth century) and the shafts adorning the window embrasures of St George of the Latins, Famagusta (fig. 47).⁸² From the foregoing discussion, it seems that the design of the Limassol responds was imbued with a strong Famagustan accent. This might mean that a mason trained in that town was responsible for drawing up the design, although the architectural developments in Limassol itself are still too imperfectly known. Stylistic analysis alone cannot guarantee a more precise dating than ‘fourteenth century and later’, since the extreme paucity of well-dated fifteenth-century buildings hampers attempts at mapping even the major developments in Cypriot Gothic between the later fourteenth century and the Venetian period. It thus becomes difficult to appreciate the continuities and/or ruptures that occurred in architectural design during the last century of Lusignan rule. At any rate, the design and style of the Limassol responds and vaults could well be consistent with a date in the reign of Janus, in the years on either side of 1400.

The *réduit* is currently topped by a superstructure containing two longitudinal spaces covered by barrel vaults aligned east-west (fig. 48). As Corvisier and Faucherre justly remark, the wall dividing the two rooms rises on the patch of vaulting that sealed the opening left by the removal or collapse of the central pier, implying that this superstructure was (at least in part) erected or reconstructed after the repair of the vaults.⁸³ Since the pier probably collapsed when the ‘tower’ fell down on account of the 1491

⁸² For literature on Famagusta’s fourteenth-century monumental architecture, see Olympios (forthcoming a and b). For the buildings in Nicosia and elsewhere, see mostly the relevant sections in Enlart (1899; 1987), Jeffery (1918), Boase (1977), Plagnieux and Soulard (2006), Soulard (2006a), and full bibliography on everything in Nicosia earlier than the end of the fourteenth century in Olympios (2010: I, 67-100, 123-55, 205-28, 278-303).

⁸³ Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 355-6).

earthquake, the vaults must have been repaired (without recourse to a new central pier) and the rooms above (re)built in the Ottoman period. But what of the original superstructure rising above the vaults of the *réduit*? The castellologist duo argued against the existence of a high tower, advocated earlier by Enlart and Megaw. In their view, any kind of superstructure could not have towered high above the rest of the castle, given that there would have been insufficient support for high walls at the lower level. This view was based on the assumption that the *réduit*'s eastern wall (namely, the transverse wall dividing the western bay of the old church's nave from the remaining interior) would have constituted a simple, thin spatial barrier (1m thick) before being considerably thickened to carry the present superstructure in the Ottoman period. This thickening would have occurred at ground level through the erection of the massive stone 'podium' (ca. 5.30m thick) affording access to the lower level of cells (which, as has been noted, Corvisier and Faucherre believed to also be Ottoman in date) directly from the current southern entrance. Subsequently to the construction of this voluminous platform, the part of the thin eastern wall rising above it would have been thickened by ca. 1.50m through the addition of a masonry skin partly oversailing the platform. The proposed chronology is complicated by the rough workmanship of the tunnel-like passage connecting the cellars and *réduit* at the lower level through the thickness of the massive platform (fig. 49). Pick-like marks on its surfaces led these scholars to conjecture that the passage in question had been burrowed into after an initial phase of disrupted communication between cellars and *réduit*.⁸⁴

The above-described phasing proves to be needlessly complicated; what is more, it seems to be introducing certain unfounded assumptions. In fact, there is no evidence that the dug-out appearance of the through passage goes back to the early post-medieval period. The report of the Department of Antiquities regarding the oft-cited major reconfiguration works of 1949 relates that 'the passage leading to the basement vaults in

⁸⁴ Enlart (1899: II, 679-82; 1987: 490-2) believed that the 'upper storey of the keep' was to be dated to the Venetian period. Megaw (1977: 199) also speaks of a multi-storeyed keep rising above the rest of the castle. See Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 357-8) for the analysis summarised here. Interestingly, Corvisier (2006b: 398-9) appears to have rescinded this view, since he argues that the 'robustness' of the *réduit* indicates that it had been designed as a proper tower, rising above the castle's terrace (even though he insists that the present roof chambers are actually Ottoman). Nevertheless, he does not discuss how his new thesis would affect his original 'reading' and chronology of the monument.

the eastern section' from the *réduit* 'was enlarged and made safe'.⁸⁵ It is in the course of these works that the remains of the late antique basilica mentioned above were disinterred, along with a couple of burials of different periods.⁸⁶ Consequently, the makeshift appearance of this passage is the result of twentieth-century intervention on a pre-existing passage, which could well have been coeval with the massive stone structure it traverses. In all likelihood, the introduction of the platform caused no disruption to interior circulation. Rising up to the lower level of cells, it was probably contemporary with them, and thus apparently datable to the early fifteenth century, if the dates presented here thus far are accepted.

A fifteenth-century date for the platform would not impede ascribing the same date to the thickening of the upper part of the eastern wall of the *réduit*. In this scenario, strong foundations for a putative superstructure for the *réduit* would have been laid already during Janus' reign. Above the castle's terrace, the angle-chamfer adorning the southeast angle of the present superstructure is identical to those on the cell doors here dated to the early fifteenth century, implying a medieval date at least for part of this structure (figs. 37-8, 50). As we have already seen, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts occasionally referred to a 'tower' (*toriono*, *torre*) at the castle, although very little in the way of detail is ever given.⁸⁷ Indeed, the Limassol miniatures of the Karlsruhe and Gotha Grünemberg manuscripts depict the castle as a longitudinal building surmounted at its left (western) end by a crenellated tower clearing the roof of the fort (figs. 1-2). Even if probable inaccuracies in the details are acknowledged, the structure recorded is clearly that of a fortified tower, ostensibly of the kind described in the texts and imagined by Megaw. Since this tower already existed in 1486, it had probably been in place since the castle's very beginnings in the early fifteenth century and restored manifold until its final collapse in 1491.

At this point, having another look at the Grünemberg miniatures would be of no little interest in evaluating a number of hypotheses put forward in this essay. In both versions of the Limassol townscape, the core of the castle is represented as a rectangular edifice oriented approx. east-west, obviously the legacy of its ecclesiastical past life. The west end is taken up by the crenellated tower discussed previously, seemingly rising two

⁸⁵ *ARDA* 1949, 7.

⁸⁶ For the burials, see Petrides (1965: 22).

⁸⁷ Enguerrand de Monstrelet, IV, 260 also calls the fort attacked by the Mamluks in Limassol a 'tower' ('tour').

stories above the main body of the fort. The latter possesses relatively low walls lined with arrow-slits and crowned by crenellations. A rectangular/squarish structure pierced with a multitude of windows (or arrow-slits?) and topped by a flat roof offers an underwhelming pendant to the western tower. Although the proportional and spatial relationships between these various parts could be open to question, if one is to judge by the artists' depictions of other, well-known buildings, a few basic observations can readily be made. First, no open-air interior courtyard is to be seen, by which the relevant hypothesis suggested earlier on the strength of the physical evidence is hereby comforted. Second, the castle's rendition in these paintings corresponds in its main lines, *mutatis mutandis*, to the actual structure one still sees today, from the oriented rectangular plan to the tower of the west end, to the crenellated parapet encircling a low rectangular structure at the other end of the building (fig. 51). Therefore, it could be that, despite successive repairs and rebuildings, the castle's principal form and features had been defined already in the fifteenth century, and that the Ottoman remodelling was not as radical as once thought. Besides the impenetrable masonry exoskeleton in which the medieval edifice was encased and the truncation of the western tower, its overall exterior massing did not change much. The frequent and thorough alterations to the fabric have blurred the seams between phases, and the generally featureless exterior walls rarely give away any clue as to their incorporation or not of earlier material.⁸⁸ Thus, while the present eastern roof superstructure appears to be of Ottoman date (no evidence to the contrary has been found), a similar construction seems to have graced the castle already in the fifteenth century, although its exact form, dimensions and function are now impossible to deduce from the miniatures. The stout round-headed arches supporting the central part of the western wall of this roof superstructure at both cell levels do not bear any trace of thermal decay, contrary to the walls around them, and thus must be a late insertion (figs. 25, 39, 52). If such devices had been essential for the stability of an analogous superstructure already in the Middle Ages, they could have been placed elsewhere between the cells, perhaps further west, making for a longer structure closer to the one depicted in the two German manuscripts. All of this is very speculative, however – apart from the exterior's main lines and volumes, little else of real value could probably

⁸⁸ The stone carved with a plainly moulded cusped arch at the base of the north half of the western wall of the eastern roof chambers is a unique survival. However, it is ostensibly an element in re-use and cannot be dated stylistically with any degree of accuracy.

be gained from scrutinising these simple renderings. Even so, their study has helped reject some hypotheses and confirm others.

Another aspect of the castle which is clearly represented in the Karlsruhe and Gotha miniatures is the area in the immediate vicinity of the site's nucleus, the transformed thirteenth-century church, discussed in the previous paragraphs. A crenellated enceinte equipped with arrow-slits and a majestic arched gate on the east side winds its way around the main castle. The main gate appears to only be accessible via a drawbridge over the deep, dry (?) moat that encircles and isolates the site. Neither enceinte nor moat have been verified archaeologically, but their existence is not in doubt. We know from the documents that the moat was deepened in 1425/6 and that in 1532 it held no water.⁸⁹ The existence of the enceinte has not been recorded, materially or textually. Some of the facilities that could not be accommodated or for which there may have been no provision within the main body of the castle, such as the barracks, stables, mill etc., memory of which is preserved in the written record, would have been enclosed within the courtyard defined by the enceinte.⁹⁰ In fact, the Genoese garrison statutes of the 1450s inform us that the castle was almost entirely self-sufficient in terms of ancillary structures, since the soldiers were only allowed to venture outside the fort for a short while during the day, before returning to their quarters in the evening.⁹¹ The extent of the courtyard is hard to deduce from the topography of the site (fig. 3). One would be tempted to cordon off the present castle yard, including the space onto which the streets around the castle impinged when the area was remodelled in 1953, but this would mean excluding the monumental thirteenth-/fourteenth-century edifices excavated adjacent to this plot, thus

⁸⁹ *Excerpta Cyprica*, 66; Ziada (1933: 101). See also Leonardo Donà's account regarding the castle's narrow moat, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, *Fondo Donà dalle Rose*, no. 45, fol. 149r.

⁹⁰ Otten-Froux (2001: 414, 420-1). The castle also housed a well, the water of which was extolled for its excellent flavour and healthiness by late medieval visitors, see *Excerpta Cyprica*, 147 and Donà, *Memorie per le cose di Cipro*, CMC, *Fondo Donà dalle Rose*, no. 45, fol. 149r. The precise location of this well, within the present building or in the surrounding courtyard, is unknown. Corvisier and Faucherre (2000: 351) identified a well on Enlart's plan of the present castle, although the latter scholar did not spare a single word on the issue. A well was indeed located within the state penitentiary in 1926, although its water was less than wholesome, since it lay at the root of an outbreak of dysentery among the inmates in that year. The crisis was resolved by decommissioning the well and by drawing water from the town's supply, see CSA, SA 1/1096/24, 26-7. No sign of a well can now be seen anywhere in the castle's interior.

⁹¹ Otten-Froux (2001: 414, 421).

leaving no space for a moat in between. It would also mean banishing the 'castle stables' dug up in the 1960s *ca.* 40m to the north of the castle. Nevertheless, the evidence of the 1486 miniatures would advise against conjuring a wide perimeter for this enceinte, which is shown up close to the fort with its tower. Again, it should be emphasised that the miniatures probably distort spatial relationships to some extent. However this may be, some independent (indirect) archaeological evidence exists for reconstructing a relatively narrow courtyard around the castle.

Among the more intriguing finds during the 2010 exploratory digs around Limassol Castle was a paved street, about 4m wide and framed by walls on either side, running under and perpendicular to Richardou kai Verengarias Street (namely, approximately east-west) and heading straight for the east wall of the castle.⁹² The latter was apparently never furnished with a door or gate on this side, and therefore one wonders where exactly this thoroughfare would have led. Interestingly, as has been noted the Karlsruhe and Gotha miniatures depict the castle's main gate at precisely that point, access to which was via a drawbridge over the moat. Even if the castle itself did not sport a gate on its eastern side, one at this spot in its crenellated peripheral wall would have ushered those entering into the narrow internal courtyard, whence they would have to make their way to the main entrance, which was probably always on the north side. This compulsory small detour would presumably have given the garrison a fighting chance in case of enemy troops breaching the perimeter wall, since the latter would have been left open to a counter-attack while in the narrow confines of the courtyard. Since archaeological evidence from the dig indicates that the street had been in use since at least the thirteenth century, its construction cannot be directly associated with the later appearance of the castle on the site. If this thoroughfare is to be linked with Limassol's heyday, then it possibly led to the precinct adjacent to the thirteenth-century church and functionally connected with it. It remains unclear whether the impressive thirteenth-/fourteenth-century buildings discovered in the castle's adjacency belonged in such a precinct. All that could be said at present is that such a wide and carefully paved stretch of street as the one unearthed to the east of the fort was probably an important thoroughfare, and thus should have lain beyond the grounds of the fifteenth-century castle and its moat. This in turn would imply that, at least on the eastern side, the enceinte was not far removed from the castle itself.

⁹² Violaris (2011).

Summing up the major points to emerge from the foregoing discussion, Limassol Castle, with its multi-layered and hard-to-date stratification, poses a formidable challenge to the historian. From Late Antiquity through to the fourteenth century, its site had been occupied by a succession of ecclesiastical edifices (most prominently, an Early Christian basilica and a Latin single-nave church) without any apparent military or defensive functions. No secure evidence exists for any royal attempt at fortifying Limassol in the early Lusignan period. While Nicosia's *teichokastro* (fortified enclosure) began being erected and while the kingdom's new major mercantile port town, Famagusta, was being graced with its new town walls and citadel under Henry II (*reg.* 1285-1324) and his brother Amaury (*reg.* 1306-1310), Limassol seems to have fallen by the wayside as its harbour's importance rapidly dwindled.⁹³

The need for a fortified site in a hitherto unprotected or very slightly defensible Limassol seems to have arisen only after Famagusta was snatched from royal control in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. At that time, Limassol's port is likely to have recovered some of its erstwhile allure in the eyes of the ruling dynasty, who sought to shield it against further Genoese aggression.⁹⁴ Thus, after an indeterminate period of using the western bay of a thirteenth-century Latin church as a sort of light keep, the decision was made to turn this monumental building (probably already entirely desacralised) into a full-fledged fort, apparently *ca.* 1400, under Janus. The arguments presented herein favour the idea that the castle had been invested with almost all of its principal features (high western tower with 'Gothic' lower storey, barrel-vaulted cellars, two levels of cells, longitudinal barrel vault over the upper cell level etc.) since the early fifteenth century. The works were still ongoing at the time of the first Mamluk attack on the building in 1425, which destroyed part of it and may have been responsible for the decayed masonry still in evidence in both cell levels. A year later, the damage had been repaired, the works brought to completion and the moat improved. However, this did not prevent further damage incurred in the Mamluk raid of 1426. It proves nigh impossible to comment on the extent of the damage and the campaigns of restoration carried out after this date and during the Genoese occupation of the stronghold in the 1450s and 1460s. Part of the tower and fort collapsed

⁹³ For Nicosia, see Leventis (2005: 167, 349) and Trélat (2009: I, 367-70), both with earlier bibliography. On the walls of Famagusta, the most recent accounts are Corvisier (2006a) and Faucherre (2006).

⁹⁴ For the modest revival of the fortunes of Limassol's port after 1373, consult Coureas (2002) and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

in the earthquake of 1491 and was left for dead. Despite (abortive?) attempts at repair by the early 1530s, the castle's husk was further afflicted by Venetian demolition later in the decade and quarried for its building stone in subsequent years. Its fortunes were revived again in the early Ottoman period, when the vaulting of the cell wing and that of the *réduit* were repaired (the latter, however, without restitution of its central pier), a large part of the upper cells (the ones with unchamfered doorframes crowned with lowered arches) and roof superstructures were reconstructed and the exterior walls were wrapped up in a thick masonry revetment. The janissary garrison stationed there was equipped with cannons to stave off piratical raids. Very little is known about works carried out before the documented thoroughgoing alterations of the 1940s, which turned the British prison into the Limassol District Museum.

The Latin Cathedral

In wrecked fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Limassol, the only other edifice consistently mentioned by European travelers was the Latin cathedral. Like everything else in the town, at that time the mother church of the Limassol diocese was described as being on the verge of collapse and its architecture and ornaments were either summarily dismissed as undignified or inspired more detailed accounts of the depredations in commentators apparently seething with indignation at what the Genoese or Saracens had wrought. The parish was, furthermore, perennially understaffed and the bishop resided mostly away from his *cathedra*.⁹⁵ In most cases, the situation was painted in the darkest of colours, hardly piquing scholarly interest. The architectural splendours of medieval Nicosia and Famagusta, the stone fabric of their Latin cathedrals largely preserved after their conversion into these towns' principal mosques following the Ottoman conquest, have always bedazzled historians' regards far more than the meagre offerings of the other two episcopal towns, Paphos and Limassol. This is in no way surprising, since in the latter instance the towns' great churches have not survived intact to dominate the urban skyline and make their presence acutely felt. It could be argued that Paphos and Limassol Cathedrals were never particularly

⁹⁵ For a selection of travelogues referring to the Latin cathedral, see *Excerpta Cypria*, 46, 56, 66; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 66, 90, 98-9, 107, 113, 116-17, 147-8; Feyerabend, fol. 217v; *Itinerario da Terra Sancta*, 30r; Antonio da Crema, *Itinerario*, 84; *Die Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 366-7; Anonymous, *Die Reise*, 172; Dom Loupvent, 89; *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, 357.

imposing anyway, as late medieval pilgrims keep reminding us, and their excavated remains would definitely attest to that – provided that the identifications proposed by their excavators are to be trusted.⁹⁶ An unfortunate corollary of the dearth of both textual and material evidence and of the relatively limited interest the subject has generated is that Paphos' and Limassol's monumental topography is much less well known than that of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the location of even major landmarks, such as the Latin cathedrals, has often been mired in doubt.⁹⁷ In spite of this (at first glance) unappealing prospect, we are now in a much better position to draw firmer conclusions from the available data than even a few years ago, thanks to the recent publication of relevant archival material and of particularly illuminating (if small-scale) archaeological investigations. Armed with the usual caveats concerning evidentiary sparseness and provisionality of expressed hypotheses, let us attempt to broach the issue of the location, architecture and history of Limassol's Latin Cathedral.

As already remarked earlier in this chapter, the church taken over by the Latin bishopric of Limassol after its foundation in 1196 was that of St Mark, probably the largest and most important of the churches in use by the town's Venetian community. All that is known about this edifice is that it had been built by Leonardus Fuscarinus and the three Bertram brothers, Vitalis, Aurius, and Dominicus, all of whom had held property in Limassol and the Cypriot countryside before the confiscations that followed in the wake of the consolidation of the Lusignan regime. Since we know that the Limassol Venetians were well established and flourishing by the latter half of the twelfth century and that the Bertram were definitely not among the earliest generation of settlers (they inherited land on the town's outskirts from their father), it would be safe to assume that the construction of the church would have occurred within a few decades prior to 1191.⁹⁸ The church was eventually rededicated to the

⁹⁶ For the fabric of Paphos Cathedral, usually erroneously identified as the town's Franciscan church, see mainly Enlart (1899: II, 475-7; 1987: 356-8); Jeffery (1918: 403); *ARDA* 1968, 10; *ARDA* 1969, 17-18; *ARDA* 1970, 23; *ARDA* 1971, 22; Karageorghis (1970: 287-9); Karageorghis (1972b: 1081-2); Maier and Karageorghis (1984: 310-11); and comments in Olympios (2009c: 117-18). Note that most of the literature on the building consists of specialist archaeological reports rather than scholarly studies.

⁹⁷ The primary comprehensive account of the documentary evidence regarding the topography of medieval (Kato) Paphos is still Młynarczyk (1990: 36-42).

⁹⁸ Marsilio Zorzi, 184.9-20 and Papadopoulou (1983: 309, §2), where we learn that the cathedral had inherited the baptistery once belonging to St Mark and possessed

Virgin, although it is unknown whether any modifications to the fabric worthy of mention were carried out to bring it into line with the building's new function as the Latin cathedral.⁹⁹ Pantaleão Daveiro, a Portuguese Franciscan Observant on Cyprus in the 1560s, found the cathedral rather small, like its Greek counterpart.¹⁰⁰ By the fifteenth century the interior was awash with colour, as the walls were carpeted in paintings depicting the Crucifix, the Virgin, St John, St James, the evangelists and other saints.¹⁰¹ At the very end of the century, an altarpiece adorned with gilded wooden figures stood on the high altar and at least one lavishly decorated tomb was to be found in the interior. The church was equipped with a belfry, although, as we shall see presently, bells were not always present there.¹⁰²

The bishop of Limassol resided in a house probably in the immediate vicinity of the church, whereas the members of the cathedral chapter installed there were initially accommodated in residences dispersed throughout the town and at some distance from the church. In 1253, the pope granted the bishop permission to sell these houses and channel the money into subsidising the construction of a cloister and common houses next to the cathedral, to discourage errant behaviour on the part of the canons.¹⁰³ The resulting cathedral precinct (*claustrum, court de Limesson*)

formerly Venetian gardens, shops, and houses, from some of which it drew revenue. See also Papacostas (1999a: 489) and Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume. The building which accommodated the cathedral treasury had also once belonged to the Venetians according to Marsilio Zorzi, 187.25-6, Papadopoulou (1983: 312, §47).

⁹⁹ Dedication to the Virgin: *Excerpta Cypria*, 66; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 90, 98; Dom Loupvent, 89; Dalla Santa (1898: 154, 155, note 1, 183).

¹⁰⁰ *Itinerario da Terra Sancta*, fol. 30r.

¹⁰¹ Wall-paintings: *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 90, 99, 107; Dom Loupvent, 89.

¹⁰² *Documents chypriotes*, 97; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 147.

¹⁰³ A reasonably good idea of the form and furnishings of the episcopal palace is given by the inventory of Bishop Guy of Ibelin's (1357-1367) possessions upon his death, for which see Richard (1950: 104, 108-20). The palace comprised a courtyard, a chapel, various chambers (including a study), a bathroom, cellars and stables. For the canons' houses and the cloister subsequently built there, see *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, e-78. Like the church, the baptistery, and the site of the cathedral treasury, some of the pre-1253 town houses for the members and dignitaries of the chapter may have been confiscated Venetian property, for which see Marsilio Zorzi, 184.9-20, 187.25-6, 188.1, Papadopoulou (1983: 309, §2, 312, §§47-8), and the previous chapter. The houses of the canons of Nicosia Cathedral were also dispersed through the town, as shown in Olympios (2009a: 61-3; 2014: 200-5).

appears to have been a walled-off close to which access was controlled by a porter or concierge. The only structures within the close specifically referred to in the documents are the cellar and the seat of the see's fiscal office (*secrète*). Very little is known about the form of the actual structures in the close, except for the fact that their flat roofs had to be repaired with fresh earth transported from outside the town in 1367.¹⁰⁴ From this it could be deduced that the chapter's buildings would have been hardly more ambitious architecturally than the regular, run-of-the-mill Cypriot townhouses, shown in the Karlsruhe-Gotha miniatures and the Venetian Alessandro Magno's sketches to have been very plain. According to the latter author, the flat roofs of these houses had to be re-laid with earth every year, and perhaps this was so for the buildings of the Limassol close.¹⁰⁵

Elaborate vaulted schemes for the close's buildings may have been out of the bishopric's price range, even if we imagine the sale of the old canons' houses to have fetched a tidy sum. The see of Limassol was never well endowed and its revenues were not especially high, being able to support only six canons and three dignitaries of the chapter (archdeacon, treasurer, and chanter) along with a limited number of assorted clergy and functionaries.¹⁰⁶ Quite tellingly, the see's tithe obligations vis-à-vis the papal curia in the 1350s-1370s were second lowest, exceeding only those of Famagusta (1357-1363: Limassol – 3,000 bezants, Famagusta – 2,000 bezants; 1363-1371: Limassol – 9,000 bezants, Famagusta – 6,000 bezants) and the bishop of Limassol's *servitium commune* for the period 1329-1447 was lower even than that of Famagusta (Limassol – 1,000 florins, Famagusta – 1,500 florins).¹⁰⁷ In 1353, the chapter claimed that the Limassol Church had been facing extreme poverty for a long time and

¹⁰⁴ *Documents chypriotes*, 95, 98, 108.

¹⁰⁵ Magno, 582, where the author is probably referring to houses in Paphos. Pietro Casola saw houses in Limassol covered with branches or straw, *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 147.

¹⁰⁶ Dalla Santa (1898: 154, 155, note 1, 183); *Documents chypriotes*, 72-3; Collenberg (1979: 202). The bishop of Limassol seems to have spearheaded a petition to Gregory IX in 1234 for the abolition of the office of treasurer in Cypriot cathedrals, which came to naught in the end; the tenor of Gregory's letter does not reveal the initiator of this petition, yet the request seems to have been granted exclusively to the Limassol Church, see *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, d-18. For the history of the see, consult also Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter in this volume.

¹⁰⁷ *Taxae pro communibus servitiis*, 53, 86-7; Richard (1984-1987: 37-41; 1999: 12).

that the bishop would not have had the means to sustain himself had he not been reimbursed by the royal court for his services as confessor to the sovereign and his family. At that time the cathedral and the bishop's residence in Limassol were in need of thorough repairs, as they were threatening ruin, and the same was true of the hangings, vestments and other items necessary for the performance of the divine office.¹⁰⁸ According to the chapter's representatives, the recently deceased Bishop Francis of Arezzo (†1351) had left behind barely enough money for the canons' prebends and the other clergy's salary, as well as for the repair of the hangings, vestments and the church itself. It is explicitly stated that in the early 1350s these indispensable repair works had not yet been carried out, and the chapter was having trouble convincing the papal judge-delegates entrusted with collecting the appointed sum that the cathedral was anything but wealthy and that the orders under which they were acting were based on misinformation.¹⁰⁹ For how long prior to the mid-fourteenth century the cathedral had been courting impecuniosity is unclear, and much too little is known about the cataclysmic flood that hit Limassol hard in 1330 to assess its impact (or lack thereof) on the stability of the church edifice.¹¹⁰

Things had not gotten any better for Limassol Cathedral by the mid-fifteenth century, when our written sources for the building finally start proliferating – in fact, they had gotten a good deal worse. In 1449, we learn from Steffan von Gumpenberg that the church had been destroyed by the 'Genoese', like the rest of the town, the bishop was staying in Nicosia and all but two of the canons were non-resident. The latter, destitute and lacking a church and the essentials pertaining to the performance of the liturgy, were celebrating Mass in the private chapels of the nobility. Nevertheless, a glimmer of hope shone in the darkness, as the king was allegedly engaged in rebuilding the church and the queen busied herself with erecting a hostel for pilgrims. If John II (*reg.* 1432-1458) and Helena

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps this is one of the reasons for which Bishop Guy of Ibelin preferred staying at his Nicosia palace; see Richard (1950: 104).

¹⁰⁹ ASV, *Instrumenta Miscellanea 1952-1953*. For brief summaries and discussion of these texts, see *Documents chypriotes*, 70 and Richard (1950: 105-6, note 2). The full text will be published in *Instrumenta Miscellanea Vaticana*. I would like to thank Chris Schabel for allowing me to sneak a peek at his edition of the manuscripts.

¹¹⁰ 'Amadi', 405; Bustron, 255. In these accounts Limassol is presented as 'almost entirely destroyed', probably with a hint of exaggeration.

Palaiologina ever undertook such work, it has left no further mark on the sources.¹¹¹

Conversely, these joyous tidings are contradicted by sources much closer to the problems at hand. In 1459, Peter *de Manatiis*, bishop of Limassol (1456/7-1460), resigned his office into the hands of the pope due to encountering serious difficulties in attending to his duties. In the relevant document, Peter's reasons for his resignation are quoted (disfavour with the reigning royal couple, who had twice in a year despoiled his church of its revenues without good reason, cultural shock of dealing with the Cypriots, old age, disagreeable weather), followed by his suggestions as to how he should be looked after financially following that. In the next section, Peter and other witnesses describe the dire condition of the Limassol Church, which was situated in a town destroyed long ago by the Genoese and by then deserted and uninhabited. Of the cathedral only the nave remained standing, and even that was decisively decrepit. Its ornaments and hangings were kept in a chapel belonging to the church in the village of Kolossi, where the divine office was celebrated by certain chaplains. The bishop could not reside in Limassol, as he had no house there, and besides, the incursions of pirates and other invaders prevented him from doing so, and thus he was compelled to retreat to his palace in Nicosia. What is more, the town's devastation proved to be a financial disaster for the cathedral, the revenues of which were much devalued. Last, but not least, the town's few inhabitants were Greeks and therefore were ministered by the Greek bishop.¹¹² Other documents in the same *dossier* contain variations on the same themes: the cathedral is called 'half-ruined' ('semidiruta') and it is stated that, due to the situation and its unfortunate siting (close to the sea and at the mercy of pirates), neither the bishop nor the canons resided there; the bishop and others officiated at the chapel in Kolossi, where the church's books and other ornaments were preserved.¹¹³

Peter's successor, Anthony di Zucco (1460-1479), described what he had been confronted with at his see in almost identical terms. A letter of Sixtus IV addressed to the bishop in 1475 reflects the latter's experiences, which do not deviate in the slightest from those outlined above. The cathedral, its buildings and the bishop's palace had been reduced to ruin by the 'Moors and infidel Saracens' and, as if that were not enough, for

¹¹¹ Feyerabend, fol. 244v. In *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 66 (the text of which is taken from Feyerabend's *Reyssbuch* first edition) the king is said to be the one to be building a hospice for the pilgrims, while there is no mention of the queen.

¹¹² For the document, see Dalla Santa (1898: 182-4).

¹¹³ Dalla Santa (1898: 155, note 1, also 166, note 1).

many years the king had been extracting forcefully 200 ducats annually from the episcopal manse.¹¹⁴ Obviously, measures would have to be taken to reverse the tide and help improve the see's finances and assets. Thus, already in 1469 Sixtus sanctioned the merger of the monastery of Beaulieu/St John of Montfort in Nicosia, the revenues of which were drawn largely from the diocese of Limassol, with that town's cathedral *mensa* for Bishop Anthony's lifetime. This move was justified by the manse's poor revenues and the bishop's inability to support himself and repair his palace on account of the wars, the unrest, and other causes.¹¹⁵ The unification proved to be more enduring than initially foreseen, as it was renewed in 1479 for Nicholas Donà's tenure (1479-1493).¹¹⁶

Recovery, however much of it there was, was slow. In 1481, when a papal letter was addressed to him, Bishop Nicholas still resided in Nicosia, meaning that his palace in Limassol was probably still uninhabitable.¹¹⁷ By the time Konrad Grünemberg saw it five years later, in 1486, the palace is likely to have been repaired, but more secure evidence for the presence of the bishop in his town comes only from the Venetian period.¹¹⁸ The church must have been operational again by the early 1470s, since at that point a small international troupe of chaplains (including the bishop's vicar) is mentioned as serving the cathedral and shouldering the *cura animarum*. Chaplains belonging to both the secular clergy and, mainly, the mendicant orders are henceforth uninterruptedly

¹¹⁴ For the document (a 1485 copy of the 1475 original), consult Dalla Santa (1898: 184-5, also 170-1). It is worth pondering whether Bishops Peter and Anthony could have been exaggerating their case. The statutes concerning the Genoese garrison of Limassol Castle drawn up in 1455 permitted the captain to go outside the fort to hear Mass at the church once a month, Otten-Froux (2001: 415, 423). If by 'church' the Latin cathedral is meant, as is almost certain, then it may be that it continued functioning, even if run exclusively by simple priests and chaplains. It is, of course, possible that this text is merely normative and of little value for our purposes. After all, we have seen that von Gumpenberg confirms the cathedral's out-of-order state.

¹¹⁵ Collenberg (1984-1987: 176). For the latest account of the history of Beaulieu Abbey (with earlier bibliography), see Olympios (2012).

¹¹⁶ Dalla Santa (1898: 175 and note 5, 176).

¹¹⁷ *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum*, no. 2046.

¹¹⁸ *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, 357. Konrad contends that the bishop was resident in the town, and that he was a Frenchman, although we know Nicholas Donà to have retained the title until 1493 and to have been in Venice by 1482; see *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 113 and Dalla Santa (1898: 175-9). Konrad might have confused the bishop's vicar, who in 1480 is said to have hailed from the Languedoc; for the bishop, see *Excerpta Cyprica Nova*, 98-9.

attested celebrating Mass and the canonical hours at the church, and even the canons (not to mention the bishop) seem to have made a comeback in the sixteenth century.¹¹⁹ Pierre Barbatre, on Cyprus in 1480, explains that, after the cathedral was gutted by the Saracens (together with the bishop's palace, the castle and the entire town), a small church was erected with its stones ('après a esté faite une petite eglise des pierres de la grant eglise'), which the Moors attacked but could not pull down, so they restricted themselves to disfiguring its wall-paintings. This may be a reference to a campaign of repairs following the choir's collapse, although the French priest seems to have muddled his Mamluk raids timeline.¹²⁰ Whatever the case may be, the mention of the gilded high altarpiece in 1494 is ample confirmation that the sanctuary had been repaired (and refurbished?) by then.

Even so, the cathedral building never made a full recovery.¹²¹ Despite any maintenance works, the edifice continued to give the impression that it was on its last leg. The wall-paintings hacked at, defaced and mutilated by the Mamluks were never repaired or overpainted and the walls were gradually swarmed with visitors' graffiti.¹²² By the 1480s bells were a thing of the past, wooden clappers being used in their stead. It would be hard indeed not to associate this picture of inexorable decline and decay with a feeling that the Limassol bishopric was by the later Middle Ages merely coasting along, a hobbling relic of the past turned insignificant sideshow. The inhabitants of Famagusta certainly were of such an opinion when they petitioned Venice to unite the impoverished Latin sees of Famagusta and Limassol in 1491. In their eyes, the latter was but a village, where the presence of a Latin bishop was of little use.¹²³ The doge refused to satisfy the Famagustans' demands in order to avoid aggravating the Holy See, but the future of the Limassol Church and its cathedral was surely not looking promising at the start of the Venetian period. Their

¹¹⁹ For the clergy attested in the cathedral from the late fifteenth century and the performance of the services there, see *Excerpta Cypria*, 46, 56, 66; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 90, 99, 107, 113, 147; *Die Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 366-7; Anonymous, *Die Reise*, 172; Dom Loupvent, 89; Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 543.

¹²⁰ *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 99.

¹²¹ On the cathedral's condition in these years see the travelogues cited in note 95 above, as well as in subsequent notes.

¹²² For the graffiti observed on the church's walls in the 1560s, see Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 543. The Dominican Étienne de Lusignan was the bishop's vicar at the time, which implies that, despite the evidence for wanton vandalism, the cathedral was still functioning; see Grivaud (2009b: 289).

¹²³ Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 485-92.

existence was viewed as superfluous in an overwhelmingly Greek-dominated, de-urbanised environment, and this situation did not change appreciably prior to the Ottoman conquest.

None of the written documents has preserved even a summary description of Limassol's Latin Cathedral. It is, then, rather fortunate that the building features quite prominently in the miniatures illustrating Konrad Grünemberg's journey (figs. 1-2). In the Karlsruhe codex, a large apsed ecclesiastical edifice with an attached belfry to the right of the castle (or to its northeast, since the townscape is viewed from the sea, that is, the south) is clearly and conveniently captioned as the bishop's seat ('das bistum').¹²⁴ As with everything else in this series of *Stadtvedute*, the church is rendered in a schematic and simplified manner, which, nevertheless, may be accurate in its basic outline. The sketch shows an austere vaulted (?) rectangular structure with small, squat, round-headed windows and a simple, unassuming belfry above the main western doorway. The eastern end comprises three apses covered by semi-domes and seemingly arranged like a triconch, i.e., with the lateral apses placed at right angles to the central one. Given that the perspective is somewhat clunky, the apses could well have been disposed next to each other at the east end of an aisled nave, as was the case at St Lazarus in Salines/Larnaca, which is also depicted here with apses seemingly bulging out at the east end beyond the building's lateral walls.¹²⁵ There is little more that could be gleaned from this thumbnail, other than the fact that in 1486 the cathedral's architecture was definitely not at all reminiscent of the luxurious Gothic employed for the Latin cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta. The same artist (Konrad himself?) represented the latter in his view of Famagusta only a few folios down the line as a mass of buttresses, traceried windows, gables, crocketed pinnacles and sinuous surface ornament, and therefore he could not be accused of being style-blind.¹²⁶

Taking this argument a step further, one is led to wonder whether any major reconstruction or modification of the Venetian church of St Mark

¹²⁴ In the Gotha version of the Limassol miniature, the church is not labeled, it is suffocated by other structures that have cropped up around it, and is effectively lost from view amidst all the detail. Interestingly, the awkwardly projecting southern apse of the east end has been interpreted here as the dome of a separate building rising to the south of the church.

¹²⁵ For St Lazarus, see KBL, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, fol. 24v. There is not a single example of a church with an east end of triconch/trefoil plan that can be securely dated to the Lusignan and Venetian periods. For some thoughts on Cypriot Middle Byzantine triconchs, see Papacostas (1999b: I, 160-1; 2006: 226).

¹²⁶ KBL, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, fols. 26v-27r.

was ever carried out by the Limassol bishop and chapter between the early thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries, or whether they were simply content to patch up the aging twelfth-century fabric. We have seen that the financial means of the Limassol Church were already by the mid-fourteenth century reputed insufficient for anything beyond disbursing salaries and treating wear and tear. It should be remembered that the condition of the church was being described as critical already at least decades before fire and steel brought Limassol to its knees in 1373 and again in the 1420s. Famagusta, in the meantime, had been graced with two successive Latin cathedrals, the old church erected by Archbishop Eustorge of Montaigu (*ante* 1217-1250) and the present splendid *Rayonnant* work erected during the first decades of the fourteenth century. Even though the original endowment and regular revenue of the Famagusta bishopric were even lower than those of Limassol, its unification with the bishopric of Tortosa in Syria (1295) allowed the bishop and chapter to tap into the latter's property in the West. Besides, generous donations were never wanting in the bustling commercial centre into which Famagusta had developed by *ca.* 1300, and the sharp population increase there during and after the dismemberment of the mainland Crusader States from the second half of the thirteenth century created both the need for a new, larger Latin cathedral and some of the means by which to achieve it. Furthermore, the cathedral's ceremonial role as coronation church for the ruling dynasty as kings of Jerusalem undoubtedly played a significant part in opting to raise a building to rival the capital's own cathedral.¹²⁷ Although Limassol may have received its share of new settlers during the troubled thirteenth century, in the end it could boast neither a thriving commercial harbour (after *ca.* 1310) nor a vital place in the Lusignan court ceremonial of power and prestige.¹²⁸ As the town's fortunes gradually sunk after the rise of Famagusta, the fall of the Templars and the removal of the Hospitallers to Rhodes, opportunities for securing rich gifts and bequests were not improving, and the depopulation brought on by the several visitations of the Black Death from the middle of the fourteenth century and the added calamities of 1373 and the 1420s most assuredly exacerbated the cathedral's fiscal difficulties, leading up to the tragic state it is known to have been in in the mid-fifteenth century.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Olympios (forthcoming b).

¹²⁸ For evidence of refugees from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem arriving at Limassol already in the 1240s, see *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, e-19.

¹²⁹ On the Black Death in Cyprus, see Grivaud (1998a: 275-7, 439-40) and Papacostas (forthcoming).

In short, Limassol Cathedral probably never outgrew the Venetian church it had taken over upon its foundation in the 1190s. The building's 'un-Gothic' appearance in the Karlsruhe-Gotha miniatures would not run counter to this view. Tassos Papacostas has convincingly argued that, before the Lusignan period, the Venetians may have employed local craftsmen for their architectural projects in the countryside, such as Aurio Cavatorta's diminutive chapel of the Holy Cross in Mesokipou. The latter, if dating from the late twelfth century in its current incarnation, does not exhibit any elements foreign to the island's Middle Byzantine building traditions – an observation which should not startle as much as illuminate, since the Venetians would have been far more *au courant* with 'Byzantinising' forms from their own place of origin than anything else.¹³⁰ Consequently, it would not be unreasonable to conclude from the foregoing that the edifice caricatured in the Karlsruhe-Gotha miniatures was, in fact, Venetian St Mark, designed and executed by local Cypriot masons on the eve of the Third Crusade.

All this speculation about the Latin cathedral and its form would be a purely academic and, admittedly, rather tedious exercise without any material vestiges on the ground against which to check any hypotheses formulated on the subject. Past research, from Camille Enlart to Eleni Procopiou, has often inculcated the site of the Cami Kebir as being that of the church under discussion (fig. 3).¹³¹ The evidence usually cited for this assertion is a 1588 travelogue describing Limassol's Turkish Mosque as twice the size of the Greek cathedral, which had been rebuilt on a modest scheme after an earthquake in 1583, and constructed in the same manner (in the form of a Christian church? Or perhaps simply in the same architectural style?).¹³² This mildly cryptic quote is then coupled with the logical assumption that, if Nicosia's and Famagusta's Latin Cathedrals were converted into these towns' Great Mosques (now the Selimiye Camii and the Lala Mustafa Paşa Camii respectively) in the wake of the Ottoman conquest, then surely it would follow that the same would have occurred in Limassol. There is, however, more explicit evidence to commend this view. In a report drawn up in 1629/30 by Pietro Vespa, Latin bishop of Paphos, after an exploratory visit to Cyprus, the former Latin cathedral, called 'spacious' and 'magnificent', is expressly identified with the Turkish mosque. Since it had been converted to Muslim use, Pietro and his

¹³⁰ Papacostas (1999a: 495-6; 1999b: I, 63-4; 2006: 226). Also, see Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume.

¹³¹ Enlart (1899: II, 451; 1987: 341); Jeffery (1918: 366, 370), with some reluctance; Rivoire-Richard (1996: 1415); Procopiou (1997a: 293-7; 2006a: 116).

¹³² *Excerpta Cypria*, 174.

companions were not allowed to enter it and were obliged to celebrate Mass in the Greek cathedral.¹³³ It is unclear how Pietro's comments tally with the account of Giovanni Zvallardo, who came upon the mosque in 1586, noting that it was 'brand new' at the time.¹³⁴ Does this mean that the old cathedral had been newly refurbished to serve as mosque by the 1580s, or had it, too, been (at least partially) rebuilt after the earthquake of 1583, implying that what Pietro saw was not the medieval cathedral, even though he may have been well informed about its site? At any rate, the site of Limassol's Great Mosque, not far to the northeast of the castle, corresponds exactly with its location in the Grünemberg miniatures, which, as has been noted, are considered by scholars to be topographically precise.

The northeastern wing of the Great Mosque was falling apart by the late nineteenth century, apparently due to its antiquity, since it was probably not renovated in 1829-1830 like the southwestern wing.¹³⁵ When its reconstruction was entrusted in 1905 to Fenton Atkinson, architect working at the Department of Public Works, the latter sunk a series of trial trenches under and around the building in an attempt to explore the remains of the church which lay underneath the mosque. As the foundations for the new section of the mosque were being dug, the apses of the church were laid bare, together with the lower courses of walls, which still retained traces of wall-paintings. Furthermore, stone sarcophagi and tomb slabs were brought to light, together with a relief carved with a

¹³³ *Unpublished Vatican Documents*, no. 25 (esp. pp. 35-6): 'In questa presente città di Lemissò habbiamo veduta la chiesa episcopale, nella quale era la cathedra o sia sedia del vescovo, quale, per quanto di fori abbiamo compreso, è molta ampla e magnifica; non vi semo però entrati dentro per esservi prohibition de Turchi, che al presente l'hanno fatta loro moschea; siamo però stati informati da persone degne di fiede, qualmente il vescovo d'essa città haveva d'entrata piaster 5000 l'anno di cerdo'.

¹³⁴ Zvallardo, 95-6: 'Detto Limisso è distante da Nicosia 30. miglia, da Salina 50. e da Famagosta 100. [...] Quivi fanno residenza alcuni fattori di Mercanti Venetiani, e Christiani Greci, restati de gl'Antichi Cipriotti, i quali vi hanno una Chiesa fabricata nuovamente, e fatta in volta, il resto de gli habitanti sono Turchi, e Mori, e alcuni Giudei. Lor Moschea è anco tutta nuova, con i suoi bagni'.

¹³⁵ Contrary to Enlart's claims, the Great Mosque had not been destroyed in the 1894 flood of the Garyllis – this fate was reserved for the Cami Cedid, which had been founded in 1825 right next to the river. Jeffery, who had witnessed the former's reconstruction after 1906, makes no mention of the flood. For these issues, see Enlart (1899: II, 450-1; 1987: 341); Jeffery (1918: 370); Pharmakides (1942: 22-3); Bağışkan (2009: 279-93).

heraldic *lion rampant* (the Lusignan arms?), confirming the erstwhile existence of a medieval church on the site.¹³⁶

The east end of this building was attentively explored in 1993, when a narrow strip below Zig-zag Street was excavated at a depth of about 2m. The movable finds spanned the entire spectrum from the Early Christian to the Ottoman period, making for a good cross-section of the site's history. As far as the architectural vestiges are concerned, two externally five-sided and internally round apses were uncovered, the northern one larger than its southern counterpart and furnished with a *synthronon* (figs. 53-4). It remains to be elucidated whether a third apse would have existed to the north of the larger one, as a pendant to the one on its southern side, since that area was not investigated within the constraints of this excavation project. As a result, the church's building type cannot be safely deduced from the available data, particularly since the whole of the nave still lies unprobed beneath the present mosque. The existence of multiple floor levels within the larger apse and of evidence for more than one construction phase in its masonry, as well as the retrieval of a clear stratigraphic sequence on one side of this apse's exterior, testifies to the site's and the building's long and complex history. The correlation of the architectural and other finds (pottery, coins, burials etc.) has induced the excavator to propose, tentatively and preliminarily, the following chronology. The first phase of both apses was erected between the fifth and seventh centuries and represents late antique Neapolis' metropolitan church. After this edifice was severely damaged (in a fire?), it was quickly rebuilt in the eighth century or slightly later. The ensuing abandonment layer predated a burial of possibly the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, suggesting that the Greek cathedral would have been deserted earlier in the century, when the bishopric was transferred to Lefkara. After the Latin cathedral (perhaps on the site of the castle?) would have collapsed in the 1491 earthquake, it would have been reestablished prior to the 1510s on this site, namely on that of the old Greek cathedral.¹³⁷

According to this view, the Latin see would have occupied the site merely for the duration of the Venetian period, at which point a flat eastern wall (now part of the mosque's foundation on that side) would have substituted the Early Christian church's apses. This is a problematic thesis. Although we know the castle to have partly fallen down in 1491, there is no evidence that the Latin cathedral was afflicted as severely. Only three years later, as we have seen, Pietro Casola was able to admire the high

¹³⁶ Jeffery (1918: 370); Bağışkan (2009: 280, 282).

¹³⁷ Procopiou (1997a; 2006a: 116).

altarpiece in an edifice that, while certainly the worse for wear, was still standing and fulfilling its intended function (if barely, due to staff shortage). There is absolutely no indication in the documents that the cathedral was at any time moved; on the contrary, what tidbits of pertinent information still exist are remarkably consistent in their description of the pitiable condition of a building in urgent need of a facelift throughout the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Yet how would the admission that the Latin cathedral most likely spent the entire Lusignan and Venetian periods on the same site, quite possibly the one under scrutiny, affect our interpretation of the archaeological data? Is it possible, in this case, to reconcile documentary history and archaeology in a satisfactory manner?

The one excavated find that might be expected to aid us in establishing the identity of the building, or at least in narrowing down the possibilities, is the bull of Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) discovered to the east of the northern apse in the so-called abandonment layer of the church's second phase.¹³⁸ Of course, the bull would have been originally appended to a document filed in an archive. Although this seems like a stray find, it should point to the existence of an ecclesiastical archive nearby. Sadly, it is of no help in gauging the identity of the recipient, since only a fraction of the letters sent to Cyprus during Innocent's papacy is known and even in those cases the Limassol recipients varied widely from the Latin and Greek bishops to all the secular and regular clergy in the diocese – practically every religious institution in town, Latin or Greek, would have had at least one in its archive, probably more.¹³⁹ Most were addressed to the Latin bishop, so there is still a good chance that the cathedral archive possessed the largest number of these letters in town. At any rate, the evidence should be treated as inconclusive.

The flat eastern wall currently segregating the apses from the main body of the church further to the west (and below the mosque) and doubling as foundation for this side of the prayer hall has been linked to the presence of the Latin cathedral on the site and hence dated to the late medieval/Venetian period. This wall's exterior surface looks positively rustic, combining as it does rubble and larger roughly shaped stones drowned in thick mortar beds, in contrast to the more or less regular ashlar construction, which had become a staple of Cypriot urban architecture by the late Lusignan period. Nevertheless, one need only consider the equally flat east end of the Karmiotissa at nearby Polemidia (to be discussed later)

¹³⁸ Procopiou (1997a: 299, 319-21).

¹³⁹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, 75-8 and e-12, 19, 27, 40, 50, 59, 62-4, 69, 77-9, 89, 94-5, 97.

to realise that such unpretentious construction could be paralleled in Limassol's hinterland in the later medieval/Venetian period, even if the other extant monument from our period in the town itself, the castle, does not exhibit anything comparable in those parts that can be dated with some confidence to the pre-Ottoman period. The only opening still visible on this wall is a lowered arch at the mouth of the southern apse, which apparently gave access to a sarcophagus placed therein, and the remains of which were found by the excavator (fig. 55). The late antique floor level on which this sarcophagus stood in the southern apse was apparently below that of the same date in the larger northern apse (fig. 56). Procopiou has reasonably proposed to see in this arrangement a shrine of some clout, the importance of which would have guaranteed its retention in later building phases, up to and including the phase of the Latin cathedral's flat eastern wall.

This is where the problems begin. In the northern apse, the flat eastern wall cuts through a no-frills plaster floor lying at a level just above the uppermost step of the *synthronon* (0.87m below street level). A coin of Janus lurking below this floor, atop the *synthronon*'s lower step, provides a *terminus post quem* for it (early fifteenth century).¹⁴⁰ No such plaster floor was discovered in the southern apse, although the excavation report notes the presence of a plaster concentration at the depth of 1m.¹⁴¹ Clearly, though, a plaster floor must have existed here also, at the same level as the one in the larger northern apse. A horizontal segment starkly protruding from the part of the flat eastern wall enclosed within the southern apse at about the height of the uppermost step of the *synthronon* in the northern apse is an eloquent witness (fig. 57). The laying of this floor would necessitate the filling in of the underlying part of both apses, thus condemning the 'shrine' at the foot of the southern apse. Given that

¹⁴⁰ Procopiou (1997a: 287, 299, 319-20). Janus' coin appears to have been itinerant: in the main text of the report it is placed on the lower step of the *synthronon* and hence in the larger (northern) apse (287); according to the list of finds, it lay in the southern apse (299); and in Anne Destrooper-Georgiades' appendix on the coins and bull, this coin together with one of Henry II 'were found at the eastern side of the central apse and it is also here that the bulla of pope [*sic*] Innocentius IV (1243-1254 A.D.) was found' (320). Of course, we have already seen that Innocent's bull was supposedly found outside and to the east of the northern apse. The reigning confusion certainly introduces grave complications and nurtures doubts regarding the validity of the excavator's argument. In any case, for the purposes of this study I cautiously accept the view expressed in the main body of the report, and on which the dating of the lime floor hinges. This dating is reiterated in Procopiou (2006a: 116), but without mention of the coin.

¹⁴¹ Procopiou (1997a: 289).

fragments of wall-paintings and architectural members were found lying below this floor in both apses, it would not be far-fetched to conclude that the infill below the floor was made up of debris resulting from a *sinistre* that befell the building.¹⁴² That some, at least, of the accompanying datable archaeological material seems to be from the Lusignan period and the evidence of Janus' coin might mean that this calamity should be dissociated from the building's earlier phases. What is more, the absence of intermediary floor levels implies no radical alterations to the lower section of this part of the edifice prior to the laying of the plaster floor.

In sum, the finds from inside the apses suggest that damage to the church was succeeded by a restructuring of the east end's interior, which spelled certain doom for the (already flattened?) 'shrine' in the southern apse. At that time, both the *synthronon* in the northern apse and the 'shrine' in the southern one would have been buried and a plaster floor would have been laid above them.¹⁴³ The flat eastern wall undoubtedly followed after the apses had already been put out of commission permanently. This becomes abundantly clear once it is realised that this wall was assembled over the wall stumps of the apses after the latter were razed to slightly below present street level. The coin of Sultan Abdülhamid I (*reg.* 1774-1789) retrieved from the surface layers below the asphalt to the south of the southern apse cannot be taken as *terminus ante quem* for the razing of the apses, as it was not found lying over the remnants of their masonry, and of course the razing might have occurred much earlier.¹⁴⁴ It is not improbable that most of the flat eastern 'wall' originated with the erection of the early twentieth-century northeastern wing of the mosque, since its stone walls would have been in need of solid foundations, during the laying of which the earliest known modern investigation of the medieval remains took place. As we have seen, the site was then briskly explored and probably the decision made to integrate medieval wall scraps into the foundations. A question that arises from the discussion at hand regards how the predecessor to the twentieth-century structure, known to

¹⁴² See the relevant entries in the list of finds, Procopiou (1997a: 299).

¹⁴³ In light of the uncertainties regarding the exact find-place of Janus' coin, one may wonder whether the lime floor was not laid later, given that its presence would necessitate the destruction of the 'shrine'. Is it possible that the laying of this floor was an Ottoman alteration to the church upon its conversion into a mosque? The fragments of architectural members and painted plaster could have come from the furnishings and wall-paintings of the former cathedral, which would have been destroyed or concealed before the building was turned over to Muslim worship.

¹⁴⁴ For the Ottoman coin, see Procopiou (1997a: 298, 319-20).

have been of mud brick, had employed the lingering medieval material; it is, moreover, a query that cannot be answered by means of the data available at present.

If this loose chronology for the apse area is correct, does it match at all the information culled from the texts concerning the Latin cathedral? The wall-painting and architectural fragments found in the infill below the later plaster floor could plausibly be related to the Mamluk onslaught of the 1420s, and this plausibly post-*ca.* 1400 floor may be connected to an attempt at patching up the ruined east end of the edifice in the 1460s-early 1470s. The razing and burying of the apses could have occurred after (hitherto unattested) earthquake damage to the cathedral-cum-mosque in 1583, and prior to its reconstruction by 1586. Alternatively, destruction and rebuilding would have taken place later, although certainly before the British period, which saw the mosque's last phase. In its main lines, this sequence agrees with both the evidence of the written record and the broad chronology suggested by the excavator. It may not save all the phenomena – for instance, the precise breakdown of the phases of the mosque's flat eastern wall remains a desideratum – but it brings one likely scenario to the discussion table, which will be subject to revision upon future excavation at the site.

The discovery of a couple of medieval graves in the area to the east of the Cami Kebir, below Zig-zag Street, on different occasions during the twentieth century may hint at the site of the cathedral's cemetery. A burial investigated directly north of the northern apse of the church contained pottery and a coin of Henry II, suggesting the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century as a *terminus post quem*. Since this burial lay in the soil above the pavement of the first and second phases, it is thought to have marked the upper edge of the so-called 'abandonment layer' of the church's second phase, spanning part of the period from after the rebuilding of the northern apse (eighth century?) to the time of the burial.¹⁴⁵ One could endlessly speculate about the factors that caused the rise in ground level in this period. For example, it is not unlikely that, by the time the aforementioned burial took place, earthquakes and the exceptionally lethal flood of 1330 had already contributed their share towards reshaping the landscape.

However that may be, the rise in ground level around a building need not equal a period of desertion or 'abandonment'. An interesting parallel to

¹⁴⁵ Procopiou (1997: 289, 298); Petrides (1965: 21) mentioned the discovery of a skull under a 'medieval' vessel to the east of the mosque (corner of Zig-zag and Genethliou Mitella Streets), but without offering a more precise date.

the situation in Limassol is offered by the site of the *Hodegetria/Bedestan* near the centre of Nicosia's Venetian walls. There, the floor of the Early Christian basilica occupying the spot on which the late medieval Greek cathedral stood lay about 1.50m below that of neighbouring St Sophia. Since the Latin cathedral's floor level corresponded approximately to the thirteenth-century ground level in the area, the basilica would have appeared to have sunk as if in quicksand. In the Venetian period, when much of the building one sees today was erected, the interior floor level was kept low, to the effect that, even today, the thresholds of the portals of the west end lie well below the present street level, which has not changed appreciably since the thirteenth century. Only on the north side the lush 'Renaissance Gothic' façade was designed to challenge the portal zone of the Latin cathedral's porch to a dynamic visual dialogue, and it thus meets its rival on the same level. Naturally, once through the portals of this bombastic display of retrospective ornamental carving, steps led down to about the late antique level. Michael Willis' and Tassos Papacostas' studies of this site at the heart of medieval Nicosia have laid stress on its continuous occupation and use from the Early Christian period to beyond the waning of the Middle Ages; the rise in ground level around the church did not denote a sharp break.¹⁴⁶ At Limassol, where remarkable continuity has been observed from the Early Christian to the medieval phases, the interior floor level (which may have been uneven, since the floor of the southern apse was seemingly lower than that of the northern one) was kept low until the third quarter of the fifteenth century (?), when the new plaster floor was created (perhaps at the east end only?). If the site is indeed that of the Latin cathedral, as seems the case, then a few decades of desertion may be surmised between the 1420s and 1460s. Yet the aforementioned burial shows that earth was accumulating around the building before then, perhaps due to natural disasters (flood, earthquakes) and human intervention (for instance, the creation of the close in the mid-thirteenth century).

The foregoing argument has attempted to assess the existence of points of agreement, or at least of plausible convergence, of texts and archaeology in elucidating the history of Limassol's Latin Cathedral. Although establishing possible links between documents and architecture is never intuitive in this case, the relative abundance of evidence for the later periods (fifteenth century onwards) has enabled the formulation of

¹⁴⁶ Willis (1986); Papacostas (2005: 13). For the most recent research on the *Bedestan's* architecture, see Plagnieux and Soulard (2006: 181-9) and Soulard (2006b: 365-71).

some tentative hypotheses. But what about the Middle Byzantine and early Lusignan periods? Most importantly, where does the Venetian church of St Mark fit into the emerging picture? The Karlsruhe-Gotha representations of what the exterior of the (probably) largely twelfth-century structure looked like in 1486 have taught us not to expect a grandiose Gothic design, rather a plain, vaulted building indebted more to local architectural traditions than anything else. Since the destruction layer succeeding the earliest building phase at the mosque has been dated to the seventh century, and since architectural elements of the northern apse, such as the *synthronon*, are thought to have carried over to the next phase, the gap between destruction and rebuilding has been considered as relatively short, hence the dating of the latter in the eighth century or slightly later.¹⁴⁷ While this is a sensible conclusion, D.M. Metcalf's misgivings regarding scholars' ability to calculate the time elapsing between the destruction or disuse of a church and its substitution by a new building should be taken to heart. It is often difficult to know whether a church was obliterated instantly and rebuilt shortly thereafter or whether it had stood as a mere crumbling ruin for decades or even centuries before being repaired or rebuilt.¹⁴⁸ As Procopiou rightly notes, the northern apse shows clear signs of reconstruction: witness the masonry sutures on the exterior faces, the discrepancy in the alignment of the apse angles between upper and lower ashlar courses and the re-used inscription of the fifth/sixth century mentioning the prayer of Paul of Phasourios (fig. 58).¹⁴⁹ Would it be possible to postdate this rebuilding by a few centuries, connecting it with the twelfth-century Venetians? After all, the period from the eighth to the eleventh centuries (Cyprus' 'dark age') was not particularly propitious for undertaking large-scale building work, given that at that time the island's economy and urban life appear to have been at a very low ebb.¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, the extent of the reconstruction is currently unknown and need not have been delayed till the eighth century or later. In the end, all we have to work with is the eastern end of the church, which, in the case of late antique structures, was frequently incorporated within later schemes.¹⁵¹ It is thus not improbable that, even if the *ca.* eighth century dating for the rebuilding of the northern apse is indeed accepted, the apses could have been integrated within a twelfth-century rebuilding at the time

¹⁴⁷ Procopiou (1997a: 290).

¹⁴⁸ Metcalf (2009: 254-6).

¹⁴⁹ Procopiou (1997a: 289, 318).

¹⁵⁰ Papacostas (1999b: I, 208-19); Metcalf (2009: 425-526).

¹⁵¹ Papacostas (2005: 21-2).

the Venetians would have acquired the site. The truth remains that the evidence is so sparse and ambiguous that no bold affirmation can be made on any of the above issues.

What can be summed up from the meandering thoughts elicited by our scrutiny of the Latin cathedral of Limassol and its history does not compare to the much better developed narratives concerning the mother churches of the kingdom's two royal towns, Nicosia and Famagusta. Regardless, it can prove useful as the basis for future discussion. The earliest known building on the site of the Great Mosque, almost certainly that of the former Latin cathedral as identified by textual and visual evidence, was an Early Christian church, probably timber-roofed. This was destroyed in the seventh century and later rebuilt, before being acquired by the Venetian community and reworked in the latter half of the twelfth century. It has been shown that the Venetian church of St Mark inherited by the Latin see of Limassol in 1196 was not in due course substituted by a majestic Gothic building, as happened elsewhere. The bishopric's limited means and the adversities that plagued the town from the fourteenth century onwards ensured that the cathedral was poorly maintained throughout and eventually precipitated its partial collapse (probably in the Mamluk raids of the 1420s). The bishop's palace and the close also succumbed to the town's misfortunes, the whole situation leading to disruption in the see's and the cathedral's function by the middle of the fifteenth century. The church was hastily repaired in the century's third quarter, when a new plaster floor may have been laid in the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the building remained in an unenviable state until 1570/1, following which it was converted for Muslim worship. This latter transformation may have entailed minimal interventions to the fabric of the church (besides the purging of the interior of religious images and ecclesiastical furnishings). That the mosque is described as 'new' in 1586 could imply that it had suffered severe damage in the quake of 1583 and was subsequently rebuilt (or at least heavily restored) contemporaneously with the Greek cathedral. Since then, the mosque appears to have undergone successive repairs and rebuildings on the same site, of which only the ones perpetrated in the British period are now known in any detail.

Topographical Odds and Ends and the Issue of 'Limassol Gothic'

Of the site and architecture of the town's Greek cathedral, sporadically mentioned in medieval and post-medieval sources, virtually nothing

concrete is known. Speculation has favoured either the site of the present Ayia Napa or that of the Cami Kebir, and while the latter has been shown to be untenable, the former cannot be proven conclusively at present.¹⁵² The only parish church of the Latins in Limassol (besides the cathedral, which also had parochial functions) was that of St George, mentioned in 1367. This can be identified with the church of the same dedication belonging to the cathedral in the 1240s and which lay on land belonging to a member of the town's Venetian community prior to the 1190s. It is sometimes identified with the chapel of St George where Richard I married Berengaria of Navarre in 1191, although the wedding's venue may not have been located in Limassol itself.¹⁵³ Latin parishes were extremely few throughout the kingdom, and most emerged in the towns after the demographic surge caused by dislocated Christian populations fleeing the Crusader mainland under Muslim pressure in the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁴ It is hardly surprising that St George is nowhere mentioned in sources from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when the Latin element was significantly reduced in Limassol. Its site and form are both unknown. The same is true of the convents of the mendicant orders, the houses of the military orders (with the exception of the Templar church?) and the buildings of the Italian mercantile communities. Much more research needs to be done, both in the archives and on the ground, for the topography of Lusignan and Venetian Limassol to even begin taking shape in scholarly discourse.¹⁵⁵

Current and future excavations within the historical core of the modern town will hopefully also enrich our understanding of the particular strand of Gothic practised by local builders and how this was related to the styles developed in the major centres of architectural innovation in the kingdom, the towns of Nicosia and (from *ca.* 1300) Famagusta. As matters stand, this is an exceedingly complicated task. The thirteenth-century church

¹⁵² *Excerpta Cypria*, 66; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 90, 99; Dom Loupvent, 89; *Itinerario da Terra Sancta*, fol. 30r; Enlart (1899: II, 450; 1987: 341); Jeffery (1918: 369-70); Procopiou (1997a: 290-6 *passim*; 2006a: 116).

¹⁵³ *Documents chypriotes*, 73, 94, 98; Marsilio Zorzi, 184.21-2 and Papadopoulou (1983: 309, §3); Papacostas (1999a: 489-90). See discussions by Tassos Papacostas and by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel in this volume.

¹⁵⁴ Nicosia provides a good example. In 1253, the Latin cathedral was still the only Latin parish church in the Cypriot capital, but by the early fourteenth century there were more. See *Cartulary*, no. 24, *Synodicum Nicosiense*, A.XXVIII.2, I.XIXb, and *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, e-19.

¹⁵⁵ The churches of St Sergius and (possibly) St Mary Magdalen are mentioned in 1367, but nothing more is known about them; see *Documents chypriotes*, 86.

within the castle follows the trend popularised by Nicosia Cathedral at the time, and the reverberations of which could be felt at Bellapais Abbey and possibly elsewhere. From the fourteenth century the field of architectural design on the island grew more varied, with Famagusta becoming home to a distinct version of high-end Cypriot Gothic born at the *chantier* of the Latin cathedral and dominating artistic expression in the town, before spreading beyond its narrow confines to other sites.¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to see where Limassol stands in this, given that the castle is a virtual *unicum* in its design, as the military installation had to adapt itself to the shell of a pre-existing ecclesiastical edifice, and its rather terse ornamental scheme discloses little about the training of the master mason, aside from the fact that he had been familiar with Famagustan designs, probably a corollary of this being a royal commission. On the other hand, the Latin cathedral is too imperfectly known to provide any useful insights into the question. Should it have remained largely unaffected by the introduction of the Gothic on the island, as seems the case, then perhaps even considering ‘Limassol Gothic’ to be a possibility could be misguided. After all, it was the designs introduced at the cathedrals of the island’s two principal towns by master masons from Europe that kick-started the process of local adoption and adaptation that led to the gradual emergence of Cypriot Gothic, whether ‘Nicosian’ or ‘Famagustan’ in its particularities.¹⁵⁷ In Limassol, the military orders might have become the richest and most powerful institutions in the town in the 1290s, but their presence there did not last long and, besides, nothing concrete is known about their buildings. While there is hardly any evidence for a recognisable ‘Limassol variation’ of the style within the town itself, perhaps more could be learned about it by looking at the extant edifices in its hinterland.

The Carmelite Church in Pano Polemidia

Whereas the urban convents of the mendicant orders in Limassol itself have long disappeared without trace, a rural Carmelite foundation in Pano Polemidia, in the modern town’s suburbs, has preserved its church and fragments of the adjoining conventual buildings. According to Étienne de Lusignan, the friars had a small establishment (‘loghetto’) there, in addition to their Limassol house.¹⁵⁸ This late-sixteenth-century passage is,

¹⁵⁶ Olympios (forthcoming b).

¹⁵⁷ Olympios (2010: I, 316-22; forthcoming b).

¹⁵⁸ Lusignan, *Chorografia*, fol. 33r: ‘outside of Limassol, one league towards the village of Polemidia’. In Lusignan, *Description*, fol. 90r this foundation is

to this day, the only explicit piece of information we have about the site. Following their exodus from the Holy Land in 1238, when Christian-Muslim conflict there was escalating, a number of Carmelites settled on Cyprus. The earliest extant evidence for the presence of the order in the kingdom comes from 1261, that is, after the crucial 1240s, which redefined its social role and mission. The amendments made to the Carmelite rule in 1247 envisioned a more involved pastoral role for the former anchorites, effectively converting them into mendicants, if not overnight, then certainly in the course of the following decades. As was the case in Europe, the Carmelites' earliest establishments must have been hermitages in the order's time-honoured tradition, before their new duties led them to relocate closer to the towns.¹⁵⁹ Fortamia, a Carmelite house located close to the castle of Dieudamour/St Hilarion in the north, was one such establishment: it was qualified already in fourteenth-century lists of the order's houses in the Holy Land province as 'domus Fortanie in heremo'.¹⁶⁰ Despite the hermits becoming friars, Fortamia survived well into the Venetian period, when it is known to have pursued the acquisition of landed property in its vicinity and to have endeavoured to repair its buildings.¹⁶¹

It would be logical to conclude that the *loghetto* at Polemidia would have presented a similar case, but it is never mentioned in any of the lists.¹⁶² The fourteenth-century Carmelite William of Coventry, however, was aware of early Carmelite settlement at Limassol and Fortamia, even though these establishments would not have been founded by Richard of England after his defeat of Isaac, as the author contends. According to this account, on the counsel of his clerics, Richard would have established the

described as a Carmelite 'monastery' being 'one league away from Limassol, towards the mountains'.

¹⁵⁹ *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, f-36; Jotischky (1995: 143-4, 149; 2002: 12-13, 15-16, 36, 81); Andrews (2006: 14-21, 23-9).

¹⁶⁰ *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 266 (the information is repeated in later texts).

¹⁶¹ *Acta Capitulorum O. Carm.*, I, 439 (repairs to the Fortamia buildings in 1548); Aristeidou, *Venetian Documents II*, nos. 54-5, where in 1513 the order ventures to purchase from the state the villages ('casalli') of Trimithi and Kazaphani in the Kyrenia district, which lay close to the convent ('convento') of Fortamia, for the latter's and the order's benefit. It should be noted that this transaction probably fell through, since by 1516 the two villages were in the hands of a lay couple; *ibid.*, no. 181, pp. 348-50. On Fortamia in general, see also the comments in Olympios (2009b: 30, 57) and Coureas (2010: 369). For the tentative identification of the site of Fortamia with the ruins at Prophitis Elias, west of St Hilarion, see now Petre (2012: 389-99).

¹⁶² *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 262-6.

Carmelites on the sites of the two battlefields where he had routed the Greek impostor's forces, namely 'first in Limassol, and second in the countryside, at a place five miles distant from Limassol, which is called Fortamy'.¹⁶³ Their role would be to celebrate Mass in honour of the dead 'Catholics' who had fallen in battle on those occasions. The author even goes out of his way to note that no 'Catholics' were resident on Cyprus before the Carmelites, pushing his luck and stretching the boundaries of credibility. Despite the glaring propaganda and factual errors, William may be correct in placing an early Carmelite settlement in the Limassol area, as he was in singling out the order's establishment near St Hilarion in the same context (although confusion arises from his applying the name of 'Fortamia' to the foundation near Limassol, instead of the one on the Kyrenia mountain range). In the light of this discussion, an early Carmelite establishment at or near rural Polemidia, away from urban Limassol, would not be out of the question.¹⁶⁴

After the Limassol house would have been established, the Polemidia foundation could have served as a rural estate or dependency of the order. In 1308, the Nicosia Dominicans had been granted papal permission to relocate to a site provided by Amaury, lord of Tyre, closer to the town centre, while at the same time holding on to their old convent, which would be kept in the custody of some members of the order in perpetuity.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps something similar occurred in the case of the Polemidia Carmelites. Admittedly, this interpretation is highly conjectural and the question should remain open until the accumulation of additional evidence allows for more trenchant views.

The church, known today as the Karmiotissa, consists of a simple rectangular envelope built in irregular courses of roughly shaped stones with rubble injected in the joints (figs. 59-60).¹⁶⁶ The flat, forbidding walls

¹⁶³ *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 275, 280-1: '[...] primo apud Limesium, secundo in campestribus, loco quodam a Limesio quinque miliaribus distante, qui vocatur Fortamy'.

¹⁶⁴ By 1216, part of Polemidia, with its olive groves, belonged to the Greek monastery of St Theodosios of Judea; see Richard (1986) and *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, c-1.

¹⁶⁵ *Bullarium Cyprium*, II, q-29.

¹⁶⁶ As far as the architecture is concerned, the main accounts can be found in Enlart (1899: II, 456-60; 1987: 345-8); Jeffery (1918: 360); Gunnis (1936: 391-2); Papageorghiou (1987: 293); Vaivre (2006b: 37). For the modern alterations and repairs, see *ARDA 1952*, 10 (floor paved in stone); *ARDA 1957*, 11 (north wall reinforced and partly rebuilt and remains of conventual structures consolidated to counter vault thrust); *ARDA 1978*, 14 (vault and walls reinforced and repaired);

are articulated solely by very thin lancet windows at the eastern and western ends of the south wall and two diminutive rectangular windows superposed on the eastern wall (there are no windows on the northern and western walls), as well as by plain, slender buttresses. Three doorways are pierced one each through the middle of the north, west and south walls. Only on the window and door frames, on the arches, and at the four angle buttresses do we find more careful ashlar construction. The impostes and arch fragments jutting out of the northwest and southwest angle buttresses indicate the erstwhile existence of a timber-roofed porch in front of the western doorway, which was still partly extant in the 1890s, when Enlart saw it (fig. 61).¹⁶⁷ The north wall preserves traces of the conventual buildings attached to the church on this side (fig. 62). Recent excavations have brought to light two vaulted spaces connected to the church, but the excavators have not proffered any opinion on their function yet.¹⁶⁸ Enlart had noted the vestiges of more structures attached to the church's southern wall, where a porch (now much altered) gave access to the south doorway.

The sparseness and limited dimensions of the lancet windows on the southern long wall are a corollary of the decision to place a pointed barrel vault over the entire church, which would need to have its thrusts diffused and neutralised along its entire length (fig. 63). The wide splays of the interior side of these windows were meant to ameliorate lighting conditions in the otherwise dark interior. Here, the monotony of the barrel vault in question, repaired in 2001 after damage caused by a fire, is only alleviated by a transverse arch of prismatic profile reinforcing it at about its mid-section. As the monastic structures were located on the north side, no openings exist on the north wall below the vault besides the doorway. Aside from a spacious arched piscina to the south of the high altar and a couple of smaller niches (credences) set into the northern and eastern walls, the rest of the interior is almost entirely denuded (fig. 64). Choir and nave are hardly defined as distinct spatial units and, had it not been for the post-medieval Greek iconostasis, only the liturgical apparatus (altar, piscina) would hint at this as a religious space.

ARDA 1980, 16-17 (repairs to the vault continued); *ARDA 1982*, 19 (vault still being repaired, new wooden doors and windows installed); *ARDA 2001*, 39 (new repairs to the vault and transverse arch following a fire); *ARDA 2002*, 39-40 (repairs to the vault and the interior continued).

¹⁶⁷ The arches at the northern and southern ends of the west porch were still standing at the time of Enlart's visit, as is attested to by a recently published photograph: see Vaivre and Plagnieux (2012: 315-20).

¹⁶⁸ *ARDA 2002*, 39-40. At the end of the nineteenth century, Enlart could still see the remains of the convent's waterworks and a well to the north of the church.

The present scheme of access to the interior, through a door at the west end and two doors facing each other on the long walls, is problematic for a church of the friars. Mendicant churches unfailingly sported a door leading from the cloister straight into the choir, to the east of the choir screen. This arrangement prevented the friars and the lay congregation from seeing each other during the services.¹⁶⁹ The absence of such an access would be highly irregular. A doorway that can now be seen sealed with later masonry under the easternmost arch on the exterior of the north wall is placed sufficiently towards the east to have fulfilled this role, but George Jeffery is probably right in reconstructing a sacristy on this side of the building (fig. 65).¹⁷⁰ No other blocked accesses are to be discerned anywhere else on this northern wall. This fact raises questions about the use of this church by the friars, as none of the surviving mendicant churches elsewhere on the island had two doorways directly facing each other across the nave.¹⁷¹ Could this have anything to do with the house's possible 'hermetical' character, even after the friars' espousal of their urban mission? Is it possible that this arrangement hints at a different use of this church by the members of the order? The answer is far from clear. Future research into the architecture of the Carmelites' rural foundations may help elucidate these issues further.¹⁷²

The surviving (or known) mendicant churches of the Franciscans and the Carmelites in Famagusta and the Augustinian Hermits in Nicosia,

¹⁶⁹ Hall (2006: 218) with earlier bibliography. For access to the various parts of mendicant churches, see Cooper (2011).

¹⁷⁰ Jeffery (1918: 360).

¹⁷¹ The Augustinian church (present Omerye/al-Omarya Mosque) in Nicosia, where the conventual buildings lay on the south, had a doorway in the western part of the north wall of the second nave bay (from the west), now obscured by a later structure, and another in the eastern part of the south wall of the third bay, now blocked. Thus, the two doorways opened on two different sides of the rood screen. At the Famagusta Carmelites, where again the convent lay on the south, no doorway can now be seen on the northern side. At the Famagusta Franciscans, where the monastic structures were on the northern side, there may have been no door on the south wall; the one that exists now opposite the one leading into the building from the convent is probably modern (as is the stretch of masonry connecting it with the south side of the apse). For these three buildings, see Enlart (1899: I, 162-7, 327-47; 1987: 146-50, 262-74); Plagnieux and Soulard (2006: 176-80, 238-42, 251-6); Olympios (2009b: 33-46; 2009c; 2010: I, 218-28).

¹⁷² It would be interesting to study the issue in parallel with other non-urban houses of the order, primarily the mother-house at Carmel, where the connection between church and conventual buildings is still imperfectly known; see Pringle (1993-2009: II, 250-7) and Folda (2005: 199-200).

dating from the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, were all single-nave, rib-vaulted buildings terminating in five-sided apses towards the east. The church of the Polemidia Carmelites breaks from this pattern, eschewing all the Gothic trappings of its urban counterparts. Its ponderous barrel vault, boxy exterior, few and diminutive openings, and unambitious masonry bring it more in line with rural Greek churches of the Lusignan and Venetian periods.¹⁷³ Barrel-vaulted mendicant churches with flat eastern terminations were not unheard of in the Latin Eastern Mediterranean; one has but to look to Venetian Crete to find parallels, for instance in the Franciscan churches of Canea (St Francis, Saviour).¹⁷⁴ Yet both the Polemidia church and the Cretan examples are more indebted to local developments than ideas and designs from abroad. Thus, the Polemidia church gives us some idea of the architecture a Latin institution could sponsor (with minimal funds?) employing a workforce untrained in the venerable Gothic traditions of the Cypriot towns, but apparently better suited to the village or monastery churches of the Greek countryside.

As is usually the case with this kind of architecture, the design and ornament are too plain to be dated by means of their style alone. The few and uninspired sculptural motifs occupying the imposts of the western porch are so stylistically generic that firm conclusions about their date prove impossible. The single rosette on the northern impost became popular in the late Lusignan and Venetian periods: examples include the portal and window hood-moulds at the ‘Tanners’ Mosque’ at Famagusta and the west portal tympanum at the church of the monastery of Ayia Napa (fig. 66). The use of a barrel vault articulated by transverse arches can be paralleled in urban religious architecture at the so-called ‘Mustafa Paşa Tamisi’ in Famagusta, from the Venetian period.¹⁷⁵ It is unclear whether the absence of classical/classicising ornament should be factored into the dating, given the general decorative dearth. From the above, a date in the late Lusignan or Venetian periods could be ascribed to our building. It remains unknown whether the tombstones bearing nigh illegible French inscriptions found in the pavement in the nineteenth century originated in

¹⁷³ For Greek architecture during the Lusignan and Venetian periods, see generally Papageorgiou (1966: 269-70; 1982: 222; 1995: 275-61; 1998: 99), Stylianou and Stylianou (1996: 1230-46), and Gioles (2003: 143-7) with bibliography.

¹⁷⁴ Gerola (1905-1932: II, 131-4); Kitsiki-Panagopoulos (1979: 102-11). Gratziou (2010: 39-46) connects the Cretan barrel vaults in the friars’ churches with the emergence of a local variant of the Gothic and traces their influence on local building.

¹⁷⁵ Enlart (1899: I, 386-94, 414-16; 1987: 299-303, 317-18).

the building itself, or whether they were transferred from elsewhere to be used as paving material in the post-medieval period.¹⁷⁶ If the scenario concerning the precocity of Carmelite presence here is accepted, then a late date for the church would surely denote a rebuilding, but how could such a move be justified in these years? Étienne de Lusignan tells us that all the convents of the friars were abandoned after the Mamluk raids of the 1420s, with the exception of those at Nicosia and Famagusta. This is an exaggeration, to some extent; we have seen that Fortamia persevered well into the Venetian period.¹⁷⁷ In 1515, the Carmelite convents at Nicosia, Famagusta, and Fortamia are recorded as functioning, whereas their counterparts in Paphos and Limassol lay deserted.¹⁷⁸ Under these circumstances, a late rebuilding would mean that the Polemidia house survived the Mamluk attacks to be restored and continue functioning, although it is unknown if it survived the desertion of the Limassol convent, and what exactly the relationship between the two might have been.

‘Urban’ Accents in Greek Architecture of the Limassol Region

For the most part, Greek rural churches of the Lusignan and Venetian periods in the periphery of Limassol reproduced building types current before 1191, as in the rest of Cyprus. Cross-in-square churches were few in this period, yet single-nave barrel-vaulted churches survive in fair numbers, as do specimens of the timber-roofed variety, particularly in the mountainous region of the Troodos, and the ubiquitous dome-hall type.¹⁷⁹ However, there is little here that can be related to architectural developments in Limassol itself, since not a single example of a late

¹⁷⁶ *Lacrimae Cypriae*, I, 222-3, 344. Unfortunately, the slabs are too mutilated to be dated with any precision.

¹⁷⁷ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fol. 33r and *Description*, fol. 90r. According to a late account, the Minorites of Paphos had been ousted from the town by the Greeks as late as 1460, during unrest preceding James II's rise to the throne (*reg.* 1460-1473); see Civezza (1857-1881: V, 313), quoting the *Gesta Dei per Fratres Minores in Terra Sancta* of Justinian of Venice (eighteenth century). The Paphos Franciscan church is described by pilgrims as being in ruins in the final decades of the fifteenth century, Calvelli (2009: 29, note 117).

¹⁷⁸ *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 263.

¹⁷⁹ For a recent general survey of the region's Greek churches, see Philotheou (2006: 129-140). More literature on the Greek architecture of the period can be found in note 173 above.

medieval Greek ecclesiastical structure has come down to the present day. Most intriguing is the case of the church of the monastery of St Nicholas of the Cats near Akrotiri, a Middle Byzantine foundation.¹⁸⁰ In its present form, the church constitutes a long single-nave structure ending in a round apse (fig. 67). The interior of the nave is covered by a barrel vault braced by transverse arches, but the removal of the masonry skin in 1960 at the four corners of what used to be the narthex has revealed the existence of corbels carrying rib springers (fig. 68). Further examination of the stonework indicates that the church apparently began life as a dome-hall building with a rib-vaulted narthex attached (at a later date?), which was later repaired or reconstructed with a long barrel-vault over both the *naos* and the narthex. The dates for both the building and re-building are uncertain.¹⁸¹ The sculpture surrounding the tympanum of the north doorway, if carved for the present church, would suggest a later rather than an earlier date, while the unadorned corbels carrying the ribs in the narthex recall those of the Gothic Panayia Galatariotissa (Franciscan Church?) at Kato Paphos (*ca.* 1300) (fig. 69).¹⁸²

The adoption of rib-vaulting in Greek ecclesiastical buildings is something that goes back to at least fourteenth-century Nicosia and Famagusta (southern aisles of the Hodegetria, basilica of St George of the Greeks), though its use grew in popularity in later centuries (later phases of the Hodegetria, Archangel Michael at Lakatamia, repairs to the narthex of the Apsinthiotissa and the exonarthex of the Acheiropoitos etc.).¹⁸³ The domes of the churches of the Holy Cross at Kouka and St Philip at Arsos, both in the Limassol district, were at some point in the fifteenth or

¹⁸⁰ For the history, see Papacostas (1999b: I, 98-9, II, 121), but compare with Tassos Papacostas' chapter in this volume. For the architecture, see Enlart (1899: II, 460-6; 1987: 348-52); Jeffery (1918: 371-3); Papageorghiou (1989: 249-52); Philotheou (2006: 132). For repairs and restorations see *ARDA 1959*, 14 (church consolidated and site cleared); *ARDA 1981*, 16 (restoration of eastern wing of the complex initiated); *ARDA 1982*, 17 (restoration of eastern wing continued); *ARDA 2004*, 40 (northern wing cleaned, several years after previous cleaning in 1990); *ARDA 2008*, 31 (northern and western cloister walks of reinforced concrete, put up in 1995, torn down and rebuilt in stone with tiled timber roof).

¹⁸¹ Papageorghiou (1989: 251) and *ARDA 2004*, 40 both date the church to the Lusignan period (thirteenth-fourteenth century), while the latter text places the reconstruction of the vaulting in the fifteenth. Note that no traces of the second rib vault mentioned by Papageorghiou are now visible.

¹⁸² For the Galatariotissa, see Olympios (2009c: 117-19).

¹⁸³ Enlart (1899: I, 240-6; 1987: 202-6); Papageorghiou (1963: 75; 1985a: 96-7; 1985b: 107-8; 1995: 275-7); Jakovljević and Kyrris (n. d.).

sixteenth centuries substituted by rib vaults (fig. 70).¹⁸⁴ Perhaps the co-existence of domes and rib vaults in Greek churches such as the Hodegetria and Lakatamia by the sixteenth century eventually rendered rib-vaulting an acceptable substitute for domes. The mechanisms through which rib-vaulting and other staples of urban architectural design (such as figural sculpture) reached the countryside and were disseminated far and wide are still poorly understood. While it can be shown that the Greek churches of Famagusta, built in accessible traditional types but incorporating elements common to the town's Latin churches (buttresses, mouldings, sculptural ornament etc.), were responsible for the propagation of these same elements in the town's hinterland, in the case of Limassol evidence is sorely lacking.¹⁸⁵ It is thus unknown whether the town's Greek churches would have been a sort of missing link in the dissemination of rib-vaulting and assorted architectural elements in the area, or whether the impulse for this derived from elsewhere. Ergo, the architectural relationship between Limassol and its diocese/administrative district needs to be explored and elucidated further.

Kolossi

Hospitaller Kolossi should be viewed as a case apart in the architectural landscape of Limassol and its hinterland.¹⁸⁶ The site had been donated to the knights by its former proprietor, a certain Garin of Colos, possibly prior to 1203. The village, with all its appurtenances and privileges, was confirmed to the order by Hugh I (*reg.* 1205-1218) in 1210, together with

¹⁸⁴ Philotheou (2006: 138-40). For Kouka, see Gunnis (1936: 284); Papageorgiou (1990a: 315-16); Papacostas (1999b: II, 42-3); *ARDA* 1955, 11; *ARDA* 1957, 11; *ARDA* 1975, 16; *ARDA* 1993, 23-4; *ARDA* 1998, 31; *ARDA* 2001, 38; *ARDA* 2007, 33; *ARDA* 2008, 32. At Arsos, where the exterior is entirely enveloped in modern masonry, the interior stonework came to light recently after the removal of the plaster; a probable date in the Lusignan period has been suggested (thirteenth century?); see Jeffery (1918: 361); Gunnis (1936: 179); Hadjichristodoulou (2004: 264-5); *ARDA* 1999, 27; *ARDA* 2000, 31.

¹⁸⁵ For thoughts on these matters relating to the Famagusta material, see Olympios (forthcoming a).

¹⁸⁶ For the history and architecture of Hospitaller Kolossi, and much that is to follow, see Rey (1871: 233-7); Enlart (1899: II: 683-95; 1987: 494-502); Jeffery (1918: 373-6); Gunnis (1936: 276-80); Hill (1940-1952: III, 1132-3); Megaw (1964; 1977: 206); Müller-Wiener (1966: 91); Luttrell (1972: 170; 1986: 176 and passim; 1993: 158; 1995a: passim; 2011: xliv, lxx-lxxi); Aristeidou (1983); Vaivre (2000; 2006a); Petre (2012: 203-30).

other property in Limassol and other parts of the island. By then, and to the end of the medieval period, Kolossi functioned as the knights' main base on Cyprus, except during the brief period between the fall of Acre (1291) and the transfer of their headquarters to Rhodes (1310), when their main convent was in Limassol.

It is from this latter period that Kolossi's importance to the order increased significantly, as in 1301 the General Chapter patterned its administration after that enjoyed by the *casale* of Manueth (Khirbat Manawat), an agricultural estate accommodating a sugar refinery that the Hospitallers possessed (for most of the thirteenth century) to the northeast of Acre.¹⁸⁷ Manueth was used for agricultural exploitation, production and storage and, although it was probably protected by a tower on a nearby hill, it could never be considered a castle – and neither should Kolossi, for that matter, prior to the 1450s. The knights' Cypriot possession fulfilled the role of an agrarian centre of crop collection, storage, and sugar production. A sugar refinery is known to have functioned at Kolossi since before the 1340s at the latest, and the excavations being carried out by the Department of Antiquities are shedding considerable light on the process, which did not die out at the site until well into the Ottoman period (fig. 71). An aqueduct erected in its present form probably under Grand Master Raymond Bérenger (1365-1373, former Grand Preceptor of Cyprus *ca.* 1362-1365) fed the refinery's water mill (lying to the east of the keep) from Kouris River (fig. 72). The grinding of the sugar cane and the boiling of the juice occurred in dedicated spaces, the grinding-room and the large barrel-vaulted room of the refinery (fig. 73). The site is unique among its Cypriot counterparts so far for producing the remains of a press for sugar-pulp extraction.¹⁸⁸ Sugar, as an exportable commodity, was a great asset for the economy of Cyprus throughout the period, and no less so for the Hospitallers, who had been previously involved in its production on the Crusader mainland. The excavation of three major sugar refineries, Kouklia-*Stavros* (a royal estate), Episkopi-*Serayia* (run by the Ibelins and later the Cornaro family) and Hospitaller Kolossi, has demonstrated the paramount financial importance of sugar production for landowners active in the coastal area between Limassol and Paphos. Since building and operating a sugar refinery both entailed a significant capital investment and constituted a source of considerable capital itself, these installations needed to be secured against possible adversities, particularly of the man-

¹⁸⁷ For Manueth, see Boas (2010: 353-5). Also, Brigitte-Porée (1995: 413-15).

¹⁸⁸ Brigitte-Porée (1995: 434-5); Solomidou-Ieronymidou (2001: 5-7; 2004: 315-23; 2007: 78-81).

induced variety.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the presence of a fortified keep on the site of Kolossi served a purely defensive or, better put, protective purpose, which may be the reason for which the Cypriot crown tolerated its existence.

Excavations conducted by Megaw in 1951 investigated certain remains predating the construction of the imposing fifteenth-century keep, which tends to monopolise the regards of modern visitors. The most substantial of these are to be found to the southeast of the keep and are in the form of a well-head accessed via staircases inside what appears to have been a semi-circular tower (fig. 74).¹⁹⁰ More fragments of earlier walls have been found to the southeast and southwest of the later, fifteenth-century keep, and these are now being excavated and studied by the Department of Antiquities. They have been variously dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but research is ongoing and may end up resolving the issue of dates.¹⁹¹ What is of interest to this discussion is that, besides the tower on the eastern end of the complex, the site appears to have been very lightly fortified, if the meagre thickness of the earlier walls is anything to go by.

Étienne de Lusignan claimed that neither the Genoese nor the Mamluks were able to sack or capture Kolossi, which was well fortified.¹⁹² Checking the validity of the Dominican's late testimony is fraught with difficulties, as most extant sources do not refer specifically to Genoese or Muslim attacks on the site. Nevertheless, we do learn from archival sources that the Cypriot Grand Preceptory (or Grand Commandery) suffered grave losses in terms of personnel and revenue as a consequence of the Mamluk offensive of the 1420s, although the Kolossi buildings seem not to have been affected.¹⁹³ The site might have been targeted and damaged in yet another Mamluk attack in 1434; in any case by late 1452 the tower that stood there had been burned by the Grand Karaman's 'Saracens'.¹⁹⁴ This tower, which had served for storing the

¹⁸⁹ For the Cypriot sugar industry and its importance for the island's economy, see Luttrell (1996) and Wartburg (2001).

¹⁹⁰ The well-head alone was visible above ground prior to Megaw's investigations, as it is depicted and captioned on a plan of the site from 1937, for which see CSA, SA 1/1242/13/2, 149-150. See also *ARDA 1951*, 17.

¹⁹¹ *ARDA 1998*, 76; *ARDA 2000*, 64-5; *ARDA 2002*, 84-5; *ARDA 2005*, 76-7; Solomidou-Ieronymidou (2004: 322-3; 2007: 80-1).

¹⁹² Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 17v-18r and *Description*, fols. 35r, 154v. Bustron, 25 extolls the efficacy of its defences, but does not mention any attacks.

¹⁹³ *Documents from the Hospital*, no. 89; Luttrell (2011: xlix, note 22, l-li).

¹⁹⁴ Hill (1940-1952: III, 515-16). Brother Angelino Muscettulla, admiral and captain of the Castle of St Peter at Bodrum, to whom the Preceptory of Cyprus was

sugar and other produce and for providing refuge during raids, was riddled with fissures and threatened to collapse unless promptly and properly restored.

Brother Louis de Manhac, marshal of the Grand Master and preceptor of Chamberaud (in the priory of Auvergne) and Phinikas and Anoyira in Cyprus, was then granted by the Grand Master and the convent of Rhodes the Preceptory of Cyprus for life. This occurred after his offering to repair (or, rather, rebuild) the tower at his own expense and to make it in the form of a square castle with four angle towers and barbican according to the order's specifications: the walls would have to be at least 10 *palme* (ca. 2.8m) in thickness or more (this is left to Louis' discretion), whereas the height would be decided by a commissioner and a master mason (*prothomagistrum*) to be sent out from Rhodes. The barbican would have to be built of lime and sand and of a high quality commensurate with that of the castle itself. In erecting castle, towers, and barbican Louis would have to abide by the deadline appointed by the aforementioned commissioner and master builder.¹⁹⁵ This wealth of information is contained within a couple of documents dating from 1452 and preserved at the National Library of Malta, and which have only recently been published in full. However, scholars had been able to arrive at some of this information by piecing together evidence gathered from other quarters – fortunately, this has been plentiful. The patron of the new work at Kolossi had made certain to plaster his arms wherever possible throughout the keep and surrounding buildings. Louis de Manhac's heraldic device, the fleur-de-lys, can now be seen on the fireplaces in the keep's upper storey and the keystone of the miniature dome crowning the staircase which leads to the roof, while his coat of arms adorns the Crucifixion fresco on the south wall of the first storey (to the right of the main entrance) and the exterior of the eastern wall (figs. 75-6). In the latter case, Manhac's arms accompany a set of escutcheons arranged in a cruciform pattern and set in a cross-shaped cavity in the wall. Besides the Lusignan royal arms in the centre, the other two sets of arms on either side of it belonged to Grand Masters Jean de Lastic (1437-1454) and Jacques de Milly (1454-1461). In these circumstances, scholars were quick to realise that the work should be

leased for life according to a 1434 agreement, was expected to repair the preceptory's houses and churches following the wars with the Saracens: *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 111, 135; Karassava-Tsilingiri (1998: 263). In 1449, von Gumpenberg remarked that the Kolossi establishment was in a bad state; see *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 67.

¹⁹⁵ Vaivre (2000: 127-32, 143-9); Borchardt (2008: 168-9); *Documents from the Hospital*, nos. 298-9.

dated to about the mid-fifteenth century, straddling both tenures.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, Enlart was the first to identify the Rhodian stylistic elements of the keep's furnishings – an observation proven judicious by the charters of 1452, which state clearly that the master builder was to be appointed from Rhodes.

True to his promise, Louis de Manhac replaced most of the earlier structures on the site with new ones in the mid-fifteenth century, taking care to incorporate any usable earlier material. The old thirteenth- or fourteenth-century tower enclosing the well already discussed was apparently integrated into the curtain wall [*barbac(h)ana*] surrounding the keep. The new work comprised a relatively low ashlar-faced curtain wall (once crenellated) now preserved in front of the keep's eastern front and apparently joined to the earlier tower to the south (fig. 77). No trace of this wall has come to light to the south of the old tower, and thus its original form cannot be precisely determined at present. The curtain wall was preceded by a narrow moat, still partly discernible in the area in front of its doorway, access to which would have been via a drawbridge. The rectangular space to the south of the keep is defined by a wall, which is partly original and partly post-medieval work. Its interior is divided into four longitudinal rooms by walls parallel to the keep's southern face. An originally two-storeyed rectangular building lay adjacent immediately to the west. Its thick western and southern walls converge on a slender, round angle-tower built partly on top of the remains of an excavated earlier curtain wall (fig. 78). The ground storey's interior is shaped by means of a longitudinal columnar arcade and a transverse arcade of two arches at the southern end of the structure (fig. 79). The function of these spaces is at present unclear: according to Vaivre, the western wing may have housed the stables, while the eastern rooms could have been used for storage.¹⁹⁷ With the exception of the complex's southeast angle and the western part of the northern wall, reconstructed in the 1930s, this set of rooms appears to be largely coeval with the fifteenth-century campaign at the keep and

¹⁹⁶ Graffiti observed by Enlart on the keep's first storey (and now lost) give the date 1464, which provides a secure *terminus ante quem*, if one is needed; see Enlart (1899: II, 691-2; 1987: 499); Vaivre (2000: 94; 2006a: 415). For the most thorough investigation of Manhac's background and role in the life of the Kolossi buildings, see Vaivre (2000: 122-39). Gunnis (1936: 279) saw Manhac's arms on the semi-dome of the nearby church of St Eustathios.

¹⁹⁷ Vaivre (2000: 109-10; 2006a: 419).

barbican.¹⁹⁸ It was most assuredly built after the keep was well underway or completed, since it leans onto its southern front.

The keep is the indisputable centrepiece of the Kolossi installation (fig. 80).¹⁹⁹ It constitutes a self-contained crenellated tower of three stories on an almost cubic plan (length: 17m for the north and south sides, 17.35m for the east and west sides; height: 18.60m) (fig. 81). Its walls are sheathed in ashlar and almost entirely planar, with a series of modest windows at the height of the upper storey. Entry to the keep was originally provided exclusively by a doorway in the southern wall at the level of the middle

¹⁹⁸ Vaivre (2000: 109); Pilides (2009: I, 369-70). The reconstructed stretches of wall are visible on the 1937 plan in CSA, SA 1/1242/13/2, 149. The round tower at the southwest angle came to light in 1932; see Pilides (2009: I, 332, II, 524-6). For restoration work on the structures surrounding the keep, see *ARDA 1950*, 10 (foundations of boundary walls enclosing the site to north and west cleared and reconstructed, masonry of sugar refinery and mill hydraulics restored, cisterns inside and outside the keep cleared); *ARDA 1951*, 11 (section of aqueduct repaired, enclosure walls on north and west completed, that on east constructed, waterworks rearranged, sugar refinery repaired); *ARDA 1957*, 11 (refinery vaulting repaired); *ARDA 1964*, 11 (east boundary wall repaired); *ARDA 1967*, 10-11 (upper part of aqueduct raised and reset, partly rebuilt); *ARDA 1976*, 16 (staircase leading to the drawbridge and masonry of rooms to the southwest of the keep, sugar refinery and mill restored); *ARDA 1978*, 16 (treatment of masonry of keep's ancillary structures); *ARDA 1982*, 18 (store-room of the sugar mill repaired); *ARDA 1983*, 19 (walls of sugar mill treated); *ARDA 1994*, 24 (masonry of sugar mill and aqueduct restored); *ARDA 1995*, 22 (masonry of keep, sugar mill and aqueduct restored); *ARDA 1996*, 22 (sugar mill and aqueduct restored); *ARDA 1998*, 31 (structures of the sugar mill restored); *ARDA 1999*, 28 (excavated remains of sugar mill consolidated).

¹⁹⁹ On restoration work on the keep, CSA, SA 1/1242/13/2, 168; Vaivre (2000: 155); Pilides (2009: I, 332-3, II, 522-6) (repairs to entrance, including installation of staircase leading up to it, drawbridge and restoration of *machicoulis*, as well as repair of crenellations in 1933); *ARDA 1950*, 10 (repairs to walls and pavement of middle and upper stories, as well as the entrance, clearance of cistern); *ARDA 1954*, 11 (repairs to upper storey walls continued); *ARDA 1955*, 11 (repairs to masonry of upper storey completed); *ARDA 1957*, 11 (restoration of three cellar chambers); *ARDA 1958*, 13 (completion of restoration of cellars); *ARDA 1959*, 14 (insertion of iron grilles in middle storey windows and of iron door in doorway to basement); *ARDA 1964*, 7 (walls and vaults repaired and consolidated); *ARDA 1967*, 10-11 (glass panels installed in windows and in front of the Crucifixion fresco); *ARDA 1969*, 8 (floor slabs replaced and minor work on walls); *ARDA 1980*, 15 (newel staircase repaired, gargoyles provided for terrace); *ARDA 1981*, 15 (completion of repairs to cellars and staircase leading down to them); *ARDA 1995*, 22 (consolidation of walls and substitution of worn stonework); *ARDA 1999*, 28 (parts of the keep restored).

storey, protected by a *machicoulis* looming directly above it. The doorway pierced below on the same side and giving into the cellars at ground level was a later addition, as can be deduced from the fact that its masonry does not course with that of the wall into which it has been set. These cellars consist of three interconnected barrel-vaulted rooms oriented east-west, the middle and southern of which provided access to an underground cistern (fig. 82). Security reasons dictated the form of the narrow, arrow-slit-like openings on the short sides of the barrel-vaulted chambers, which only allowed for feeble light in the dark interior. The flight of steps currently lodged at the eastern end of the south chamber is a twentieth-century amenity, as in the 1890s access from the storey above was still through a trap door.

The doorway leading into the keep's middle storey was reached by means of a drawbridge (reinstated in 1933). This middle storey consisted of two interconnected barrel-vaulted rooms oriented north-south, namely at a 90° angle to the longitudinal axis of the cellar chambers. Put-log holes in the walls of both rooms indicate that a timber floor would have created an attic storey, lighted by its own windows on the rooms' short walls (fig. 83). Both rooms were provided with windows in front of which *coussièges* allowed for surveillance of the castle's surroundings, and the western room was further equipped with a generous fireplace, complete with moulded mantelpiece and latrines. The wall surfaces have been scraped clean of the plaster and whitewash applied to them, including the graffiti seen by Enlart and any ornamental painting, with the exception of the Crucifixion scene branded with de Manhac's arms already mentioned.²⁰⁰ The upper storey is reached via a newel staircase nestling in the keep's southeast angle. Here again the available space is divided into two barrel-vaulted rooms with their longitudinal axis arranged perpendicularly to that of the rooms directly below (meaning that they are oriented east-west, like the cellars on the ground floor). This upper storey mirrors the middle one in its main disposition, with provision for a timber floor and windows in the upper part of the walls, where attic space was created in each of the two rooms. Windows with *coussièges* were here again the order of the day in all four exterior walls and two fireplaces were arranged back-to-back on either side of the wall dividing the rooms (fig. 84). While the one serving the southern room is relatively plain except for de Manhac's fleur-de-lys, the fireplace in the northern room boasts a mantelpiece carved with

²⁰⁰ This zealous overcleaning, which had been projected since at least as early as 1937, was carried out in the 1950s. See CSA, SA 1/1242/13/2, 171; *ARDA 1953*, 10; *ARDA 1954*, 11; *ARDA 1955*, 11.

intricate interlace and floral patterns in addition to the preceptor's heraldic device (fig. 85). The existence of latrines in this room, coupled with the elaborate form of the mantelpiece, may identify it as the preceptor's private chamber. Persevering past this storey in the spiral staircase of the southeast angle leads to the keep's terrace.

The few carved ornamental details still to be seen at Kolossi exhibit certain motifs unattested in architectural endeavours elsewhere on the island, and which immediately give their Rhodian origin away. A good example of this is the (appropriately termed) 'Rhodian interlace' found on the mantelpiece of one of the fireplaces on the keep's upper storey, the (restored) machicolation atop its southern wall and on a sculptural fragment now lying among the ruins to the south (figs. 85-6). Giorgos Dellas, who studied the motif on Rhodes, came to the conclusion that it had been first employed in works underway during the magistracy of Antoni de Fluvià (1421-1437).²⁰¹ The 'Rhodian interlace' did not put in any other appearances on Cyprus (or, at least, none seem to have come down to us), illustrating the exceptional character of the building's architecture within the Cypriot context, which was predicated on the order's direct involvement in the project and the express summoning of the master builder from Rhodes itself. By the mid-fifteenth century Cypriot architectural designs had long informed Latin ecclesiastical architecture in the town of Rhodes, and Cypriot and Rhodian craftsmen are known to have collaborated in other fields, such as shipbuilding, on Cyprus itself.²⁰² Yet there is very little unequivocal evidence for the introduction of Rhodian architectural forms into the mainstream of Cypriot monumental architecture before or after Kolossi. In terms of some (at least) of its features, the keep at Kolossi represents an outsider in its local context, designed, as it is, by Hospitallers for Hospitallers. It is, in many ways, a monument to the Hospital's institutional identity and, as such, it helps but little in defining better the general building trends prevalent in the Limassol district during our period.

Epilogue

Ultimately, the emerging picture of the medieval architectural tradition(s) and practice(s) in Limassol and its district is as fragmentary as the fleeting glimpses the texts of contemporary travellers allow of the town amidst a

²⁰¹ Dellas (2007a: 205).

²⁰² *Documents chypriotes*, 43-5; Dellas (2007a: passim; 2007b: 384 and passim; 2009: 89); Olympios (2009b: esp. 54-6).

sea of nostalgic ruins. While Limassol continued its successful run as the island's foremost commercial harbour in the thirteenth century, it was abuzz with the activities of resident and transient Italian merchants, members of the military orders and the secular clergy. Like many of the Venetian properties predating the establishment of Lusignan rule, the community's churches found new owners, namely the newly-founded secular ecclesiastical hierarchy: St Mark's became the Latin cathedral of Our Lady and St George apparently continued to serve parish functions. Both the Templars and the Hospitallers possessed houses with fortified towers in the town, and the Genoese and Pisans had their own buildings, including towers and *loggie*. This era of relative prosperity is reflected in the dense urban landscape revealed by recent archaeological work and in the cutting-edge architecture of the church at the heart of the present castle, which looked to Nicosia and Levantine precedent for inspiration. As Limassol was waning in relative importance before Famagusta's rising star, in the decades around 1300, which may have been the town's swan-song, the mendicants brought their business to the town, and the military orders transferred their headquarters there for about two decades. Following the suppression of the Templars and the relocation of the Hospitallers to Rhodes, however, Limassol experienced a long period of financial decline on account of successive natural disasters, war and plunder. The Latin see, never a wealthy one, was singularly unequipped to deal with the huge expenses incurred due to the calamities that struck at its base. For many a decade, the cathedral, the same 'Byzantinising' structure that the Venetians bequeathed the Latin hierarchy, was left teetering on the edge of obliteration, while the clergy were prevented from performing their duties by the annihilation of the episcopal palace and other buildings.

Limassol's fortunes spiked moderately after the Genoese capture of Famagusta in 1373, when the king saw fit to fortify it against enemy danger by constructing a castle there for the first time. The shell of the deluxe Gothic church was salvaged for the purpose, evidently for reasons of reduced costs and expediency. It should not be surprising that, wherever the design rose above the merely serviceable, it had a distinct Famagustan flavour – even at this late date, Limassol does not appear to have developed its own brand of high-quality architecture that would befit a royal project. After several decades of not building on a big enough scale, it is doubtful that there would have been masons in the town capable of rising to the task. If there ever had been a continuous architectural tradition at Limassol, along the lines of Nicosia and Famagusta, it would probably have been disrupted. It is these same calamities afflicting the wider region that gave birth to the mid-fifteenth-century campaign at

Kolossi. Being a work overseen by the Hospitaller Grand Master and the convent in Rhodes, the new keep and its outbuildings represent yet another case of ‘imported’ architectural design, this time from beyond the confines of the island kingdom. Searching for clues in the architecture of the wider district does not help either: long-entrenched rural building modes, uncertain dates and the lack of relevant urban comparanda in Limassol itself hinder advancing beyond mere generalities at this point.

In the late Middle Ages, Limassol was seen as a once splendid but at that time eviscerated little town, victim to a host of misfortunes of alleged biblical proportions, including the wrath of a vindictive sovereign. That was the melancholic image foreign travellers took home, and which they have willed to us. To nuance our understanding of the topography, urbanism, and architecture of Limassol in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and even the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, painstaking archaeological work, coupled with a level-headed re-evaluation of the extant monuments in the light of the latest discoveries, is the only way forward. If we are to peer beyond the ruins, we will have to rummage through them.



Fig. 3: Plan of the area surrounding Limassol Castle and the Great Mosque [Procopiou (1997a: 286, fig. 1)].



Fig. 4: Limassol Castle, general view of the west end from the northwest [M. Olympios].



Fig. 6: Limassol Castle, view of the east end of the northern aisle of the cellars, with part of the low semicircular apse visible [M. Olympios].

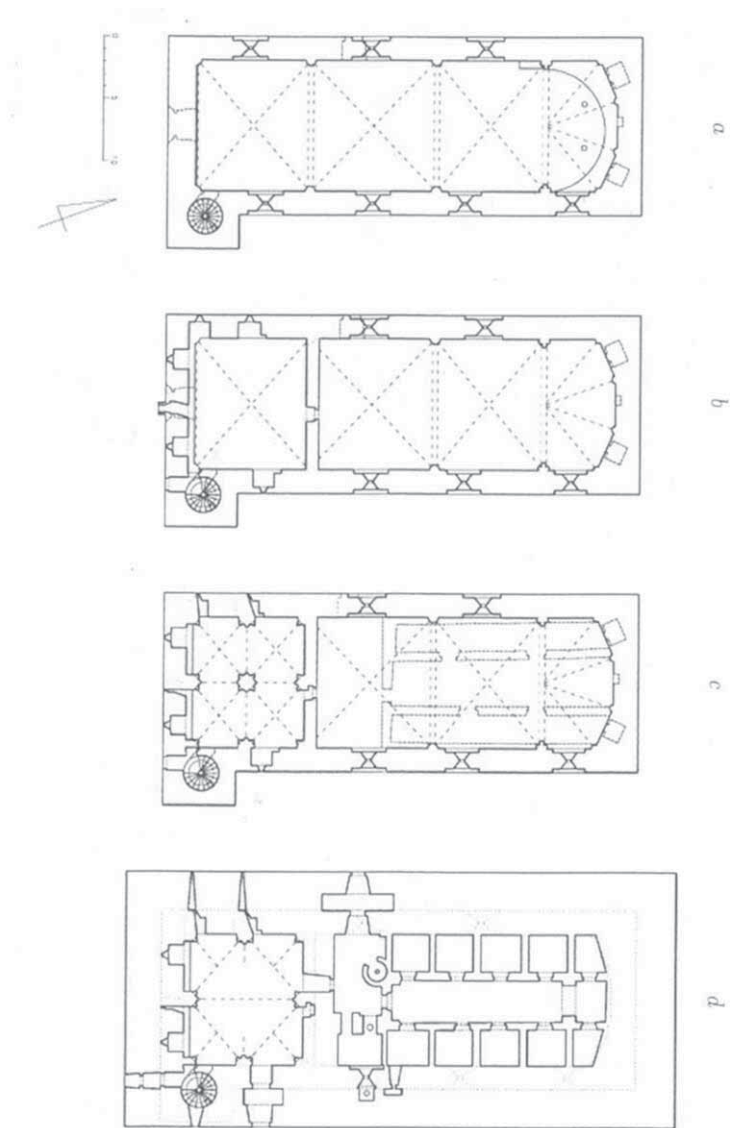


Fig. 7: Limassol Castle, successive architectural phases [Corvisier (2006b: 396, fig. 2)].

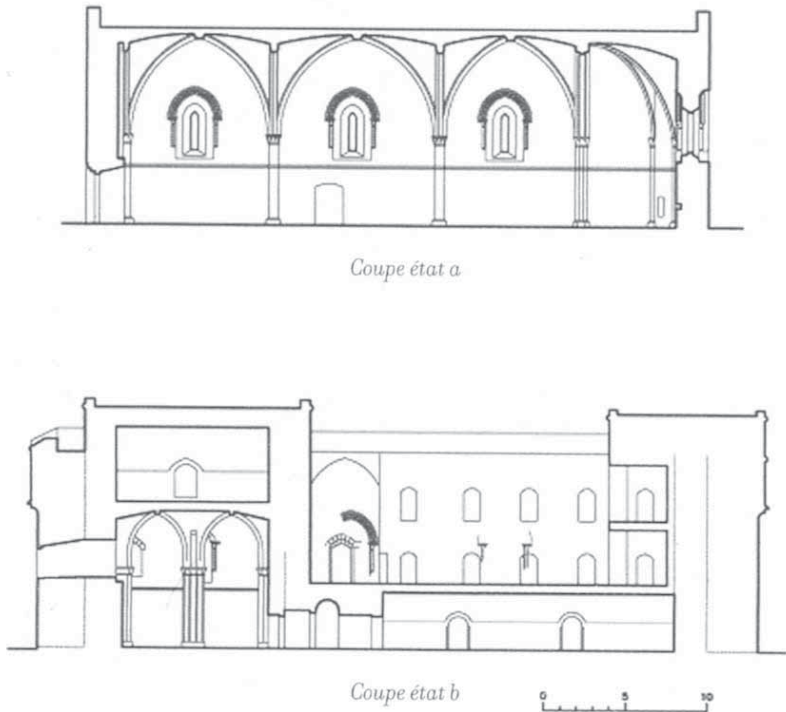


Fig. 8: Limassol Castle, sections through the Gothic chapel (above, reconstruction) and the present building (below) [Corvisier (2006b: 396, fig. 3)].

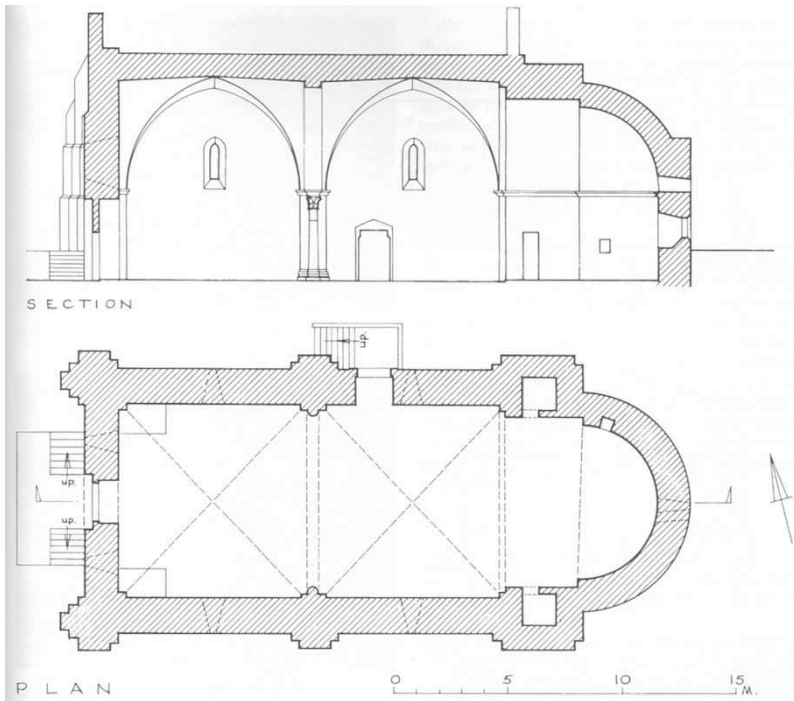


Fig. 9: Gaza, St Porphyrius, plan and east-west section [Pringle (1993-2009: I, 217, fig. 64)].

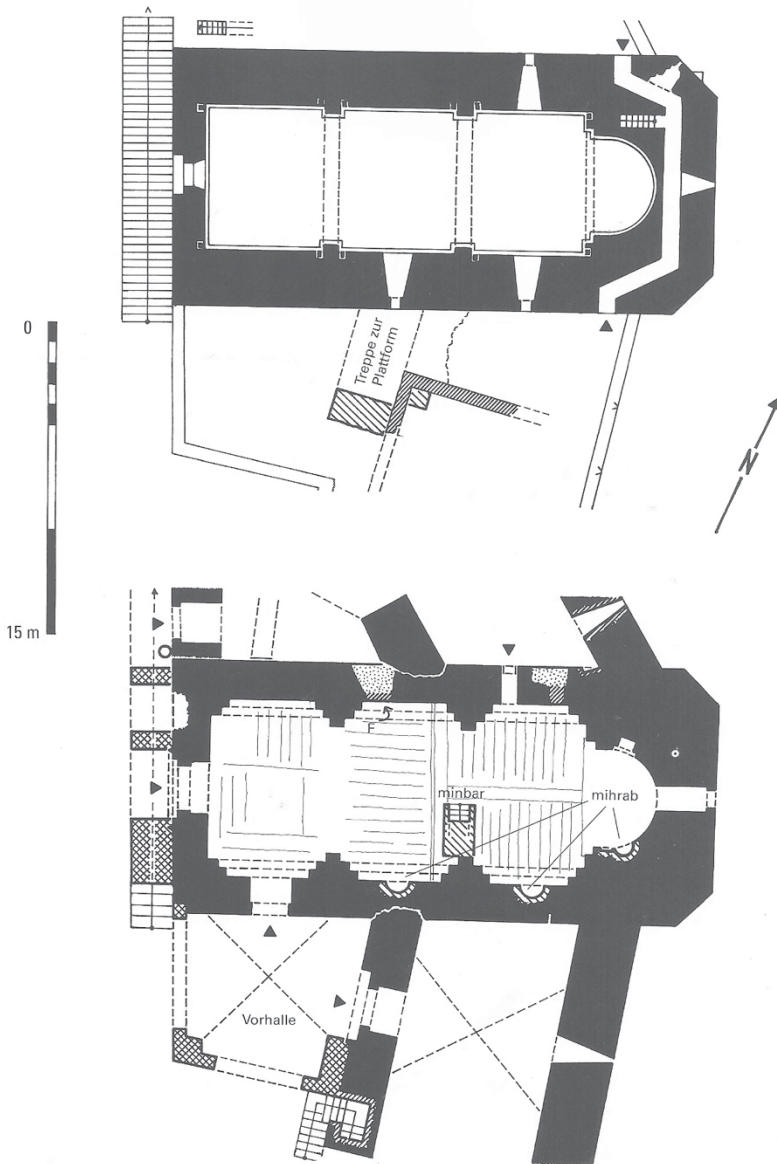


Fig. 10: Crac des Chevaliers, chapel, plans at the levels of ground storey (below) and clerestory (above) [Großmann (2006: 87, fig. 47)].

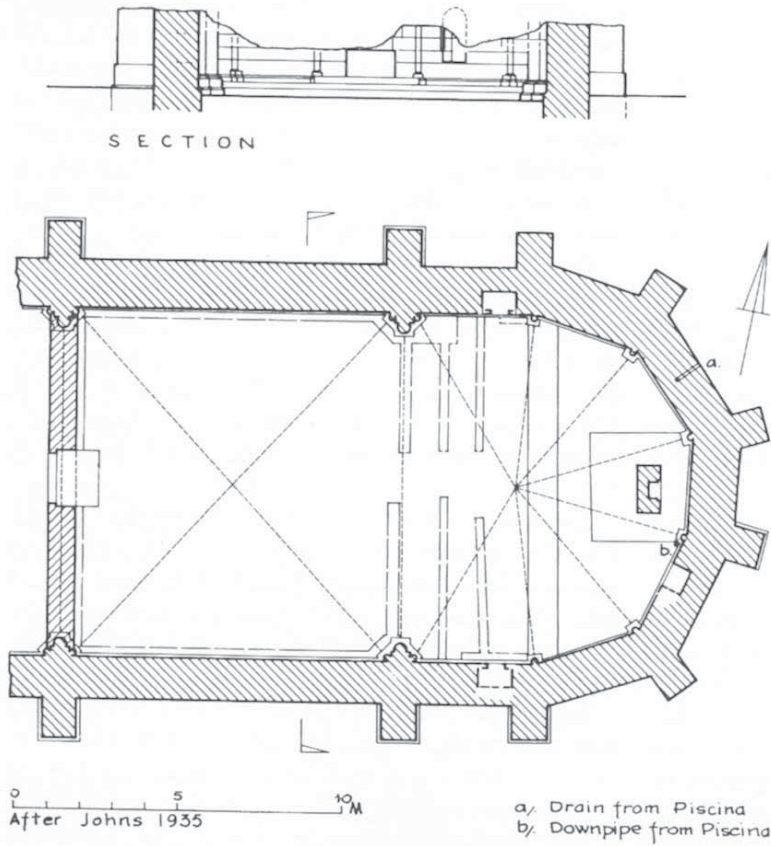


Fig. 11: °Atlit, town church, plan and north-south section [Pringle (1993-2009: I, 76, fig. 25)].



Fig. 12: Limassol Castle, north wall entrance, detail of marginally drafted masonry to the right of the portal [M. Olympios].



Fig. 13: Kato Paphos, Saranda Kolones Castle, detail of marginally drafted masonry [M. Olympios].



Fig. 14: Limassol Castle, interior side of Gothic chapel clerestory window [M. Olympios].



Fig. 15: Bellapais Abbey, church, interior side of nave clerestory window [M. Olympios].



Fig. 16: Limassol Castle, Gothic chapel clerestory window, detail of colonette capital [M. Olympios].



Fig. 17: Limassol Castle, Gothic chapel clerestory window, detail of arch mouldings [M. Olympios].



Fig. 18: Bellapais Abbey, church, west front window, detail of colonette capital and moulded arch [M. Olympios].



Fig. 19: Nicosia Cathedral, south lateral chapel, apse window [M. Olympios].



Fig. 20: Limassol Castle, cellars, east wall, detail of apse respond base and plinth [M. Olympios].



Fig. 21: Limassol Castle, cellars, south aisle, detail of wall respond plinths [M. Olympios].



Fig. 22: Nicosia Cathedral, east end, north aisle wall respond [M. Olympios].

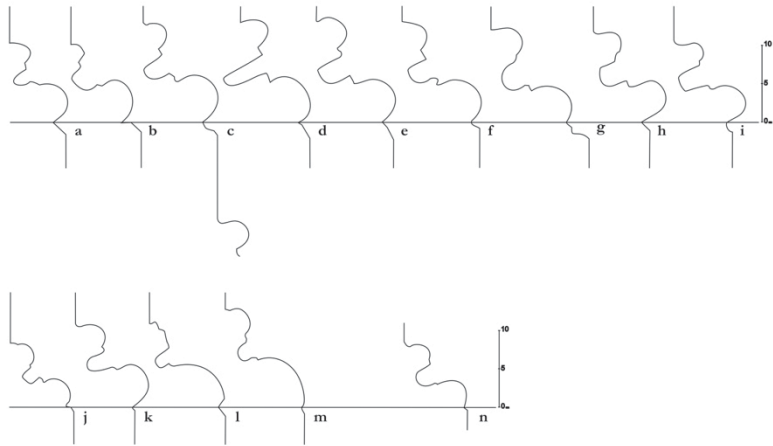


Fig. 23: Early-thirteenth-century Cypriot Gothic base profiles: Bellapais Abbey church: a) north portal, left jamb, b) north portal, right jamb, c) west portal, d) northwestern nave pier, e) southwestern nave pier, f) northeastern nave pier, g) southeastern nave pier, h) first bay clerestory window, north side, i) first bay clerestory window, south side; Nicosia Cathedral east end: j) north lateral chapel portal, k) entrance to the sacristy, l) north nave portal, left jamb, m) north nave portal, right jamb; Limassol Castle: n) staircase turret [M. Olympios].



Fig. 24: Limassol Castle, *réduit*, detail of southern half of Gothic chapel transverse arch, now immured in later wall [M. Olympios].



Fig. 25: Limassol Castle, lower level of cells, general view towards the east [M. Olympios].



Fig. 26: Limassol Castle, lower level of cells, fire-damaged cell doorway [M. Olympios].



Fig. 27: Limassol Castle, lower level of cells, fire-damaged masonry [M. Olympios].



Fig. 28: Limassol Castle, lower level of cells, restored masonry in cell portal [M. Olympios].



Fig. 29: Limassol Castle, lower level of cells, detail of transition between fire-damaged original masonry (lowest ashlar course on the left, two lowest courses on the right) and later restoration [M. Olympios].



Fig. 30: Limassol Castle, vestibule between lower level of cells and *réduit*, detail of fire-damaged masonry on the upper part of thirteenth-century Gothic clerestory window [M. Olympios].



Fig. 31: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, general view towards the east [M. Olympios].



Fig. 32: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, easternmost cell on north side, doorway showing signs of fire damage [M. Olympios].



Fig. 33: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, easternmost cell on south side, doorway showing signs of fire damage [M. Olympios].



Fig. 34: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, doorway [M. Olympios].



Fig. 35: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, partly restored doorway in cell lodged in hall's southwestern angle [M. Olympios].



Fig. 36: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, easternmost cell on south side, right-hand wall showing later masonry skin removed to expose fire-damaged earlier stonework towards the back of the cell [M. Olympios].



Fig. 37: Limassol Castle, lower level of cells, easternmost cell on south side, doorway [M. Olympios].



Fig. 38: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, easternmost cell on north side, detail of right side of doorway [M. Olympios].



Fig. 39: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, vestiges of barrel vault over the main hall [M. Olympios].



Fig. 40: Limassol Castle, roof level, eastern roof chamber doorway above remains of barrel vault [M. Olympios].



Fig. 41: Limassol Castle, *réduit*, upper part of western wall and rib-vaulting [M. Olympios].



Fig. 42: Limassol Castle, *réduit*, wall respond, detail of vault springing [M. Olympios].



Fig. 43: Famagusta Cathedral, nave, wall respond [M. Olympios].



Fig. 44: Famagusta, Sts Peter and Paul, north apse, detail of shaft below the semidome [M. Olympios].



Fig. 45: Limassol Castle, *réduit*, detail of wall respond bases [M. Olympios].



Fig. 46: Limassol Castle, *réduit*, detail of vault keystone [M. Olympios].



Fig. 47: Famagusta, St George of the Latins, detail of window shaft base [M. Olympios].



Fig. 48: Limassol Castle, roof level, chambers above the *réduit*, general view of the exterior, looking westwards [M. Olympios].



Fig. 49: Limassol Castle, ground level, view into the passage connecting the *réduit* to the cellars [M. Olympios].



Fig. 50: Limassol Castle, roof level, chambers above the *réduit*, detail of chamfer in southeast angle [M. Olympios].



Fig. 51: Limassol Castle, roof level, chambers at the east end of the building, general view, looking eastwards [M. Olympios].



Fig. 52: Limassol Castle, upper level of cells, detail of south side of arch supporting the western wall of the eastern roof chambers [M. Olympios].

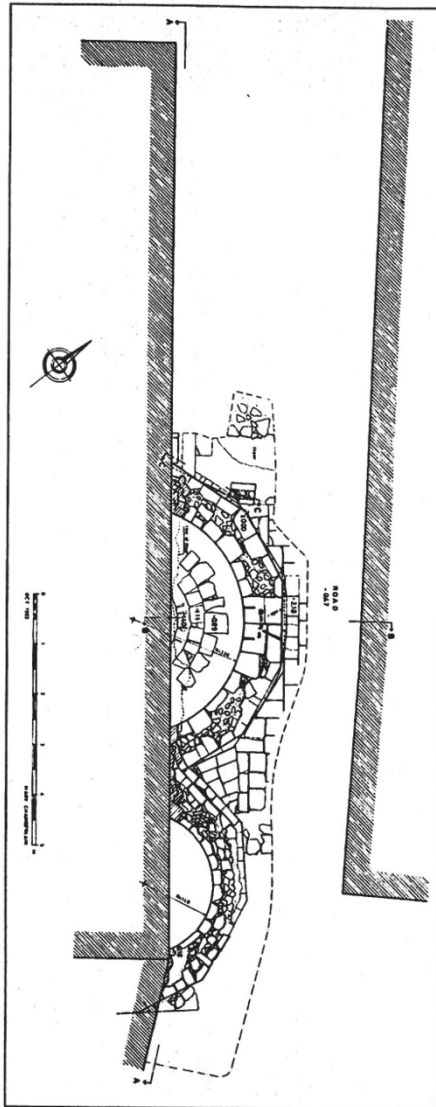


Fig. 53: Limassol, Great Mosque, plan of 1993 excavations [Procopiou (1997a: 288, fig. 2.1)].



Fig. 54: Limassol, Great Mosque, excavated church apses, looking southwards [M. Olympios].



Fig. 55: Limassol, Great Mosque, south apse with arched opening visible at the bottom [M. Olympios].



Fig. 56: Limassol, Great Mosque, north apse, view of the interior, including the *synthronon* [M. Olympios].



Fig. 57: Limassol, Great Mosque, south apse, detail of fragment of plaster floor attached to the eastern wall of the present building [M. Olympios].



Fig. 58: Limassol, Great Mosque, north apse, detail of masonry on southern side [M. Olympios].



Fig. 59: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, general view of the exterior from the south [M. Olympios].



Fig. 60: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, exterior of east wall [M. Olympios].



Fig. 61: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, exterior of west front [M. Olympios].



Fig. 62: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, north wall with remains of conventual buildings [M. Olympios].



Fig. 63: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, interior, looking east [M. Olympios].



Fig. 64: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, choir, piscina [M. Olympios].



Fig. 65: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, sealed doorway at the eastern end of the north wall [M. Olympios].



Fig. 66: Pano Polemidia, Karmiotissa, western porch, detail of north impost [M. Olympios].



Fig. 67: St Nicholas of the Cats, church, interior, looking east [M. Olympios].



Fig. 68: St Nicholas of the Cats, church, corbel and rib spring brought to light within the present thickness of the south wall [M. Olympios].



Fig. 69: Kato Paphos, Panayia Galatariotissa (former Franciscan church?), corbel [M. Olympios].



Fig. 70: Arsos, St Philip, rib vault [M. Olympios].



Fig. 72: Kolossi, part of the fourteenth-century aqueduct [M. Olympios].



Fig. 73: Kolossi, sugar refinery, looking southwest [M. Olympios].



Fig. 74: Kolossi, remains of old tower, looking southeast [M. Olympios].



Fig. 75: Kolossi, keep, first storey interior, south wall, *Crucifixion* fresco, detail showing the coat-of-arms of Preceptor Louis de Manhac [M. Olympios].



Fig. 76: Kolossi, keep, east wall, coats-of-arms of the Lusignan royal house (centre), Hospitaller Grand Masters Jean de Lastic (heraldic right) and Jacques de Milly (left) and Preceptor Louis de Manhac (bottom) [M. Olympios].



Fig. 77: Kolossi, curtain wall to the east of the keep [M. Olympios].



Fig. 78: Kolossi, two-storeyed rectangular building to the southwest of the keep, remains of angle tower [M. Olympios].



Fig. 79: Kolossi, two-storeyed rectangular building to the southwest of the keep, view of the ground storey towards the south [M. Olympios].



Fig. 80: Kolossi, keep, general view of the exterior, looking southwest [M. Olympios].

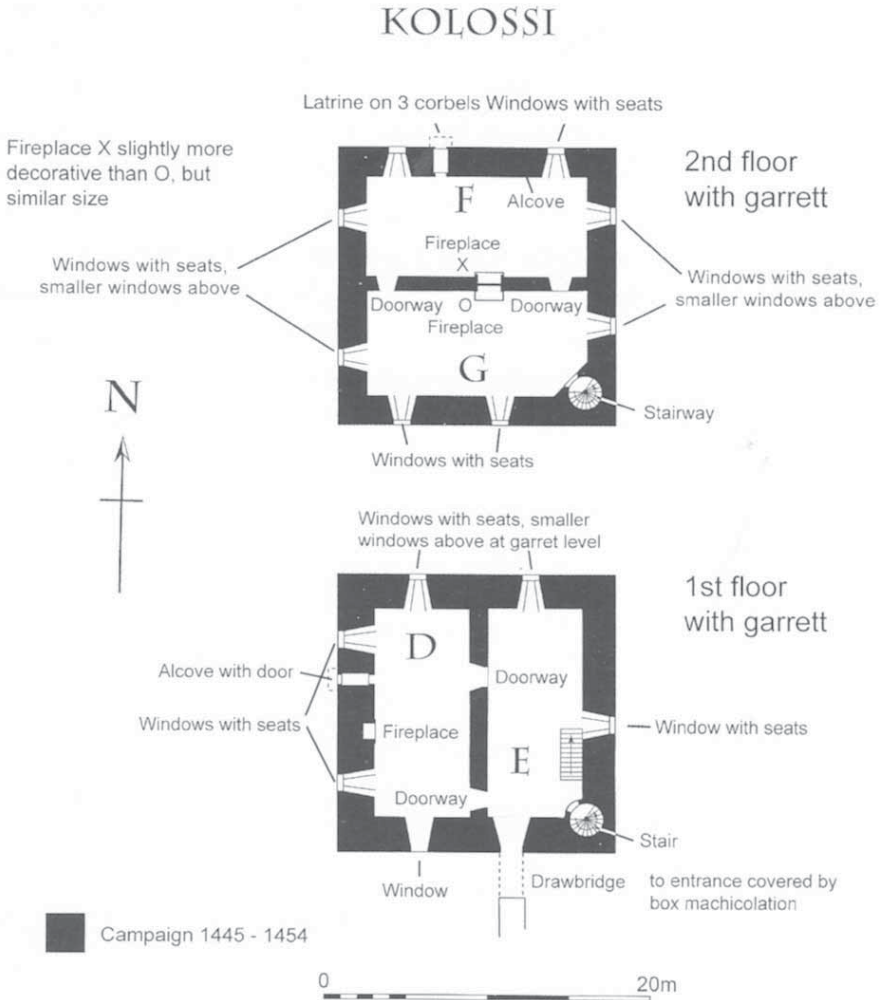


Fig. 81: Kolossi, keep, plan of the middle and upper stories [Petre (2012: 214)].

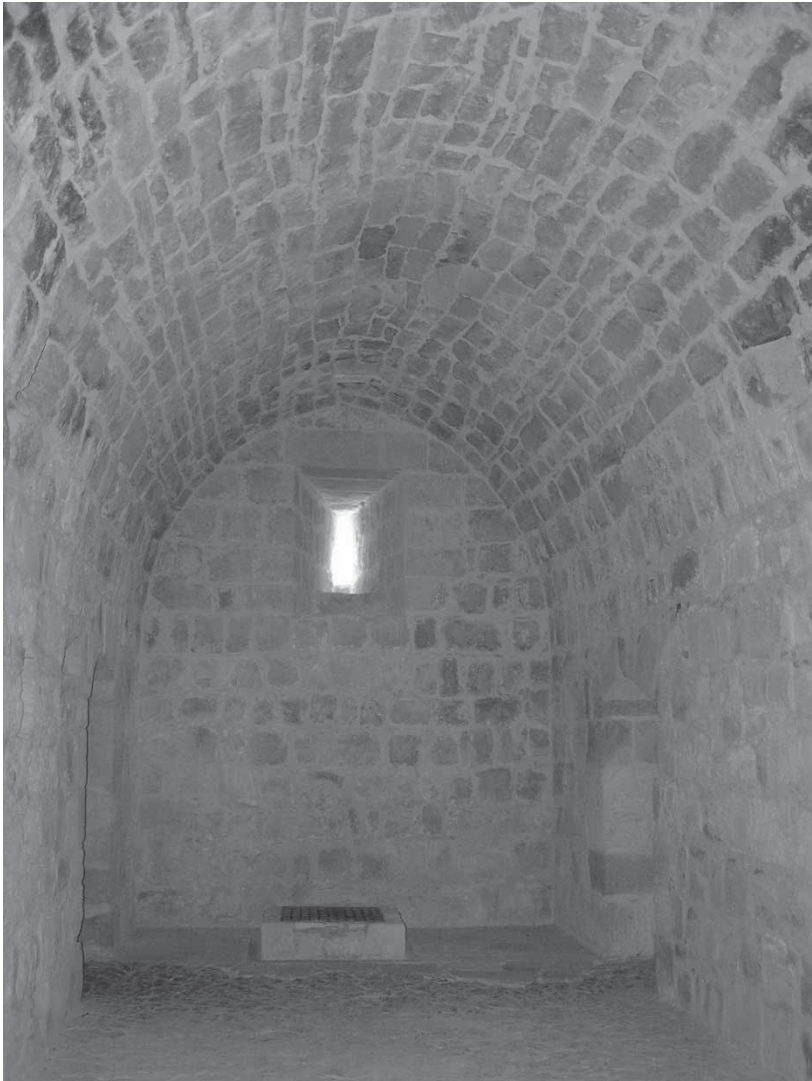


Fig. 82: Kolossi, keep, cellars, middle chamber [M. Olympios].



Fig. 83: Kolossi, keep, middle storey, eastern room, looking west [M. Olympios].



Fig. 84: Kolossi, keep, upper storey, southern room, fireplace [M. Olympios].



Fig. 85: Kolossi, keep, upper storey, northern room, fireplace [M. Olympos].



Fig. 86: Kolossi, loose sculptural fragment preserved at the site [M. Olympios].

CONCLUSION

THE MEMORY OF PRE-OTTOMAN LIMASSOL

The Ottoman conquest of Cyprus clearly marked the end of an era, in the most extensive sense of the word, and the beginning of a new one, the island entering a period of new historical, political, social, and cultural realities. One could say that Limassol itself was about to enter its third period, after that of Amathus ('Old Limassol') and then the relative continuity of ancient, medieval (Byzantine and Frankish), and Venetian Limassol. The village that Limassol had become by the end of the sixteenth century was home to about as many people as the former city's Hospitaller convent alone had accommodated three centuries earlier. It was this village that would become in its third period, ever so slowly, the lively cosmopolitan commercial centre that we find today.

Antiquarian interest in Limassol's past had already begun before the conquest. The polymath Florio Bustron, who may have died in the Ottoman siege of Nicosia in 1570, spent his entire life under Venetian rule, much of it in the service of the Republic.¹ Embued with the Renaissance spirit of rediscovering Antiquity, Florio was the first Cypriot historian to give a relatively lengthy description of both Amathus and Kourion in his *History of Cyprus*, probably composed around 1560. Amathus used to be big and strong, the walls of its ruined castle could still be seen, and a tower guarded the coast. Near the coast there still survived large surfaces covered with mosaics, pits and graves, and two large stone vases (*pitharia*) with curved handles in the form of bulls. The chronicler was obviously referring to the famous Amathus jars, one of which belongs now to the Louvre collection, while the second was broken during their transfer to France in 1865. Florio also tells the foundation story of Kourion, correctly situating it near Episkopi, and describes the nearby temple of Apollo with its white marble columns and the stadium, which he calls a 'theatro'. In the city of Kourion proper or in the temple area, it is not clear, he saw tombs, big and small statues, vases, golden rings, and coins, some of them Ptolemaic. In exile between Italy and France, in 1573 another Cypriot

¹ On Florio, see Grivaud (2009: 258-60) and the literature cited there.

historiographer, the Dominican Étienne de Lusignan, a descendant of the former royal dynasty,² recalls that in Amathus, Salamis, and Paphos there were many tombs where one could find beautiful terracotta vases and plates and gold and silver jewellery. When Étienne was in Limassol in the 1560s, the town's captain, Giulio Podocataro, acquired many beautiful objects from a tomb, including a magnificent vase. Étienne's description of Amathus and its antiquities is significantly longer than that of Kourion and follows the one by Bustron, without failing to mention the two large 'pittari'. Étienne de Lusignan's stories are repeated at the end of the eighteenth century by another cleric, the Greek Archimandrite Kyprianos.³

The names of both Amathus and Kourion, along with Limassol, remained current among Greek clerics in the official title of the person whom the Latins called the 'bishop of Lefkara', 'bishop of Amathus and president of Limassol and Kourion', or in Florio Bustron's words, 'Et il vescovo greco di Limisso ha, al presente, il titolo di Cureon, Amathunda, et delli greci de Limisso'.⁴ Already in the fifteenth century Amathus' demise was lost in legend, often attributed to Richard the Lionheart's conquest of Cyprus in 1191 in the testimony of travellers, in later historiography, and in popular literature. In these accounts historical reality is often confused with legend and it is frequently this distorted image that has survived in the collective memory of both Cypriots and Westerners.⁵ Étienne de Lusignan popularised the story that locates Richard's landing at the port of ancient Amathus (said to be Isaac Komnenos' place of residence), not Limassol, and that attributes Amathus' destruction to the English. The story must have circulated long before, however, since it is found in Pietro Ranzano's *Annales omnium temporum*, begun around 1460.⁶ Other historiographers and travellers either repeated the Amathus story or followed an equally fictitious tradition attributing the decline of Limassol itself to Richard's expedition, sometimes adding Episkopi or, as did Étienne, Kilani among the locations that his army destroyed. The role of pirates, the Genoese, the Mamluks, and the Turks

² On Étienne de Lusignan, see Schabel (2002-2003) and Grivaud (2009: 287-99).

³ Bustron, 15-17; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 7r-v, 9r; Kyprianos (1788: 28-9). See generally Calvelli (2009: 129-30, 137-8) and, particularly for the vases, Antoine Hermary's chapter in this volume.

⁴ Bustron, 16.

⁵ For a full analysis of the stories in the various texts, see Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 92-104).

⁶ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, fols. 9r-v, *Description*, fols. 21r, 120r, 227v, and *Droicts*, fol. 10v; Pietro Ranzano in Dalché (2014); *Excerpta Cypria*, 189, 289; Mariti, 82; Kyprianos (1788: 33, 35, 170).

was thus often forgotten.⁷ Interestingly, the tale of Richard's landing in Amathus even survived in the island's oral tradition; the controversial author Laurence Durrell, who was on the island during the troubled years 1953-1956, reports that he heard it from a Greek taxi-driver.⁸

The legend that Richard's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, escorted Berengaria to Cyprus and was also insulted by Isaac Komnenos in Limassol may be traced back to an early fourteenth-century Latin Eastern narrative. Later Cypriot chroniclers repeated it, but replacing Berengaria with the queen of France, Philip II's wife.⁹ Isaac's insulting behaviour towards the women evidently attracted the popular imagination, the tale retold in various colourful versions by many later travellers and historians. For them, Richard's expedition was intended to avenge his mother's/sister's/wife's/daughter's/niece's shattered honour, Komnenos having offended or even debauched her.¹⁰ In modern Greek popular literature, though, Isaac is depicted as a heroic defender of the island against the crusaders' invasion and none of his disgraceful acts are mentioned.¹¹ The Venetian historian Marino Sanuto the Younger calls Limassol 'Bericaria' in 1533, but this is a unique instance and does not allow the assumption that there was a widespread association of the town with Queen Berengaria.¹² Nevertheless, one might link the false belief that Berengaria was also crowned queen of Cyprus in Limassol¹³ to later claims of English suzerainty on the island. In the British period a 'Berengaria Village' was established in Kato Polemidia, near Limassol, for

⁷ Destruction of Limassol: *Excerpta Cypria*, 51, 56; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 113-14, 116, 130, 136-7, 139, 148, 163; Flourentzos, 3. Destruction of Episkopi: Tschudi, 93. Destruction of Kilani: Jauna (1747: I, 63). Destruction of the entire island: Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fol. 89r and *Description*, fol. 227v. Battle at Kilani: Attar, 521; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 17v, 48v and *Description*, fol. 120v; Kyprianos (1788: 67-8, 170). See also Michalis Olympios' chapter for further discussion.

⁸ Laurence Durrell, *Bitter Lemons of Cyprus* (London, 1957), 24-5.

⁹ *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, 14; Attar, 521; Bustron, 46; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 48r, 89r; Kyprianos (1788: 167).

¹⁰ John Capgrave, 145; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, fols. 48r-v, 89r and *Description*, fol. 120r; *Excerpta Cypria*, 51, 56, 64; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 113-14, 116, 130, 136-7, 139, 148, 157; Flourentzos, 3-4, 42; Kyprianos (1788: 167, 169-70); Hackett-Papaioannou (1923-1932: I, 84, note 3).

¹¹ See for example Kyriakos Papadopoulos, *Ο Αντισταυροφόρος Ισαάκιος Κομνηνός Δεσμώτης [Isaac Komnenos: the Enemy of the Crusaders in Bonds]* (2009).

¹² Sanuto, *Diarii*, LVIII, col. 598. See Patapiou (2006: 161; 2009: 27).

¹³ Jauna (1747: I, 63); Buchon (1840: 387); Lacroix (1853: 49).

British soldiers and their families. A luxurious resort hotel, which opened in 1931 (and closed down in the 1980s) in a pine forest in the Troodos Mountains overlooking the village of Prodromos, was even named 'Berengaria' in an effort to attract British tourists, and it did host royalty and famous visitors.

Richard's crusade and his conquest of an exotic Mediterranean island also found its way into early opera, a popular medium that indulged in extraordinary situations. *Isacio tiranno*, a three-act *drama per musica*, music by the Venetian Antonio Lotti (1666-1740) and libretto by Francesco Briani, was first performed at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice on 24 November 1710; the story is almost entirely set in Limassol.¹⁴ George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) composed *Riccardo Primo, Re d'Inghilterra* as a gesture of English patriotism, intended to celebrate his recent naturalisation and George II's (1683-1760) accession to the throne of England in 1727. Handel used Paolo Antonio Rolli's (1687-1765) text – substantially based on Briani's libretto – according to which Limassol was a walled city. The opera was first performed at the King's Theatre, Haymarket in London on 11 November 1727. On the occasion of the 800th anniversary of Richard's conquest of Cyprus, the English Bach Festival performed the opera appropriately in real historical location, at the ancient theatre of Kourion near Limassol on 6 and 7 July 1991.¹⁵

Frankish and Venetian Limassol does not seem to have provided stories for later writers, except for the castle, which had lost its medieval appearance by the end of the sixteenth century. By 1570 Limassol's medieval ruins could not compare to those of Famagusta or even Nicosia, which would be so inspiring in a later, more romantic age. The transitory period from the domination of one power to that of another was a difficult time, and recovery after the disasters caused by the Ottoman conquest was neither easy nor quick for Limassol. When the German traveller Reinhold Lubenau visited Cyprus in 1588, he described Limassol as having 'a very nice port', but the city itself was 'a big town in ruins', specifically mentioning what was left of the cathedral's belltower, and the remaining inhabitants lived near the castle. He did go on to describe at length the apparently still active sugar production in Kolossi, the carob fields in the area around Limassol, and the activities of the cats at the monastery of St

¹⁴ Allaci *et al.* (1755: col. 473); Sonneck (1914: I, 646); Sartori (1990-1995: III, 496-7); Hansell and Termini (2001); Nicolaou-Konnari (2013: 386) with further bibliography.

¹⁵ Sonneck (1914: I, 933); Dean (1964; 2006: chapter 4); Hicks (2001: esp. 753, 781, 811); Seebald (2009: 232-46); Nicolaou-Konnari (2000: 92, note 226; 2013: 386) with further bibliography.

Nicholas in Akrotiri!¹⁶ If Limassol's physical remains were not worthy of much note, there was for a time some nostalgia, a period of contemplating and evaluating the past. In 1589, the Breton Lord of Villamont reports that his Cypriot host, a Greek priest most probably living in a village in the area of Limassol, embraced him with joy when he realised that he was from France, 'saying in Italian much in praise of the French, and how since they had lost the Kingdom of Cyprus, the Cypriots had never been well treated, and had lost their liberty'. With pride the priest showed him tombstones of Frankish knights, adding 'that even today the Cypriot Christians availed themselves of the privileges granted to them by the French'. Despite the Frenchman's obvious bias, the incident is indicative of the positive souvenir that Lusignan rule had left on the collective memory of the Limassolians.¹⁷ A subtle example of Latin heritage may be traced in the word *Βιλάνοι*, used in the Greek Cypriot dialect until today as a (nick)name for the inhabitants of Ayia Phyla and other villages in the vicinity of Limassol or as a toponymic family name (*Βιλάνος*). The word obviously derives from *vilani*, attested in Latin, French, and Italian sources from the beginning of Lusignan rule with the meaning of *villagers* or *serfs*;¹⁸ its negative connotations when used to describe the inhabitants of these villages reflect perhaps the social prejudices of the medieval period. On the other hand, a local sweet wine called today *Commandaria* (*Κομμαντάρια* or *Κομμανδαρία*) allegedly derives its name and origin from the Hospitaller Commandery of Limassol; however, the name or wine variety is not attested in medieval sources even though the villages included in the Commandery were reputed for producing excellent wine (e.g. Kilani).¹⁹

The testimonies of the early Ottoman period bring out the main characteristic of the preceding Latin era, namely the marked difference between the prosperity and tranquillity of the rural area of Limassol and the destruction and desolation that stamped the town itself for much of the period. A multiplicity of factors, political, economic, social, and natural, were responsible for this situation, which was also reflected in higher culture. The continuity of Byzantine art in the predominantly Greek rural Limassol area has been mentioned above and will be treated at length in the next volume. Moreover, available evidence connects rural Limassol with the continuous production and circulation of Greek manuscripts

¹⁶ Koder (1984-1987: 211-13, 225-7).

¹⁷ *Excerpta Cypria*, 174.

¹⁸ See indicatively *Cartulary*, no. 83, p. 217 (in 1222) and Marsilio Zorzi, 191 (ca. 1242-1244).

¹⁹ For wine production, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel's chapter.

throughout the years of Frankish and Venetian rule.²⁰ The history, contents, and quality of these manuscripts suggest literacy for the Greek regular and secular clergy and some laymen and indicate the existence of ecclesiastical and secular patronage, which rich monasteries, diocesan churches, and a class of wealthy, educated Greeks sustained. If the agricultural production of Limassol's hinterland and the use of its harbour assured some level of economic and 'urban' continuity, a number of men of letters born in rural centres at the end of the Venetian and the beginning of the Ottoman period provided intellectual and social continuity: Antonios Darkès (D'Arc?) from Kilani, who wrote an account in verse of his 1590 trip to the Holy Land, Leontios Eustratios (1565/6-?) from Kilani, Neophytos Rodinos (1576/7-1659), Solomon's son, from Potamiou, Louizos Roussos (1585-1642) also from Potamiou, and Neophytos Frangomides (1586-1654) from Sylikou.²¹

The dichotomy between Limassol's urban and rural landscape would persist until the beginning of the twentieth century. The development of the city to the detriment of its hinterland would characterise the post-1960 period, Limassol becoming the second most important town of the new state of Cyprus. The process would accelerate after the loss of Famagusta in 1974, turning Limassol into the island's most important port and tourist city as well, a reversal, in a way, of Limassol's losing to Famagusta after 1291. Today the city's new urban landscape makes good use of its past, joining the old town centre and the medieval castle area with the recently built marina in the old port district and integrating ancient Amathus into the tourist area. It is thus not surprising that Amathus, Kourion, and medieval and modern Limassol have even inspired many poetic depictions, collected in the volume *Limassol. The Ballad of My Town* by Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou in 2003, as well as a blog entitled *Limassol in History* and an online newspaper echoing *The Voice of Limassol*.²²

²⁰ Darrouzès (1950: 170-1, 174, 177-8, 181, 188-9; 1956: 35-6, 47-51; 1957: 145, 153, 158-9); Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 18, 25, note 50, 30, note 102, 32-3, 37, 63-8, 119-23, 139-40, 203-5, 205-9, 222-4, 232-6, 239, note 4, 255-8, 264-6, 278-80, 325-7, 343-50, 363-6.

²¹ Darkès, *Proskynetarion*; Rodinos (1659: 45-6); Kitromilides (2002: 131-4, 228-32, 233, 266).

²² *Limassol in History - Λεμεσός και Ιστορία*:

<http://limassolinhistory.blogspot.com/2010_06_02_archive.html>; *The Voice of Limassol - Η φωνή της Λεμεσού*:

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1.3. Travellers

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